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THE LATIN CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY ANDRÉ LAGARDE.

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THE LATIN CHURCH

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

ANDRÉ LAGARDE

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PREFACE

In the middle of the fifth century the Western Church occupied a position without precedent in the Roman Empire. It ruled the emperor and gave him its orders. They were orders directed especially to the extermination of all religious rivals. It required the emperor to suppress the worship of idols, and he closed the pagan temples; sometimes he even authorized their destruction. The Church wished to be rid of dissenting sects; and the emperor forbade heretical meetings. Paganism being driven from the towns, sought refuge in the country. Heresy went into hiding: the Church was victorious. And while it employed the imperial sword to discomfit its enemies, it used the same weapon to strengthen its inner constitution and to centralize its government. From the time of Gratian, the bishop of Rome had an authority over his colleagues in the Occident which the civil power recognized and sanctioned. Valentinian III. by an edict in 445 A.D. completed the work of Gratian. Henceforth the Latin Church was a monarchy within the Empire, with the Pope at its head.

Thus, under the Empire, the Church was strong, but the Empire was falling into decay. The Barbarians knew that its life was failing, that the old organism was worn out, and they hastened to take possession of the remains. From every direction they came for the spoils. The Saxons and the Angles settled in Great Britain; the Franks invaded

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Northern Gaul; the Visigoths made Spain and the region south of the Loire their own; the Burgundians took possession of the upper valley of the Rhone; the Vandals made conquests in Africa. The Ostrogoths and Lombards were waiting for their turn to come. Among these new invaders, some were heretics, others were pagans. What is to become of the Church? Are its days numbered, and is the Empire to bring it down as its companion into an open tomb?

No, the Church will not descend into the tomb. It will survive the Empire. It will have to pass through days of distress. It will witness calamity after calamity, ruins heaped upon ruins. But in the midst of the greatest sadness, it will receive precious consolations. One after another, these barbarian peoples will submit to its laws, and will count it a glory to be the Church's children. The frontiers of the Church will be extended; its institutions, for a moment shaken by the Barbarians, will be consolidated, developed, and will adapt themselves to their surroundings. The papacy, most sorely tried of all, will make a new advance. At length a second empire will arise, and of this empire the Pope will be the master—more than this, he will be the master of Europe. He will dictate his orders to kings who will obey them. Such is the picture of which this book is intended to be the outline.

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THE LATIN CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

The Expansion of the Latin Church

A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 4 vols., 3rd edition, Leipzig, 1906. A. Lapôtre, *Le pape Jean VIII.*, Paris, 1895. A. Ozanam, *La civilisation chrétienne chez les Francs*, vol. iv. des œuvres, Paris, 1869.

During the first four centuries the Church had spread throughout the empire, and had gone even beyond the frontiers. At the end of the fifth century this effort at expansion was partially hindered by the barbarians. The work had to be begun anew. The Church began it anew. It subjected the barbarians to its laws; it taught them its doctrines. Not content with repairing the losses caused by invasion, it extended its domain and enlarged its frontiers. Missionaries, who were often warriors armed with axe and spear, gradually invaded all the countries of Europe. In this persistent advance, for the sake of clearness in exposition, three periods may be distinguished which lie between the death of Charlemagne and the first crusade.

FIRST PERIOD

After the fall of the Roman empire, the first conquest made in the barbarian world by the Church was the nation of Franks.[1] And this conquest, in which a king was the chief agent, was in the last analysis the work of a woman.

[1] Kurth, *Clovis*, i. 302–331, Paris, 1901; Hauck, i. 110; Ozanam, p. 54.

Clovis, a pagan king, married Clotilde, a Catholic princess, and to please his consort had his first two children baptized. One of these children died; the other, after having been at the point of death, recovered. Witnessing this only partial good fortune, Clovis had only a partial confidence in the God preached to him by Clotilde; yet he reserved the right, in case of emergency, to make use of God's services. An occasion soon arose. In A.D. 496, Clovis engaged in battle with the Allemani, which threatened disaster to his army. At this alarming juncture he invoked the "God of Clotilde," and promised to become a Christian if God would grant him the victory. He defeated the Allemani; and then, faithful to the agreement, received baptism at the hands of the bishop, Remi, at Reims (Christmas, 496). Three thousand warriors followed his example. Thus entered into the Church the people which was to found the pontifical state, raise the Pope to royal rank, and by establishing the Carolingian empire, constitute the Christianity of the Middle Ages.[1]

The bishops of Gaul welcomed with enthusiasm the conversion of "the new Constantine" as he was called by Gregory of Tours.[2] Constantine had governed the Church of the Roman empire; Clovis governed the Church of the Franks. By his orders a Frankish council met at Orleans (511); and the bishops having deliberated, submitted their decisions for the approval of the king, to whom they addressed the following letter: "Swayed by the zeal which you feel for the Catholic religion, you have ordered the bishops to meet for the examination of important questions. In conformity to your commands, we send you the answers which we have thought should be made to the articles which you have proposed to us. If these regulations seem right to you, we trust that the approbation of so great a king may contribute a new authority to the decision of the bishops." [3]

After the ceremony at Reims, heresy still remained mistress south of the Loire and in Burgundy; but this state

[1] The work of Clovis was completed by an edict of Childebert forbidding pagan worship. See Hauck, i. 124.

[2] *Historia Francorum*, ii. 31.

[3] *Concilia ævi merovingici*, p. 2.

of things was soon changed. Gregory of Tours closes his account of the conversion of the Franks with this naïve admission: "Since then many Gauls have ardently desired to be under the dominion of the Franks."[1] Clovis was aware of these sympathies, and took advantage of them. One day, referring to the Visigoths, he said to his soldiers: "I am distressed to see these Arians occupying a part of Gaul. With the help of God, let us march and take possession of their country."[2] He marched, met Alaric at Vouillé, killed him, put his army to flight, and obliged the Visigoths to take refuge in Spain (507).[3] This victory, which drove heresy from south-western Gaul, caused Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, to reflect. Having been conquered by Clovis, Gondebaud maintained himself upon the throne, but not without difficulty. The progressive invasions of his terrible neighbour dictated to him a programme of religious policy. While still remaining Arian he granted great liberty to the Catholics of his kingdom. His son Sigismund went farther and abjured heresy. In short, in 520 almost all Gaul was Catholic; Narbonne and Provence, however, were not. These two provinces, which at one time were under the dominion of the Visigoths, belonged after 508 to Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who favoured Arianism. But about 533 the situation changed.[4] The Franks took possession of Narbonne and Provence (533–536); and from that time the whole of Gaul, except the region where paganism flourished for a long time, professed Catholicism.

The Ostrogoths, led by Theodoric, took possession of northern Italy in 488, and professed Arianism. From 533, Belisarius for twenty years, followed by Narses, waged against them a war in which they were overcome. But from a religious point of view their defeats had only a passing result. Indeed, in 568 the Lombards invaded Italy. These new barbarians adhered to the doctrines of Arius. Through them the Catholic Church lost the ground which had been gained

[1] *Historia Francorum*, ii. 36. [2] Greg. ii. 27.
[3] A. Malnory, *Saint Césaire d'Arles*, pp. 91, 159, Paris, 1895.
[4] *Id., ib.*

by the Byzantine conquest. Yet it was not for long. Less than twenty years after the invasion, Queen Theodelinde, daughter of a Bavarian duke, professed Catholicism. She was the Clotilde of the Lombards. Married first to Autharis then to Agilulf, it is believed that she converted her second husband; in any case, she secured his favour for the Catholic Church. It is true that after the death of Theodelinde, Arianism made a momentary reappearance; but, beginning with Aribert (653), all the Lombard kings were Catholics, and the Arian heresy disappeared definitely from the kingdom.

In the last years of the sixth century the Catholic Church had an accession of two nations, one Arian, the other pagan: the Visigoths of Spain and the Anglo-Saxons of Great Britain.

The Arian king Theodoric, who from 511–526 governed Spain, granted great liberty to the Catholics of that country, and the majority of his successors followed his example.[1] They professed Arianism, but were benevolently tolerant of the Catholics. In 568, Leovigild put an end to this tradition which eighteen years before had been temporarily interrupted by Agila. A militant Arian, he wished to impose his religion by force upon the people of Spain, and he persecuted the Catholics. His son Hermenegild thought to put an end to this religious war and to give freedom to the Catholics; in a word, to become the Constantine of Spain. He was under the double influence of his wife Ingonde, and of Leander, the bishop of Seville. His zeal was not inspired exclusively by faith. He raised the standard of revolt against his father, and did not fear even to ask help from Constantinople. He failed, and was condemned to death (584). At the request of Philip II. the Church placed him on the roll of martyrs. In 587 his plan was once more adopted, and this time was carried to a successful conclusion. Leovigild died, and was succeeded by another of his sons, Recarede. He had hardly ascended the throne when he gave his adherence to the Catholic Church, after having previously spread the report that his father Leovigild had on his death-

[1] Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 235, 254, Paris, 1906.

bed also abjured the Arian error.[1] Then following the example of Clovis, he assembled his bishops in council at Toledo (589), and in concert with them he actively favoured the advance of the Catholic faith. The Spain of the Visigoths had at last found its Constantine. The Suevians of Galicia had preceded it, whose king, Mir, converted in 562 by Martin of Braga, renounced Arianism.

Thus at the close of the sixth century the Catholic religion controlled the entire Iberian peninsula. It controlled it, but was not alone. By its side, in groups here and there, idolatry and Judaism had their partizans. These two rival cults appeared to be dangerous; their death was decided upon. The council of Toledo, 589, enjoined on the clergy and civil judges to work together for the extermination of idolatry.[2] Twenty-one years later the king, Sisebut (612–621), deported the Jews who refused to be converted.[3] This last legislation, it is true, was condemned by Isidore of Seville at the council of Toledo, 633.[4] But the scruples of Isidore were not contagious. The councils of Toledo of 681 and 694 subjected the Jews to renewed persecutions.[5]

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was the work of Pope Gregory I. One day (about 586) Gregory, crossing the market-place at Rome, saw mingled with the cattle some young slaves whose slender forms, light hair, and blue eyes inspired him with lively sympathy. It was told that these young men were Angles. "They are angels," he replied, playing upon the word; and he at once determined to go and carry the faith to the Angles. Detained in spite of himself at Rome—he was at that time a deacon—he did not forget his project. After he became Pope he carried it out by sending in his stead the monk Augustine, accompanied by forty companions. This occurred in 596. It was at this date that the evangelization of the Anglo-Saxons began.[6]

[1] Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 275, Paris, 1906.
[2] Canon, 16; Mansi, ix. 977; Hefele, iii. 52. [3] Leclercq, p. 299.
[4] Canon, 57; Mansi, x. 612; Hefele, iii. 85. [5] Leclercq, pp. 343, 345.
[6] Bede, *Hist. eccl. Anglorum*, ii. 1; Paul diacre, *Vita Gregorii*, 17; F. Homes Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i. 196, London, 1905; Ozanam, p. 147.

It made rapid progress. In 597, Ethelbert, king of Kent, asked to be baptized: many of his subjects followed his example. The kingdom of Kent became Christian. Some years later (about 600) a second kingdom, Essex, was conquered for the Christian faith. A quarter of a century afterwards (627), Northumbria, with King Edwin at its head, gave itself to Christ. It was followed by Wessex (634), then by East Anglia (same date), then by Mercia (653). At the end of a half-century the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy had abandoned idolatry. Sussex, which up to that time had escaped the movement towards conversion, entered the Church thirty years later (682). Yet although it was rapid, the Christian propaganda met with difficulties. About 630 the king of Mercia Penda, a stern pagan, made a successful war on Northumbria, and destroyed the work of the Christian missionaries. Thirteen years afterwards (643) he invaded Northumbria with fire and sword. In 655 he fell for a third time upon the unhappy country with his army. But he could arrest only temporarily the Christian idea, which had its revenge by invading Mercia Penda's own kingdom. On the whole the harvest rewarded the zeal of the labourers. But who were these?

The earliest, as has already been said, were those monks who set out from Rome (596) by order of Pope Gregory, and who landed the following year (597) on the island of Thanet, which was subject to the king of Kent. Augustine, the leader of this small army, after baptizing Ethelbert, passed to the Continent, received episcopal ordination from the bishop of Arles, then returned to England and fixed his see at Canterbury, the capital of the king of Kent. He died about 604; but before leaving the world, he witnessed the arrival of a second company of Roman missionaries sent by the Pope. One of these new auxiliaries, Mellitus, evangelized Essex and became bishop of London; another, Paulinus, laboured in Northumbria, and occupied the see of York. On their journey, some of these Romans were joined by certain priests of the Franks; such an one was Felix, bishop of East Anglia.

For thirty years the Celtic clergy, confined to Wales and to Ireland, refused absolutely to help Augustine and his companions, who were dependent wholly upon themselves. In 633 the situation changed. The Celtic monk Aidan set out from Iona abbey in Ireland, and came into Northumbria, whither King Oswald, successor of Edwin, had called him. He took up the work planned by Paulinus, which had been checked by the inroads of Penda; he was the real apostle to Northumbria, where he founded churches, monasteries, and schools, to which he carried the gospel for twenty years, until he died in 651.

The Celtic apostle Aidan was succeeded by the Anglo-Saxon agitator Wilfrid. He was successively monk at Ripon, bishop of York, again monk at Ripon, bishop of Mercia, then of Canterbury, a second time bishop of York, then a second time deposed, subsequently made a prisoner, then apostle to Sussex, and, lastly, again a monk. In the midst of all these changes he made the journey to Rome four times. He was at heart a Roman. He tolerated about him only the Roman chants, the Roman liturgy, the Roman usages. Just as the Celtic apostle Aidan introduced his Celtic liturgy into Northumbria, so Wilfrid worked actively to extirpate it. He succeeded in irritating the Celtic monks, whose customs he disturbed. Stirred by the conflict which he wished to appease, Oswy the Northumbrian king summoned before him Wilfrid as well as his adversaries the Celtic monks. This was the famous Whitby conference. Oswy gave orders to each of the parties to plead their causes. His sympathies were with the Celtic monks; but these adversaries of Roman usages admitted that St. Peter, the first bishop of Rome, had received the keys of heaven. This admission caused Oswy to reflect: "Since St. Peter is the porter of heaven," said he, "I do not wish to stand ill with him, lest he may close the door to me when I present myself before him." He decided the cause in Wilfrid's favour, and from this time on the Roman liturgy had possession of Northumbria.

After the agitator came the organizer, and he came from Rome. In 667 the kings of Kent and of Northumbria

asked Pope Vitalian to appoint a bishop to the see of Canterbury. Vitalian chose the Greek monk Theodore, born at Tarsus, and versed in ecclesiastical law. Theodore arrived at Canterbury in May 669 with very extensive powers, and although he was a septuagenarian he worked with ardour. For the meddlesome activity of Wilfrid he substituted methodical administration. He dismembered the dioceses to an excessive extent: he founded new ones; he called a council at Hertford (673), another at Hatfield (680); he gave ecclesiastical legislation to England, where he developed a taste for intellectual culture. When he died (690) the Anglo-Saxon Church had emerged from chaos; it was organized. Above all, it was animated with a lively spirit of proselytism which it seems to have derived from the sister Church of Ireland, with which its relations were intimate. Both of them independently sent to the Continent hosts of missionaries; such men as Willibrord, Columban, Pirmin, and Boniface.

Willibrord was the apostle to Frankish Frisia: not that he preceded all other evangelical labourers in that country. Two generations before him the Gallo-Roman Amand had come from Aquitania to the border of the Scheldt.[1] He settled at Ghent (about 626). After many wanderings he obtained the bishopric of Maëstricht (647). Later (about 650), Cunibert, bishop of Cologne,[2] and Eloi, bishop of Noyon,[3] with the suppport of Dagobert and by his orders, continued the work planned by Amand. Still later (678) the famous Wilfrid,[4] whom we have already encountered on the highways of England, displayed his wandering disposition in the country of the Frisians. In 686 the Anglo-Saxon Egbert[5] endeavoured to carry Christian civilization to these barbarians, and being unable to realize his project, sent his disciple Wigbert in his stead. But all these more or less wandering labourers accomplished no serious result. Amand, himself the most ardent of all, Amand who had wished to

[1] *Acta Sanctorum, S. Benedicti*, ii. 678; Hauck, i. 322.
[2] Boniface, Ep. 109; Hauck, i. 328.
[3] Hauck, *ib.*
[4] Bede, *Hist. Angl.* iv. 12, v. 19.
[5] *Ib.* v. 10; Hauck, i. 432.

baptize the Frisians by force, failed. He left the land of Ghent, discouraged, and later in a new access of discouragement he quitted Maëstricht to go and shut himself up in the monastery of Elnon, near Arras. Willibrord, who arrived only in the sixth rank, found nothing accomplished.

He was born of Anglo-Saxon parents in the county of York.[1] In 664 he passed some time in the monastery of Ripon under the direction of Wilfrid. In 690, at the moment when a missionary's life was open to him, he was under the orders of Egbert. It was Egbert who sent him with twelve companions to take up again the work uselessly undertaken by Wigbert, and to evangelize the Frisians. At this date (690) Pepin of Heristal was master of Frisia as far as the Rhine. On the right bank of this river the country escaped Frankish influences, and its king was Radbod. Willibrord settled in Frankish Frisia, and began by asking the protection of Pepin, who hastened to grant it. Assured of the prince's favour, Willibrord desired the approval of the Pope; for this disciple of Wilfrid had learned the cult of Rome in the school of his master. He therefore went to Italy, presented himself to Pope Sergius, and laid his plan before him: he obtained all the authorizations which he wished to have. Then, fortified with the pontifical investiture, he returned to plough his field. The harvest was abundant. The powerful duke of the Franks rewarded those who became Christians: and crowds presented themselves to receive baptism. Pepin witnessed with joy this spiritual conquest, which also served his political interests, and he set to work to encourage it. But how? Willibrord knew only one system of organization, that which he had before his eyes in England, where the archbishops from the time of Augustine received from the Pope with the pallium the power to consecrate bishops. From Pepin he himself obtained a mission to Rome (695). On his arrival there he appeared before Pope Sergius, who had already seen him three years previously. He asked and obtained archiepiscopal consecration, which together with the pallium gave him power to consecrate

[1] Hauck, i. 433.

bishops. On his return to Frisia he received from Pepin the city of Utrecht as his episcopal see.

As archbishop of Utrecht, Willibrord pursued with ardour his apostolic labours. Gifts poured in from every direction. He was in a position to do good, and he did it. He built churches, founded monasteries, and enlisted a native clergy. This went on well until the death of Pepin of Heristal (714). At this date Radbod became active, and taking advantage of Charles Martel's embarrassment, he invaded Frankish Frisia, destroyed churches, overthrew monasteries, drove out the priests, and restored to honour the worship of idols. But his triumph did not last. Four years later (718), Charles Martel took his revenge, and repulsed Radbod, who died shortly afterwards (719). Willibrord returned to Utrecht and restored the heaps of ruins. When he died (739), Frankish Frisia was won for Christianity. He had sought to convert independent Frisia as well as Denmark; but he had felt the disappointment of the man who sows his seed in a stony place.[1]

Columban and Pirmin, one of Irish, the other probably of Anglo-Saxon origin, separated from each other by a century, evangelized Allemania, that is the country which to-day includes Switzerland, Alsace, and Baden. Columban penetrated there in 610, on the morrow of the day when Thierry II., king of Burgundy, had driven him from Luxeuil, and had sent him into exile. At the invitation of Theodebert, king of Austrasia, he went and settled south-east of the lake of Constance, at a place called Bregenz. Although in the fourth century it had been visited by Christian missionaries, this country was almost wholly pagan, and the few Christians there were hardly Christian except in name. Columban made a fierce war on the worship of idols. His biographer assures us that many pagans asked baptism, and that Christians who had been misled returned to the right way. But in 612, Theodebert, king of Austrasia, was defeated by Thierry, king of Burgundy. Columban then passed into Italy and settled at Bobbio, where he died in 615. His disciple Gall, who

[1] Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, pp. 10–14.

refused to follow him, continued to preach the Christian faith on the border of Lake Constance, and founded the famous abbey of St. Gall.

A century later (724), Pirmin came into that region to work as a missionary, and settled on the island of Reichenau, in the north-western part of Lake Constance. Under the protection of Charles Martel he laboured successfully. But at the end of three years (727) an uprising in the country against the rule of the Franks obliged him to leave. He went to Alsace, where he founded monasteries, and died in 753.

Boniface, the greatest missionary of the Middle Ages, was an Anglo-Saxon, born about 680 in Wessex,—now Devonshire,—and was monk at Exeter, afterwards at Nursling. In 716, seized like many of his contemporaries with the apostolic fever, he left his own country and went to evangelize independent Frisia.[1] The moment was badly chosen, for the duke Radbod, an obstinate pagan, had just defeated Charles Martel and had driven Willibrord from Frankish Frisia. Boniface quickly understood that there was nothing to be done, and returned to his monastery. Later he came back to independent Frisia and was an apostle there, but only long enough to suffer martyrdom. It was not in this country that his life was to be spent: it was in Thuringia, in Hesse until 735, in Bavaria until 742, then in Austrasian France until the eve of his martyrdom. Elsewhere will be noticed the great work which he accomplished in the Frankish Church; here, where it is a question only of the missionary, one has to do with his stay in Thuringia, Hesse, and Bavaria.

These countries did not have to await his coming to receive the seed of the gospel. Conquered in 531 by Thierry I., king of Austrasia, Thuringia had since that time been open to Christian influence. Moreover, since the seventh century it had received the visits of the monks who were the Irish companions and disciples of Columba. One of these, Kilian, suffered martyrdom at Würzburg.[2] As for

[1] Willibald, *Vita Bonifacii*; Hauck, i. 442; Ozanam, p. 171.

[2] Fr. Emmerich, *Der heilige Kilian*, Würzburg, 1896; "Vita Kiliani," *Neues Archiv*, xxviii. [1902] 232; Hauck, i. 386.

Bavaria, it felt in the seventh century the influence of Luxeuil, which sent monks there, notably Eustasius.[1] At the opening of the eighth century it was evangelized by the Frankish bishop Rupert (Hrodbert), who was stationed at Salzburg.[2] But neither Kilian nor Rupert nor the Irish monks nor the Frankish missionaries exercised a profound influence. Beneath a veneer of Christianity, Thuringia and Bavaria were still pagan countries when Boniface visited them. He came to Thuringia in 719 and presented himself as a delegate of the Pope, as he actually was. This Anglo-Saxon had a devotion to the Pope like that of his seniors, Wilfrid and Willibrord, who had inoculated him by both precept and example. He believed he could undertake nothing without the approval of Rome, without its authorization. Before launching himself upon the apostolic career he insisted on making the pilgrimage to Rome (in the autumn of 718). He passed several months in the company of Pope Gregory II. From this pontiff he received full powers for the evangelization of Thuringia. It is probable that he even received his name from Gregory II., for at first he was called Winfrid, and did not take the name of Boniface until about 719.[3]

Hardly had Boniface arrived in Thuringia when he learned that the champion of paganism in Frisia, Radbod, was dead. He believed the moment had come for him to resume the apostolate begun two years before; and he betook himself to the venerable Willibrord. But he soon understood that his place was elsewhere. He came back into Thuringia and set to work. The results were marvellous. Thousands of pagans asked and received baptism. A fold was needed for this flock; pastors were needed. These were lacking. Boniface sent a messenger to inform the Pope, and to ask instructions. The response of Gregory II. was to summon him into his presence: so in 722, Boniface again made the journey which he had already taken in 718. For a second time he went to Rome, received episcopal consecration

[1] Hauck, i. 369.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* 372.
[3] Willibald, 5; Hauck, i. 458.

(30th November 722),[1] drew up in writing an oath of submission to the Apostolic See, to its maxims and its usages. He was the Pope's man; he was also Charles Martel's man: upon his departure from Rome (723) he made his way to the powerful Frankish duke, declared himself to be his faithful subject, and obtained his protection. This double patronage gave him, upon his return to the forests of Thuringia and Hesse, a wonderful ascendancy. Conversions were multiplied. Informed of this, Pope Gregory III. sent the laborious missionary the pallium which made him an archbishop, and conferred on him the power to consecrate bishops (732). England, for her part, procured him money, ornaments, fellow-workers, both men and women. Boniface founded monasteries, built churches, and provided them with priests.

Still he was not satisfied. Beyond Hesse, beyond Thuringia, lay Bavaria. Boniface (735) decided to evangelize Bavaria. But hindered by the duke Hubert, he yielded to discouragement. The eyes of this apostle were then turned towards Saxony. He dreamed of making that country Christian, and for a third time he went to Rome to ask of the Pope authorization to preach the gospel to the Saxons (738). Was he to go to Saxony? No, Gregory III. was interested in Bavaria. By command of the Pope, then, Boniface returned to the country from which he had come. He founded the episcopal sees of Ratisbon, Frisingue, Salzburg, and Passau (740). When this had been done he returned to Thuringia, where he founded the bishoprics of Buraburg, Würzburg, and Erfurt (741).[2] The year following, Eichstadt, too, acquired a bishop. Then this indefatigable apostle, at the invitation of Carloman, devoted himself to the reform of the Frankish Church, until the day when, seized once more by the fever of proselytism, he left the episcopal see of Mayence, which he had occupied since 745, and went among the Frisians, a course which gained for him a martyr's crown (5th June 754).[3] After he died, paganism again reigned in northern Frisia; but its domination was approach-

[1] Hauck, i. 464.
[2] Hauck, ii. 368.
[3] *Lettres de Boniface*, 50.

ing its end. Gregory, Lindger, Willehad, Alberic continued the work begun by Boniface. Charlemagne put his power at their disposal. The result was that at the opening of the ninth century, Frisia was Christian.

At this date Saxony, too, was conquered for Christianity. For a long time it had been the objective point of the missionaries. Boniface had wished to carry the gospel into that country. Before him, certain Anglo-Saxons had brought it there: after him, others did the same. But Boniface died before he had realized his plan, and those who penetrated into Saxony had obtained nothing except, at times, martyrdom.[1] The Saxons regarded Christianity as the mark of Frankish domination. They remained obstinately pagan, because they wished to remain independent. Yet in 772 there arrived among them a missionary who was to shatter their opposition. This man, the method of whose apostolate overthrew all barriers, was Charlemagne.[2]

Upon his first expedition into Saxony, Charlemagne destroyed the fortress of Eresburg, and cast down the national idol Irminsul, whose temple he pillaged. Was he already thinking of subduing the Saxons, and imposing Christianity upon them? Perhaps; yet the measures to which he confined himself give the impression that he wished only to punish turbulent neighbours, and to inflict retaliation. However this may have been, the religious question was raised four years later, with greater precision. The Saxons (776), who for the third time had attacked the Frankish frontier with fire and sword, felt the hand of Charlemange descend upon them heavily and terribly. Their only plank of safety was submission. They did submit; and as a pledge of their good disposition, they asked to be baptized. Charlemagne took them at their word, and had those baptized upon whom he had laid his hand.[3] But at that time the work could be only begun. The year following (777), at the great assembly of Paderborn, it was fully carried out. From all parts of Saxony multitudes hastened

[1] Hauck, ii. 368.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* 370; Ozanam, p. 229.
[3] Hauck, ii. 374.

and had themselves baptized in the sight of their master. Saxony was Christian; there remained only to fortify its faith, and for that purpose, to instruct it. Such was the idea of Charlemagne. By his orders numerous missionaries—among whom were Sturm, abbot of Fulda, and Willehad—brought the gospel to the new converts, destroyed the pagan sanctuaries, and replaced these by churches. While the apostles of Christ were engaged in this pious work, Charlemagne went to wage war in Spain.

He did not long remain there. Indeed, hardly had he left Saxony when Widukind entered the country. Widukind was the champion of national independence. He had fled to Denmark so as not to surrender to the powerful king of the Franks. When the favourable moment came, he appeared in the midst of his countrymen, aroused their courage, implored them to shake off the alien yoke, and at the same time to abandon a religion imposed by the foreigner. His appeal was heard. At this call the Saxons, heedless of the promises which they had made at baptism, armed themselves, drove out or killed the monks and priests, destroyed the churches, and devastated the country as far as the Rhine. Charlemagne hurried from Spain, dispersed the rebels, who fled at his approach, re-established order in the regions across the Rhine, and then went into Italy, where his presence was needed (781). The year following, Widukind (782) reappeared, and by a ruse of war defeated an army of Franks on the banks of the Weser. This success met with a terrible retaliation. Charlemagne caused more than four thousand Saxons to be beheaded, and then declared war without quarter against the rebels. This savage suppression ended in triumph. After three years of desperate conflict, Widukind surrendered. Accompanied by the principal Saxon leaders, he appeared before Charlemagne at Attigny, made his submission, and received baptism (785).

This gave great delight to Charlemagne. He at once informed Pope Adrian of the happy event of which the Church of Attigny had been the witness. At his request, festivals and actions of grace were celebrated throughout the

Western Church. Now that Widukind had become a Christian, the conversion of Saxony was complete. In consequence of this, Charlemagne adopted certain administrative measures. About 787 he founded the bishoprics of Minden, Bremen, and Verden; and at that time granted to Saxony the statute generally known as *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniæ* which required all Saxons upon pain of death to be baptized, and forbade them under the same penalty to engage in pagan practices, and which by means of the tithe provided for the support of the priesthood.[1]

Some years later he discovered that his expectations, while not altogether unfounded, were too optimistic. Southern Saxony accepted its lot with resignation, but such was not the case with the northern region. In 792 a formidable rebellion broke out there. This uprising was not at all the work of Widukind, who, on the contrary, after his own conversion, had been wholly devoted to the cause of the Franks. The discontent of the people came from the policy of oppression to which they were subjected, and above all from the tithes: "the tithes," admits Alcuin, "have destroyed the faith of the Saxons."[2] In asking these converts of yesterday to provide for their priests, Charlemagne had too much presumed on their goodwill and on their faith. What was now to be done, and what was to be the end of the conflict? Evidently he could not yield. Here, as in all his undertakings, he insisted on having the last word. He had it, beyond a doubt. By his orders thousands of Saxons, men, women, and children, were banished from their native land, and transplanted either into Swabia or into the country of the Franks: and this exodus, which began in 795, lasted until 804. At this date one-third of the population had been uprooted. Those who remained derived profit from the lesson, and obeyed the commands of their master. Saxony became definitely Christian. To the three bishoprics founded about 787, Charlemagne added two others, that of Münster and that of Paderborn (about 804).[3]

[1] *Leges*, ii. 48; Hauck, ii. 386; Hefele, iii. 635.
[2] Alcuin, *Ep.* 107.
[3] Hauck, ii. 406, 408.

SECOND PERIOD

In the course of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries the Roman Church re-entered England from which it had been driven by the barbarians; and it extended its eastern frontier from the Scheldt to the Elbe. In the three centuries which followed, were opened to it, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, Moravia, Pannonia, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. As to Russia, which at that time also began to become Christian, its conversion was the work of Constantinople. This, however, does not concern us here.

From 823, Louis the Debonnair undertook the evangelization of Denmark, confiding this mission to Ebbon, archbishop of Reims, whom he had previously sent to Rome to ask of Pope Pascal I. full powers in conformity to the precedent set by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Harold, the Danish king, whose throne was threatened, had asked the support of the Franks. It was thus certain that he would give a welcome to the apostle of Christ.[1] He received him, indeed, with open arms, and at Mayence, three years afterwards, he was baptized in the presence of Louis the Debonnair. On his return he took with him the pious monk Anschair, who aspired to the martyr's crown. The evangelization of Denmark was begun under the happiest auspices. But the realization did not correspond to the promise. Harold had scarcely come into his kingdom when he was driven out (827). Ebbon, discouraged by difficulties, could hardly do more than appear in the country which had been confided to him; and he soon sought a pretext of returning to France (826). Anschair, it is true, was a man of a different sort. He worked with untiring energy. And Louis the Debonnair, who appointed this holy man as archbishop of Hamburg, asked Pope Gregory IV. to grant him the pallium (831), and, in a word, did all in his power to help him.[2] It was a useless endeavour. Hamburg (846) fell a prey to pirates, and Anschair was forced to retire to Bremen. The

[1] Hauck, ii. 669; Jaffe, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, Lipsiae, 1886, 2553; Ozanam, p. 276.

[2] Jaffe, 2574.

Danish king Eric the Old, who had protected him, died, and his successor was an enemy of Christianity. After several trying years, Anschair succeeded in gaining the sympathy of his persecutors; but he left this world just as he was about to reap the fruits of his long and painful labours (865). Two generations were to pass before another archbishop of Hamburg, Unni, should resume the conversion of Denmark (935). And Christianity did not really take possession of that country until the days when the Danish king Suenon and his son Canute (1035), both of whom were converted in England, required it of their subjects.[1] Denmark was then under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Hamburg, who alone had the canonical right to consecrate its bishops. Canute sought to shake off this yoke,—a yoke which was grievous since Denmark was thus delivered over to German influence,—but he did not succeed. About 1060 the king Suenon II. tried again to accomplish the same thing; but was unsuccessful. In 1104, however, Pope Pascal II. decided to make Lund an archbishopric. From that time on Denmark was freed from German guardianship.[2]

The origins of Christianity in Sweden are closely associated with those in Denmark. Like the latter country, Sweden was first evangelized by Anschair (830); then a second time by Unni, archbishop of Hamburg, who died at Birka (936). But notwithstanding the efforts of these two missionaries, Sweden remained almost wholly pagan until the beginning of the eleventh century. The situation was changed (1008) when King Olaf Schooskoenig, the Clovis of Sweden, submitted to baptism. His example led his subjects to follow him; and Christianity took root in a country which nevertheless remained partly pagan until the day when the king Inge (1075) waged war on idols. It was then that Sweden became Christian. But as yet it did not make its own bishops; it received them from Hamburg, and was therefore merely a satellite of Germany. In 1152, Pope Eugenius III. endeavoured to sever this bond, and ordered his legate Nicholas Breakspear to found an archbishopric in

[1] Hauck, iii. 660.

[2] *Id.* ii. 683, iii. 80, 636.

Sweden; but he failed. Twelve years later, Pope Alexander III. was more successful. He established the archbishopric of Upsala. Sweden escaped the influence of Frederick Barbarossa. That was Alexander's intention.[1]

It may be said that the Norwegians went of their own accord to seek the faith among the Christians of England, Ireland, and France, with whom they came in contact on their warlike incursions. In the tenth century the Christian idea thus succeeded in gaining a number of adherents in Norway. Among these disciples of Christ was King Haakon the Good (middle of the tenth century). He endeavoured to propagate his belief among his people. His project failed, but a half-century later the kings Olaf Tryggwason (1000) and especially Olaf Haraldson (1030) worked among their people with the same end in view. Olaf Haraldson, who resorted to violence, fell a victim to the hatred which was excited by his immoderate zeal; but after his death Norway was Christian. Like its two neighbours it gravitated towards Hamburg, but like them it acquired its freedom. The pontifical legate Nicholas Breakspear, who has already been mentioned, founded the bishopric of Drontheim (1152). Thus the Norwegian Church was detached from German influence twelve years before the Swedish Church, which, as we have seen, was not freed until 1164. Finally, it may be said that the two Olafs evangelized their nations by the help of priests whom they had invited from England.

About 860, Boris, king of Bulgaria, desiring to gain the sympathy of the Frankish princes, determined to introduce Christianity into his kingdom. This innovation was not liked by his subjects, who were joined to their idols, and wished to keep them; but their resistance was drowned in blood: soon all the Bulgarians, that is, all who had not been slaughtered, received baptism. After this, Boris took pains to find preachers to instruct his people, and he asked for them at Ratisbon, Rome, and Constantinople. Pope Nicholas I. hastened to respond to the invitation, so that Bulgaria was evangelized by Roman priests with the bishop Formosus at

[1] Hauck, iii. 80.

their head. But the Latin Church was not long in losing this field, which it had begun to cultivate. Boris wished to make Formosus archbishop of Bulgaria; but the Pope opposed it. Then the wily Bulgarian, who insisted on having an archbishop, asked for one at Constantinople, and at once his wish was gratified. From this time (870) Bulgaria was separated from Rome for ever.

In 846, Moravia was still pagan. In that year Louis Germanicus, no doubt preoccupied with the conversion of his country, put at its head Rastiz, a Christian, who obliged the Moravians to be baptized, and sent German missionaries to teach them. But after some years (855) Rastiz entertained the idea of making Moravia an independent kingdom. Consequently he drove out the German missionaries, and at Constantinople asked for apostolic labourers; and his request was most welcome. Cyril and Methodius, two brothers, were sent to him. They came (864), said mass, employing the Slav language, which gave them immense popularity. Meanwhile throughout all the East resounded the cry of Photius against Rome (866). Pope Nicholas I., in the presence of the vast conflagration which broke out under his very eyes, hastened to take part, and summoned the two missionaries from Moravia.[1] They responded to the invitation of the pontiff, and came to Rome (868). They were the centre of attentions, and when Methodius—Cyril died at Rome—returned to the Slavs, he put his prestige at the service of the Pope. Moravia remained faithful to Rome; but this did not last long. In 906 the Bohemians and the Hungarians, who were still pagans, subdued that country, and divided its territory between them. Moravia relapsed into paganism. Later it returned to Christianity and was united to the Church of Prague. It was endowed with an archbishopric—Olmütz—in the second half of the eleventh century.[2]

The evangelization of Pannonia is intimately connected with that of Moravia. These two works were due to

[1] Lapôtre, pp. 91, 92, 109; Hauck, ii. 699.
[2] Hauck, iii. 199, 734.

the same labourer. To reach Rome, Cyril and Methodius crossed Pannonia. Chozel, the duke of this country, received them with honour, and at first expressed a desire to have missionaries who had been trained by them: then he asked the Pope to send Methodius to him.[1] Circumstances favoured his wishes. Rastiz, king of Moravia, was at this very time dethroned by his nephew Swatapluk (870). Temporarily leaving the Moravians in revolution, Methodius on his way from Rome went into Pannonia. He counted on being an apostle to this great branch of the Slav family. This he actually was, but not without great trials, and for the following reason. When Charlemagne established the archbishopric of Salzburg (798), he put Pannonia under its jurisdiction. Chozel asked and obtained from Rome an archbishopric for his missionary, so that he might evangelize the country and give it a religious organization, without depending on the Germans. The Pope, indeed, saw the difficulties which this measure would raise, and to avert them he imagined an ingenious expedient. He restored the metropolitan see of Sirmium which had not existed for centuries: he gave it to Pannonia, and appointed Methodius as its titular archbishop. The latter was thus regarded as occupying a see far more ancient than that of Salzburg, and as continuing an order which had been interrupted by an irregular encroachment. But the Germans were not deceived by this fiction. From their point of view the archbishop Methodius was an intruder, whose presence in Pannonia was an outrage on the most indisputable rights of the archbishop of Salzburg. In 870, Methodius was summoned before the Bavarian council.[2] There he was insulted, 'stricken,' deposed, and condemned to prison. But he was energetically defended by Pope John VIII., who resisted the German bishops and Louis Germanicus, their protector, and he finally remained master of the situation. At the end of a year and a half Methodius regained his liberty, went back to Pannonia, and to Moravia, which he successfully evangelized. But the

[1] Hauck, ii. 699.
[2] Lapôtre, pp. 116, 118; Hauck, ii. 208, 701.

Germans did not surrender. They denounced Methodius to Pope John VIII.; and accused him of employing the Slav language when he said mass. This new campaign failed, however, as the former had failed. The death of Chozel was necessary to bring Pannonia again under German control.

In 848, fourteen Bohemian princes came to Ratisbon, presented themselves to Louis Germanicus, and asked to be baptized. In taking this step they wished simply to avoid being considered and treated as barbarians by the emperor of the Franks. The motive of their conversion was purely political; moreover, they did not succeed in carrying their people with them. Thirty years later (873), Borisvoi, who was regarded as the first duke of Bohemia, fearing to share the lot reserved for barbarians, had himself and his family baptized by Methodius. In this way he avoided being swallowed up by his powerful Western neighbours. But he could not rescue his people from their patronage; for in 875 his eldest son Spitignef went to Ratisbon and recognized the suzerainty of Arnulf. This humiliating situation had its proper consequences. The Bohemian nation hated the Germans, who sought to oppress it; consequently it hated the idea of Christianity, which the Germans represented and propagated. In 926, upon the death of Wratislas, the second son of Borisvoi, a pagan revolution occurred, fomented by Dragomir, the widow of the dead king. Christian priests were banished; churches were destroyed. This anti-Christian movement was also intended to be anti-German; that was its ruin. In 929, Henry I., the German emperor, sent his army into Bohemia. All resistance gave way before him. He entered Prague as a conqueror, and deprived the queen Dragomir of her powers. In the place of the mother he set the son Wenceslas, a young man who was hardly twenty years of age. Nominated by the emperor, he was the emperor's man, recognized his sovereignty, and behaved as his devoted vassal. He was at heart a German; he was also a Christian. It was owing to him that the priests were recalled from exile, that churches were rebuilt, and that Bohemia was ploughed over by missionaries, who preached the

gospel there. It was ploughed over by soldiers who obliged it to embrace the Christian faith. For Wenceslas followed the example set by several of his associates; he made the acceptance of the gospel compulsory.

This reign of force lasted for six years, at the end of which time that took place which had taken place in 926—with a murder to boot. A general discontent was manifested. It was exploited by Boleslas, a brother of the king. The latter assassinated Wenceslas, took his place, and restored the religious policy of his mother Dragomir to a place of honour. And this reaction had the same fate as that attempted by Dragomir. At the end of fourteen years, Otto I. came into Bohemia, conquered it, and united it to Germany (950). From this time Boleslas, far from opposing the Christian propaganda, favoured it (967). His son, Boleslas II. (967–999), worked with ardour for the spread of the gospel; yet Bohemia was without a bishop until 978. At this date the emperor Otto II., after consultation with Pope John XIII., gave it a bishop, whose see was fixed at Prague. But it can be understood in what a state the work of evangelization was found, after a quarter of a century of compulsion. The first bishop, Deothmar, died discouraged, declaring that his people were under the rule of the devil. His successor, the famous Adalbert, disheartened by the immorality of those in his diocese, took refuge first at Rome (988). Returning to Prague by order of his superiors (992), he left again almost directly, and after a second stay at Rome went to evangelize the Prussians, who granted him a martyr's crown (997).

Poland[1] in the middle of the tenth century was still pagan. In 986 its duke Mieczylas (Miseco) married Dombrowka, daughter of Boleslas, king of Bohemia. Dombrowka was a Christian, and had a great ascendency over her husband. At the end of a year of married life, Mieczylas, persuaded by his wife, received baptism, and ordered his subjects to be baptized (967). After this time Poland was Christian.

[1] Ch. Schiemann, *Russland, Polen und Liefland*, i. 383; Hauck, iii. 202.

The priests whom Dombrowka called to baptize herself and her people came from Bohemia. They used the liturgy of Methodius the great missionary. Thus Poland made its entry into Christendom under the auspices of the Slav rite. But this it soon abandoned, and for the following reason. Mieczylas, threatened by the Wendes, had asked for the protectorate of the emperor Otto I. The latter, anxious for political reasons to be of service in the conversion of Poland, founded the bishopric of Posen, which he committed to Jordan, a German, and which he annexed to the archbishopric of Magdeburg (968). Moreover, in 977, Mieczylas lost Dombrowka his wife, and then married Oda, a princess of German origin. Wherever it was possible, Oda substituted German for Slav priests. Thanks to German influence, Christian Poland was drawn into the Roman orbit from which the first missionaries had kept it aloof.

Provided with a bishopric since 968, Poland shortly afterwards obtained an archbishopric under the following circumstances. In 997, Boleslas the Brave, duke of Poland, having learned that Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, had suffered a martyr's death at the hands of the Prussians, had his bones collected and buried at Giessen. Three years later the emperor Otto III., who was greatly devoted to Adalbert, went to pray at his tomb, and to honour his memory, founded an archbishopric at Giessen (1000). This measure, which separated Poland from the archbishopric of Magdeburg, separated it in like manner from German influence and prepared the way for its complete independence.

The Hungarians[1] invaded the valley of the Danube in 862, and for almost a century ravaged the country and terrorized all Central Europe, notably Bavaria and Moravia. After 944, Germany, which had been terrorized, fought several victorious battles, resisted the Hungarians, and then, conscious of its force, gradually assumed a threatening attitude towards them. Rendered prudent by danger, the Hungarians gave up their career of pillage, adopted customs which were more or

[1] Hauck, iii. 150, 166, 175, 180; K. Schrödl, *Passavia Sacra*, p. 77, Passau, 1879.

less civilized, and sought to gain the friendship of their formidable Western neighbours. After the year 973 they were successful in this. The emperor Otto II. had friendly relations with the Hungarian duke Geysa. This relationship had as its immediate consequence the evangelization of Hungary by Piligrim, archbishop of Passau. Piligrim wished to carry the Christian faith to the barbarians who for three generations had been ravaging Germany. At first he sent them priests; then he resolved to risk his own person, and he went into the midst of the Hungarian populace. His efforts were rewarded, and in a short time five thousand Hungarians received baptism at his hands, while many others gave hope of conversion. Piligrim then formed an extensive plan. He had the idea of establishing bishoprics in Hungary—of establishing them himself, and consequently of obtaining the pallium, and of transforming the bishopric of Passau into an archbishopric. The matter would have been very simple if only the emperor Otto II. had deigned to intervene. But Piligrim met with no support from that quarter. Reduced to reliance on himself alone, and on his own ability, he used fictitious literature, which was then in great vogue, to attain his object. To Pope Benedict VI. he presented a series of pontifical documents manufactured from beginning to end, the purport of which was that an archiepiscopal see situated at Lorch had previously existed, extending its jurisdiction over the whole of Hungary, that the rights of Lorch had passed to Passau, and that to grant an archiepiscopal see to the latter city was to restore to it its former rank (973). This fiction did not have the success expected. Rome took no action, and Piligrim did not receive the pallium which would have put him at the head of an ecclesiastical province. Moreover, the political events which had at first favoured his apostolate were shortly afterwards adverse to it. Piligrim left much to be accomplished. Hungary was not converted to Christianity until the time of the prince Stephen (997–1038). To him Pope Sylvester II. granted a royal crown.

THIRD PERIOD

After the twelfth century the Church of Rome penetrated into Pomerania, Livonia, Esthonia, Courland, Prussia, and Lithuania. Several of its missionaries, notably Francis of Assisi and Raymond Lully, endeavoured to evangelize the Mussulmans. But they were not successful. Francis of Assisi, who went to Damietta, having treated the Egyptian Soudan with severity, was contemptuously dismissed (1219); and Raymond Lully, after various fruitless wanderings, was stoned to death at Tunis (1315).

The evangelization of Pomerania began in 1124.[1] It was undertaken by Otto the German bishop of Bamberg; but the initial step was taken by Boleslas III., duke of Poland, under the following circumstances. For a long time coveted by the Danes and Poles, Pomerania at the beginning of the twelfth century fell definitely into the power of Poland. In 1120 the duke Boleslas, who had first subdued the Pomeranians, promised to leave them in peace, provided they became converted to Christianity. The condition was accepted, and Boleslas sought missionaries. He applied first to the Polish clergy and asked for men, but in vain—we have seen that the Church of Poland had hardly been a century in existence. An adventurer, the Spanish bishop Bernard, who volunteered, made a wretched failure. Despairing of the cause, Boleslas turned to Germany, and made an appeal to Otto, the zealous bishop of Bamberg. This time his wishes were complied with. In May 1124, Otto, armed in advance with the authorization of Rome and of the empire, went among the Pomeranians. The pomp which he displayed in the presence of the barbarians gave him immense prestige. Moreover, the chief men of the country who were allied to Boleslas used their influence energetically. The success was complete. In less than a year Otto, aided by those who accompanied him, administered baptism to more than 22,000 persons, and founded eleven churches. He set himself at once to the task of providing a bishop for Pomerania. But even before the new diocese was

[1] Hauck, iv. 569, 588.

founded the German archbishop of Magdeburg and the Polish archbishop of Gnesen had a dispute concerning it. As always happens in such cases, the conflict had a dilatory effect. For fifteen years Pomerania had no bishop. At length (1140) Innocent II. hit upon an excellent solution of the problem. He decided that the Pomeranian diocese should be dependent neither on Magdeburg nor on Gnesen, but on the Holy See. Consequently he consecrated the first bishop Adalbert, whose see was fixed at Wollin, then—as Wollin was shortly afterward destroyed by the Danes—it was transferred to Kammin.

In 997[1] the Prussians settled east of the lower Vistula received a visit from Adalbert of Prague, who came to evangelize them. At the end of ten days they killed him. Twelve years afterwards (1009) they did the same to Bruno of Gerfurt and his eighteen companions who had renewed the attempt of Adalbert. These savage acts cooled the zeal of the missionaries. It was only at the beginning of the thirteenth century, that is, two hundred years later, that apostles carried the gospel to the Prussians. At this time two Polish prelates, Gottfried and Christian (1207), came to preach the Christian religion to the descendants of men who had formerly assassinated Adalbert of Prague and Bruno of Gerfurt. They were armed with the approval of Innocent III., and what was of more practical value, they were protected by the Polish duke Conrad of Mazovia. Gottfried died a short time afterwards. Christian, who remained at his post, laboured actively. Aided by companions who came from the monasteries, he preached and won over some men of importance among the Prussians whose example had influence upon the people. Being aware of these excellent results, Innocent III. appointed Christian bishop of Prussia (1215). But suddenly a pagan reaction occurred. The inhabitants of the diocese of the new bishop, thinking perhaps that the religious apostolate of which they were the objects concealed a plan of conquest, made war upon the Christians. Christian, alarmed at this,

[1] Petrus de Dusburg, *Chronicon terræ Prussiæ; scriptores rerum prussicarum*, i. 21–213; Hauck, iv. 642–652.

appealed to Pope Honorius III., who summoned the Germans and the Poles to a crusade against the Prussians (1217). The crusaders came, but failed. Then Christian and his friend Conrad, duke of Mazovia, called the Teutonic knights to their aid. The latter went into action (1230), killed as many Prussians as they could, introduced German colonists into the country, and founded cities. This double labour of extermination and colonization lasted fifty years. In 1283, Prussia was Christian; as for the Prussians, they had well-nigh disappeared. After 1243 the country was divided between four bishoprics, Culm, Pomerania, Ermland, and Samland. Rome had assumed the suzerainty, and had given it in feudal tenure to its vassals the bishops and the knights. Under the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See the bishops possessed a third of Prussia; two-thirds belonged to the Teutonic knights.

Until the eleventh century, Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia were below the Christian horizon.[1] At this time the archbishop of Bremen undertook their evangelization, and sent them a bishop. The attempt failed. For several generations the countries situated north of the Niemen, which the great archbishop of Bremen may be said to have discovered, were forgotten. In the middle of the twelfth century it was traders from Bremen and Lübeck who again drew attention to these countries. Apostles were forthcoming. In 1184 the monk Meinhard arrived in the village of Yakull, situated on the bank of the Duna. He promised the inhabitants to build a fortress, provided they were willing to receive baptism. His proposal was accepted. A part of the population was baptized, and the fortress was built. This sort of arrangement was adopted elsewhere with a like result. Then Meinhard visited the archbishop of Bremen, gave evidence of his apostolic commission, and was consecrated bishop (1186). After this ceremony the new bishop went back to his diocese.

There he met with a painful disappointment. During his absence the people in the diocese had returned in a body

[1] Heinrici, *Chronicon Lyvoniæ*, M. G. Scriptores, xxiii. 231–332; Hauck, iv. 627.

to paganism, and would hear no word about the Christian religion. Meinhard, finding that gentle measures were of no avail, determined to adopt a more energetic policy. At his request Pope Celestine III. called the Germans to a crusade against the Livonians; but the pontifical summons was unheeded. Meinhard died without having obtained the help which he had asked (1196).

The archbishop of Bremen appointed the Cistercian monk Berthold as his successor. As soon as he had received episcopal consecration, Berthold went to take charge of his diocese. He met with threats of death. He retired temporarily, recruited a small army, and when he saw that he had a sufficient force, returned to his diocese. A battle was fought on the banks of the Duna (1198). Berthold, who rode as a brave captain at the head of his troops, fell in the fight; but his cause was at last victorious. The Livonians suffered a crushing defeat. To save their lives they surrendered, received baptism, and asked to have a bishop sent to them. After every one had been baptized, the army of the crusaders departed. But scarcely had this happened when the Livonians apostatized, bathed in the waters of the Duna to purify themselves from their baptism, and forced the Christian priests to sacrifice to idols. The work of Berthold had to be begun again.

It was begun again, and this time was brought to a successful conclusion. The archbishop of Bremen chose his nephew Albert to succeed Berthold, and consecrated him bishop (1199). At once Albert asked of Innocent III. a bull authorizing a crusade against the Livonians. This was generously granted. On his own account he raised an army and a fleet as well as money. Then when all was ready, he began the conquest of his diocese with twenty-three ships (1200). It was a gradual undertaking, and in spite of its success at the beginning, Albert had some reverses to meet. He had to secure a camp and a permanent army. He established the camp at the mouth of the Duna in 1201. It was the city of Riga. He organized the army in 1202. It was the order of the Knights of the Sword. Events followed according to his

wishes. In 1207, after seven years of unequal conflict, the Livonians consented to receive baptism. Ten years later, Esthonia, decimated by repeated massacres, also accepted the Christian religion. And about 1225, Courland, treated with the same persuasive measures, followed the example of its neighbours. All the eastern shore of the Baltic was at length evangelized. Albert established his episcopal see at Riga, a city of which he was the father. There he died in 1229. When he left the world, his work had taken an unexpected direction. At an early date Rome had crossed and overthrown his plans. The Knights of the Sword, who owed their existence to him, had become his rivals, thanks to the diplomacy of the Holy See, and they counterbalanced his authority. By virtue of two other pontifical decisions the bishop of Riga was removed from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bremen, had the power to consecrate bishops on all the eastern shore of the Baltic, but still had no jurisdiction over these prelates. Albert and the bishops whom he had consecrated remained beyond the archiepiscopal organization, and were directly dependent on the Apostolic See.

In the thirteenth century the Lithuanians, called upon by the Teutonic knights to receive baptism, resisted, and adhered to paganism until the middle of the fourteenth century. They were baptized (1387) under the following circumstances.[1] Their duke, Jagellon, asked the hand of the princess Hedwig, heiress to the throne of Poland. His request was granted on condition that he would embrace the Christian faith. Glad to become king of Poland, Jagellon, who henceforth called himself Ladislas III., was baptized, and married Hedwig (1386). Then passing through Lithuania, he overthrew the pagan sanctuaries, destroyed the idols, urged his subjects to become Christians, and promised woollen clothing to those who took his advice. The apostolic mission of the prince, and especially the woollen clothing, had an irresistibly persuasive effect. The Lithuanians came in crowds to be baptized. The nobles were baptized one at a time; as for the lower classes, according to the order of

[1] G. Dlugosz, *Historia polonica*, lib. x., Cracoviæ, 1803.

Ladislas, they were divided into groups, which were sprinkled with holy water. Shortly after this comforting ceremony, Lithuania, received a bishop whose see was fixed at Wilna, and whom Pope Urban VI. placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See. Several historians state that half a century afterwards, the Lithuanians were at heart pagans, and sought to set up their idols once more.

CHAPTER II

The Christian Life: Sacraments and Devotions

E. Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, 4 vols., Antuerpiæ, 1736; L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th edition, Paris, 1909; *Dictionnaire d'archologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (dom Cabrol and dom Leclercq).

The Christian life had as its principle and its support certain religious acts, some of which were performed once only, while others were or could be repeated. Those acts, which had a symbolic character and possessed a power to sanctify, were designated by the term sacraments. The others went simply by the name of devotions.

I. *Sacraments.*—The number of sacraments was not definitely fixed until rather a late date. St. Augustine, who at times treats all religious ceremonies as sacraments, at other times reserves the name for baptism and the eucharist. He recognized then two major and an indeterminate number of minor sacraments. In the seventh century, Isidore of Seville inserted confirmation between baptism and the eucharist. He thus obtained three sacraments, or perhaps even four; for he seems to have reckoned as two sacraments the body and blood of the Lord; as for the minor sacraments, he left them out of view, and did not mention them. In the ninth century the classification of Isidore had considerable vogue. Raban Maur, the greatest theologian of that period, explains that the sacraments are "baptism, unction, the body and blood"; and he adds that the body and blood constitute "the two last" sacraments which end the list. Yet there were those who did not agree; for example, Amolon, who enumerates five sacraments, namely: "exorcism,

baptism, unction, the eucharist, and the imposition of hands." On the whole, the theory of Isidore of three sacraments—of four, when the eucharist is counted as two—was dominant in the Carolingian period, but it was not the law.[1]

Its decline began in the eleventh century. Then rites hitherto unknown or but little considered attracted attention and were surrounded with respect. It was necessary to justify these newcomers and inscribe them on the list of sacraments. The matter would have been simple if the doctors had been able to agree. Unhappily, for more than a century they seemed to be eager to differ. Each one drew up a list according to his preferences which were not those of his neighbour. Pierre Damien enumerated three major sacraments (præcipua sacramenta): baptism, the eucharist, and orders. Nicholas of Clairvaux, in a sermon often attributed to Pierre Damien, taught that the sacraments were twelve in number: baptism, confirmation, the unction of the sick, the consecration of bishops, the unction of kings, the dedication of churches, confession, the sacrament of canons, the sacrament of hermits, the sacrament of monks, the sacrament of nuns, the sacrament of marriage. Geoffroy of Vendôme places among sacraments, the investiture by ring and crosier. Bonizo distinguishes two sacraments of divine origin: baptism and the eucharist; two of apostolic origin: the sacrament of salt received by catechumens, and the sacrament of oil; and, lastly, sacraments of ecclesiastical origin of an indeterminate number. Hugh of St. Victor also gives a threefold division, but in a way unlike that of Bonizo. In the first category he places the sacraments necessary to salvation; these are two in number: baptism and the eucharist. In the second category he puts the sanctifying sacraments: the water of aspersion, the receiving of ashes, the blessing of palms, the sign of the cross, the insufflation of exorcisms, the spreading out of the hands, genuflexion,

[1] St. Augustine, *Ep.* liv. 1, lv. 32–35; Isidore, *Etymologiæ*, vi. 19, 39; *Ep.* i. 8; Raban Maur, *De institutione clericorum*, i. 24; Amolon, *Ep.* ii., Migne, cxvi. 88.

invocation of the Trinity, the act of beating the breast, the bowing of the head. Then in a third class he includes the sacraments which are of service in performing the others: to which belongs the sacrament of dedicating churches, of which he gives a long description. Peter Lombard enumerates seven sacraments. Peter Comestor, in a sermon attributed to Hildebert of Tours, reckons eight or nine. Roland, who wrote after Peter Lombard, places at the head of the sacraments that of the Incarnation: when he became Pope with the name of Alexander III. he made mention of the sacrament of the consecration of virgins. Alger of Liège and certain other conservatives remained faithful to the list of Isidore. In short, throughout the twelfth century the theology of the sacraments was in chaos, a chaos which lasted until the first years of the thirteenth century, for in 1200 we find the council of Vienne still putting holy water among the sacraments.[1] A fortuitous circumstance assured the victory of the list of Peter Lombard. This is how the result was achieved. Following the example of several of his contemporaries, Peter Lombard had drawn up a theological synthesis entitled *Sentences*. His book was characterized by clearness and conciseness, which drew attention to him and gave him considerable vogue, especially at Paris, where Peter had been a professor. In the second half of the twelfth century, Peter Lombard had disciples who took the *Sentences* as their guide, and borrowed from them the list of the seven sacraments. Yet this vogue had not been sufficient to cause the disappearance of the other lists. But in the first years of the

[1] Pierre Damien, *Opuscul.* vi. 9; Nicolas de Clairvaux, among the sermons of Pierre Damien, Serm. lxix.; Geoffroy de Vendôme, *Ep.* iii. 11, Migne, clvii. 215; Bonizo, *Libellus de sacramentis*; Hugo of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, i. 9, 7, voir aussi ii. 5, 7, et ii. 9, 1; P. Lombard, *Sententiæ*, iv. 2; Pierre Comestor, among the sermons of Hildebert, Serm. cxxxii., Migne, clxxi. 927; Roland, *Die Sentenzen*, p. 156 (Gietl); Alexander III., *Ep.* cxxx., Migne, cc. 197; Alger, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis dominici*, i. 8, iii. 4, Migne, clxxx. 761, 836; Hugues of Rouen, *Dialog.* v. 7–16, Migne, cxcii. 1199–1211; Council of Vienne (1200), Mansi, xxii. 710 (sentence of interdict: "non ponantur extra ecclesiam vasa cum aqua benedicta nec clerici ferant aquam benedictam, quum omnia sacramenta ecclesiastica præter illa duo quæ excepta sunt, constet esse prohibita").

thirteenth century, Alexander of Hales and Albert the Great made their appearance. They followed the movement, and regulated their teaching by the *Sentences*. These two doctors exercised in the theological world a sort of dictatorship which was shared by their disciples St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura, who also commented on the *Sentences*, made it, in a way, their gospel. After that, the lists made by Augustine, Isidore, Hugh of St. Victor, and the rest had no importance. They passed for ever into oblivion. The seven sacraments of Peter Lombard were universally admitted; and these seven were: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, marriage. The most that happened was that for a while the divine origin of some of these was denied. But this negation was soon abandoned. In the sixteenth century all the sacraments were derived from Christ. And the council of Trent raised this belief to the height of a dogma (sess. vii. canon 1): "If any one says that all the sacraments of the new law have not been instituted by Christ . . . let him be anathema."

Let us examine the sacraments in succession. Baptism [1] consisted in an immersion repeated three times in the name of the Three Persons of the Trinity. It purified the soul from all stains, and transformed him who received it into a Christian. The ceremony took place on Easter Saturday, or rather on the night which separated that Saturday from Easter Day; a second ceremony was performed on the Saturday before Pentecost for those who had been unable to present themselves on Easter Saturday. Whoever had been baptized could not be baptized a second time; in other words, baptism was never repeated. Besides those two dates, at no time could any one be baptized unless he was in danger of death. No one was admitted to baptism except after a preparation described as the catechumenate. This preparation comprised two periods: the period of distant, and the period of near preparation. The period of distant preparation involved only the presence at the part of the mass called mass of the catechumens. It

[1] Martène, cap. i., *De ritibus baptismi*; Duchesne, chap. ix., *L'Initiation chrétienne*.

lasted one or two years according to local usages, or merely some months; but by many of the catechumens it was prolonged indefinitely, for they recoiled before the obligations of the Christian life, and did not have themselves baptized until the hour of death. The near preparation began some weeks before Easter, that is to say, during Lent. It included reunions at the church, which were called *scrutinies.* These scrutinies had a threefold purpose. They served to teach the catechumens, designated by the name of *competents* or of *elect,* the creed as well as the Lord's Prayer, to exorcise them in order to drive the devil from their bodies, and to acquire information as to their outward conduct, in order to exclude the unworthy. The scrutinies were thus at once, courses of instruction, séances of magic, and inquiries. It need not be said that, as a rule, adults only were admitted to baptism. Children were baptized only when in danger of death.

This discipline was shaped slowly between the second and the fourth century. In the fifth century, with certain local differences upon which we need not dwell, it governed the Western Church. But from the sixth century, and even shortly before that time, it underwent a gradual limitation, the principal agents in which were the conversion of the barbarians and the baptism of infants. The conversion of barbarians whenever it was effected had a national character. A whole people, following its chief, renounced idols and gave itself to Christ. To these collective movements the traditional rules were not applicable. Thousands of men could not be treated as some dozens of individuals were treated. They could not be subjected to the same delays, nor have the same instruction given to them. It was necessary to act quickly, and to utilize the enthusiasm of the first days without waiting for the feast of Easter. It was at Christmas that Remi baptized the Franks; it was also at Christmas that the baptism took place of ten thousand Anglo-Saxons of whom Pope St. Gregory speaks in his letter to Eulogius (viii. 30). In both cases alike the instruction was necessarily summary. In the eighth century, Boniface, who was in haste to evangelize Germany, was also constrained to

shorten the delay and to reduce the amount of preparation. Under Charlemagne and his successors, there was even greater expedition. It may be easily imagined that these repeated infractions of the rule disturbed the baptismal discipline. The baptism of infants completed the work of destruction. Until the sixth century, infants were baptized only when they were in danger of death. About this time the practice was introduced of administering baptism even when they were not ill, a practice the existence of which is proved by the canon of the council of Mâcon (585. 3) and that of the council of Auxerre (590. 18). After the usage came the law. The latter made its first appearance in England, where (691) an assembly presided over by the king Ina ordered, under penalty of a fine, the baptism of infants within thirty days after their birth. From England the law passed into the Frankish countries. In the assembly of Paderborn (785), Charlemagne commanded the Saxons, under penalty of a heavy fine, to have their infants baptized during their first year.[1] In the face of these innovations the hierarchy did its best to maintain the traditional date. Several councils forbade the administration of baptism except in the case of danger of death—unless at the feast of Easter. It was in vain. In spite of the prohibitions of councils, inferior clergy at the instance of the faithful baptized all the year round. The theologians ended by surrendering. A day came when they declared the practice to be praiseworthy, which they had not succeeded in suppressing. Robert Pulleyn recommended parents to have their children baptized as soon as possible. In his commentaries on the *Sentences*, St. Thomas uses the same language. Then, as always happens, the law of the highest bid performed its work. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, various provincial councils decided that infants should be baptized during the first days following their birth.[2]

Compared with other modes of baptism, immersion dis-

[1] *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne* (Catéchumenat), ii. 2609; Hefele, iii. 349 (English council, 691), iii. 637 (assembly of Paderborn, 19).

[2] Robert Pulleyn, *Sententiæ*, v. 21; St. Thomas, *In Sent.* iv. 4, 3, 2.

played remarkable stability. For a long time submerging infants as well as adults in water was regarded as a duty, except in the case of illness, when they were to be baptized. Immersion was thus the only regular mode of administering baptism; infusion, that is, the act of pouring water on the head, was an exception, a kind of dispensation for the sick. It was only in the twelfth century that this state of things began to change, and that one dared baptize by infusion, children who were not ill. The innovation made slow progress. In the thirteenth century, St. Thomas referred to it as a practice little diffused, and little to be recommended. According to him, immersion is the most common, the most praiseworthy, and the surest. In the fifteenth century the situation was reversed. Then baptism was most commonly administered by infusion. Yet immersion was still practised in certain countries. It did not disappear until the eighteenth century.[1]

Confirmation[2] came after baptism. Let us first say a word as to its origin. Baptism was administered by the bishop, surrounded by his clergy. It was a long and fatiguing ceremony, especially when the catechumens were

[1] F. Funk, "Die Enstehung der heutigen Taufform," in *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, i. 478; St. Thomas, *Summ. theol.* iii. 66. 7; *ib.* ad. 2; Infusion was declared legitimate by Stephen II., 754, Migne, lxxxix. 1027. Notice that the present form is comparatively recent: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." During the early Middle Ages the form consisted of the following dialogue: (Priest): "Dost thou believe in God?" (Candidate): "I believe." (Priest): "Dost thou believe in the Son?" (Candidate): "I believe." (Priest): "Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?" (Candidate): "I believe." Each response was followed by an immersion; see dom Puniet, in *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne* (Baptême), ii. 322–341.

[2] Martène, cap. ii., *De ritibus ad sacramentum confirmationis spectantibus*; Duchesne, chap. ix., *L'Initiation chrétienne*; Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 29; Germanic council 742, canons, and letters from Boniface to Cuthbert: "Statuimus ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parrochiam suam sollicite circumeat populum confirmare"; *Dict. d'archéol. chrét.* (chorévêques), iii. 1447–1451; Raban Maur, *De institutione clericorum*, ii. 39; Honorius, *Gemma animæ*, iii. 112, Migne, clxxii. 673; Durand, *Rationale*, vi. 84; Robert Pulleyn, *Senten.* v. 23; St. Thomas, *In Sent.* iv. dist. vii. quæst. 3, art. 2; *Catechism of the council of Trent*, part ii. chap. iii. 15; on Pope Gregory, Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, iv. 56,

numerous. Therefore, in the large churches like Rome and Carthage, the bishop almost always allowed the inferior clergy do everything, reserving to himself the final rite, which, according to local usage, was sometimes the laying on of hands, sometimes the anointing on the forehead. Gradually this rite was regarded as a liturgical act added to baptism but distinct from it, and having special efficacy. There was a persuasion that bishops alone were authorized to lay hands upon the new Christians, or to anoint them on the forehead, and that priests did not have this right without episcopal delegation. Thus arose the sacrament of confirmation, a simple branch which, detached from the tree, lived an independent life and itself became a tree. It was what botanists call growth by grafting.

Having become a sacrament, confirmation kept its traditional place in the liturgy for Holy Saturday. On emerging from the font of baptism, the new Christians were led, or if children, were carried before the bishop, who laid his hands on them, or anointed their forehead with oil. Confirmation therefore directly followed baptism. The rise of rural parishes created for it a new fact and a new danger. Confirmation was separated from baptism; that was the fact. It threatened to disappear; that was the danger. The fact was unavoidable; for the country priests were authorized to baptize, but had not the right to confirm. The danger was great; for Christians baptized by the priests were admitted to communion. Having the same rights as other Christians, they must be inevitably led to forget the rite which they had missed. To obviate this danger, three expedients were imagined: the institution of country bishops (*chorepiscopi*), the "pastoral circuit," and the journey of Christians to the episcopal city. The *chorepiscopi* were priests invested with power to confirm dwellers in the country. For some time they executed their mission, but soon they gave offence to the bishops, who suppressed them. The "pastoral circuit" was a journey which the bishop made periodically in order to confirm those in his diocese. Boniface caused the Frankish councils (742, 744) to publish rules obliging the bishops to

make this journey of which the English bishop Cuthbert had lately given an example. But these rules were often disregarded. Many bishops preferred to oblige their people to come themselves to seek confirmation at the episcopal city on the eighth day after the baptismal ceremony of Holy Saturday. Such was the discipline vouched for by Raban Maur, then three centuries later by Honorius of Autun, which Durand of Mende still preached at the end of the thirteenth century. In order to conform to this legislation, parents were obliged to carry to the bishop their infants, who at this period were baptized a few months after their birth. It was indeed the theologian Raban Maur who taught that children should be confirmed at a very early age. The bishop of Paris, Eudes de Sully, the council of Canterbury (1236), the council of Worcester (1240), legislated according to that opinion. But the parents made no move. When the theologians saw that the people refused to agree to these principles, they made the principles bend, to put them in agreement with the people. In 1280 the council of Cologne (canon 5) forbade the bringing of infants to confirmation before the age of seven years. This rule, which did away with the discipline of the early Middle Ages, answered to the desires of the faithful. That is why a new discipline was founded. Many councils, especially from the time of the sixteenth century, forbade the presentation of infants for confirmation before the age of seven years, and advised that they should wait until reaching a more advanced age. The catechism of the council of Trent, while avoiding the formulation of commands, expressed the same opinion. To the separation *de facto* from baptism was thus added separation *de jure*. Confirmation was no longer linked with baptism of which formerly it had been an integral part.

And this evolution was not the only one. In the course of the century the rites of confirmation underwent various changes. The anointing of the forehead, when it was not already practised, was added at an early day to the laying on of hands, and ended by becoming the essential element. The formulæ also varied. Finally, the bishops, who in former

times had sometimes authorized the priests to give confirmation,—Pope Gregory granted this authority to the priests of Sicily of which he was the metropolitan,—assumed gradually an uncompromising attitude, and reserved to themselves the absolute monopoly of anointing the forehead. The only souvenir that confirmation preserved of its former connection with baptism was that it could not be repeated. The repetition of confirmation was always forbidden, even as in the time when it terminated the ceremony of baptism. As for the scholastic theologians, they were slightly embarrassed by the lack of harmony between the old texts and the rites in force in their own time. But with subtleties and syllogisms, they succeeded in arranging everything. Besides, they were not aware of the greater part of the evolution which had been accomplished.

Let us return to the liturgical discipline of the fifth century.[1] When the baptismal ceremony was finished the new Christian attended the celebration of the holy mysteries, as the mass was already called. At the end of the mass, the consecrated bread and wine were presented to him. He ate the bread and drank the wine. That was called receiving the eucharist or communion. The eucharist therefore came after baptism. It was a sacrament, an august mystery. When the Christian had received it he was "incorporated" in Christ, that is why the consecrated bread and the wine were called the body and the blood of Christ.

As has just been said, the eucharist incorporated the Christian in Christ. A Christian who died without receiving the eucharist had no right to enter heaven. Such was the doctrine which is to be met with about 495, in the

[1] Martène, cap. iii.–v. ; Gelasius, *Ep. ad episcopos per Picenun constitutos* ; Thiel, p. 329 : "Nec ausus est aliquis dicere parvulum sine hoc sacramento salutare ad æternam vitam posse perduci" (he had just cited the passage, John vi. 54) ; St. Augustine, *De peccatorum meritis*, i. 27, 34 ; Fulgentius, *Ep.* xii. 24, Migne, lxv. 390 ; Paschase Radbert, *De corp. et sang.* xix., Migne, cxx. 1328 ; Lanfranc, *Ep.* xxxiii., Migne, cl. 533 ; Theodulf, *De ordine baptismi*, Migne, cv. 239 ; Leidrade, Migne, xciv. 866 ; Magne, Migne, cii. 984 ; William of Champeaux, *De sacramento altaris*, Migne, clxiii., 1039 ; Rupert, *De operibus Spiritus Sancti*, iii. 1, Migne, clxvii. 1641 ; Honorius, *Gemma animæ*, iii. 113, Migne, clxxii. 673.

writings of Pope Gelasius,—a doctrine which, moreover, was derived from St. Augustine. Let us remark, however, that all did not think in this way. When consulted by a deacon as to the case of a Christian who had died suddenly after baptism, but before communion, the bishop Fulgentius answered that incorporation in Christ was procured by baptism, and that baptism was therefore sufficient for salvation. This divergence of opinion lasted for a long time. Paschase Radbert in the ninth century, Lanfranc in the eleventh, took the side of Fulgentius; while Theodulf, Leidrade, Magne, William of Champeaux, and Rupert made salvation conditional on the reception of the eucharist. Practically they acted as if the eucharist was necessary to salvation, and gave the communion to infants as soon as they had been baptized; more exactly, after confirmation, so long as the bishop crowned the ceremony by anointing the forehead; but before confirmation, when for reasons pointed out above, this sacrament was postponed. It is thus that Honorius of Autun shows us new Christians incorporated in Christ (*sic Christo incorporantur*) by receiving the eucharist, and eight days later receiving the episcopal unction.

Little children were incapable of eating the bread, and it was considered sufficient for them to receive the wine.[1] This was explained very clearly by Robert Paululus at the end of the twelfth century. This is what he says: "This sacrament should be given to newborn infants, under the species of blood, with the finger of the priest, which infants naturally suck" (*digito sacerdotis quia tales naturaliter sugere possunt*). Consequently, at the end of the twelfth century little children still made their communion after baptism by sucking the finger of the priest, which had been dipped in the consecrated wine. But then this practice began to make the theologians uneasy, who were anxious to guard the eucharist from any irreverence; and we find a trace of this uneasiness in the

[1] Robert Paululus, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, 20, Migne, clxxvii. 392; Council of Trèves (1227), canon 3; Council of Bordeaux (1255), canon 5; Martène, *De ritibus baptismi*, art. xv. 14; Gratian, *De consecratione*, dist. ii. 36; P. Lombard, *Sent.* iv. 9. 1.

recommendation of Robert Paululus not to give the wine to infants if any danger was to be feared. Under the control of these theological preoccupations, several councils forbade the communion of infants; but this prohibition had the grave fault of striking a blow at a rite with which the faithful had become familiar. Once again the theologians and the people were in conflict. Here is the nice solution devised by the inferior clergy: the priests continued to give wine for the infants to suck after baptism, but it was wine which had not been consecrated. This practice was still in use at the end of the sixteenth century. It need not be said that the old doctrine of the necessity of the eucharist to salvation had been long since forgotten. This oblivion began on the day when the communion of infants had become suspect to the theological leaders. By a very opportune coincidence the theologians then found a text of St. Augustine which declared the communion of infants to be useless for their salvation. Of course, St. Augustine had said nothing of the kind, and the text attributed to him was not from him but from the archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc. But without being arrested by this detail, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and other schoolmen proved by St. Augustine that the eucharist was not necessary to salvation, and that nothing obliged them to give the eucharist to infants.

Baptism and confirmation were not to be repeated. The eucharist, on the contrary, was received frequently, and the communion, that is, the reception of the eucharist, was always one of the principal acts of the Christian life.[1] In the fifth

[1] Gelasius, *Ep.* 37, Thiel, p. 452: "aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius ejusdem mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire"; Eusebius, *Historia Eccl.* vi. 44 (History of the Old Man Serapion); Ordos (published by Mabillon), x. 22, Migne, lxxviii. 1016: "Tradat ei sacerdos eucharistiam dominici corporis intincti vino"; John of Avranches, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, Migne, cxlvii. 37, authorizes the dipping, "summa necessitate timoris sanguinis Christi effusionis"; *Micrologus*, Migne, cli. 989, disapproves of it, and also Humbert, *Adversus Græcorum calumnias*, 32, 33, Migne, cxliii. 951; Pascal II., *Ep.* 535, Migne, clxiii. 442; see also the note of Mathoud in Migne, clxxxvi. 1139; Robert Pulleyn, *Sent.* viii. 3, condemns it, but admits that "pleraque per loca, panis intinctus porrigitur"; see Martène, cap. iii. art. x. 13.

century the Christians of the West, with the exception of the Irish monks, no longer brought the eucharist into their dwellings: the communion except in case of sickness, of which we shall speak presently, was made in church at the close of mass. In order to commune, as much as possible of the consecrated bread and wine was consumed. Pope Gelasius, learning that certain Christians communicated with bread and without wine, severely condemned this practice, which he described as "sacrilege." Communion made with only one of the two elements was therefore an incomplete communion, and there was no excuse for it, except the impossibility of taking the two elements. To render this impossibility less frequent, and therefore to facilitate complete communion, the bread was dipped in the wine; that was called wetting (*intinctio*). In the Church of Alexandria of the third century, the eucharistic bread was dipped in water before being administered to the sick. The dipping is thus of ancient origin. In the period with which we are occupied, and in the Latin Church, the first testimony as to dipping is probably the text of the council of Mâcon (585, canon 6) relative to the eucharistic bread which was left after the communion of the faithful. The council ordered that these remains (*reliquias sacrificiorum*) should be moistened and given thus prepared, to the little children, who were assembled for this purpose on the Wednesday and Friday of every week. Although dipping originated in this way, we know by canon 1 of the council of Braga (675) that it was practised in Spain in the seventh century. From the end of the ninth century it was universally the custom in the Frankish countries. And it is easy to account for this vogue. The drinking of wine caused repulsive incongruities,—incongruities which were, moreover, unavoidable, since all the faithful, including aged people and infants, drank from the same chalice. The dipping did away with this. It therefore corresponded to the requirements of cleanliness and hygiene. But theologians who did not understand the principle uttered cries of alarm. They recalled the fact that Christ had given His body and blood separately to His disciples, and they denounced dipping as a transgression

of the divine law,—a transgression which was damnable except when it was dictated by absolute necessity. Popes Urban II. in the council of Clermont, canon 28 (1095), and Pascal II. (about 1110) approved the protests of the theologians, and in ordinary cases rendered obligatory the separate uses of the bread and wine. Urban II. tolerated—his statement can at least be so interpreted — dipping as an exception; but Pascal II. ordered that the sick and infants alone should communicate with wine, or receive the eucharistic bread without wine.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, dipping was therefore plainly prohibited.[1] But in spite of the pontifical prohibition, it remained for nearly fifty years a practice in most of the churches. Yet about 1150 a compromise movement was apparent among the clergy. Rome condemned dipping; it was given up. Rome wished the communion to be given, except in the case of the sick and infants, with the bread and wine separate: the clergy remained obstinate on this point and gave the communion to the faithful, employing only the bread. This innovation gradually advanced. In the middle of the thirteenth century the use of the chalice by the laity had disappeared in a great number of churches. At the end of the fourteenth century the evolution was everywhere and for ever accomplished. Therefore, when Bohemia thought that it would enforce the former discipline, it paid dearly for this pretension.

The communion, as has already been said, took place at the close of the mass.[2] In the first centuries all Christians, all those who had received baptism and had not been excommunicated for public faults, made their communion. It

[1] St. Thomas, *Summ. theol.* iii. 80. 12, says: "Est multarum ecclesiarum usus in quibus populo communicante datur corpus Christi sumendum non autem sanguis"; but a little farther on we read, "in quibusdam ecclesiis"; Paludanus, *In Sent.* iv. dist. II. i. 1, says that in his time (about 1335) the ancient custom was still in force in certain churches.

[2] Bede, *Ep.* ii. to Egbert, Migne, xciv. 666; Theodulf, cap. xli., xliv., Migne, cv. 204; Strabon, *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, 20, Migne, cxiv. 940–942; Nicolas, *Ep.* xcvii. 9, Migne, cxix. 983; Jonas, *Institutio laïcalis*, ii. 18, Migne, cvi. 202; Chrodegang, *Regula canonicorum* (text of Labbé, which is the only authentic one), 14, Migne, lxxxix. 1104.

seems that it was so in Africa in the time of St. Augustine, and continued for a long time to be so at Rome. But in Gaul and elsewhere there was a tendency to neglect the holy table. There was voluntary attendance at mass, without communion, and people left before communing. To put an end to this centrifugal movement, the council of Agde (506) ordered those who wished to remain Catholics to make at least three communions a year (canon 18). Of course, the theologians desired more frequent communions. Bede would have liked to see the faithful receive the eucharist every Sunday, and on all the festivals of apostles and martyrs. The council of Cloveshoe (747) recommended frequent communion. Theodulf of Orleans required people to commune every Sunday in Lent, the last three days in Holy Week, and on Easter Day. Walafrid Strabon advised daily communion. He even permitted those who heard several masses the same day to communicate at every mass; and Pope Nicholas I., writing to the Bulgarians, exhorted them to communicate every day during Lent. That was the theory, the ideal. This is the reality. Bede tells us that the most pious of the English laity made their communion only at Easter, Christmas, and Epiphany. About 830, Jonas of Orleans observed that most Christians communicated at the three principal festivals of the year. The law of the council of Agde was obeyed; but that was all, so far as the laity was concerned. The monks communicated more often. Theodulf tells us that daily communion was in force among them. Yet it seems that those who took the communion every day were the exception, and that the majority communicated only on Sundays and feast days. In any case it was to this régime that the canons were subjected by the rule of Chrodegang.

In the Carolingian era some attempts were made to oblige the faithful to communicate every month, or even every Sunday.[1] The attempts failed completely, and the law of the

[1] Council of Ratisbon (799), canon 6; *Monum. Germaniæ*, Conciliæ, ii. 52; Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (836), iii. 32; Herard, *Capitula*, 53, Migne, cxxi. 768; Reginon, *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis*, ii. (questionnaire, 56), Migne, cxxxii.

council of Agde remained in force. To it were adapted the ecclesiastical rules of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. At length, however, it was modified, not as being too strict, but as being too lenient: it was modified by mitigation, not by aggravation. The reform was accomplished by the Lateran council (1215), which instead of the three traditional communions was content with one to be made at Easter. This was but little; but it was still too much for the mass of Christians, for Durand, the bishop of Meaux, testifies that in his time—the first half of the fourteenth century—the Lateran law was observed by few of the faithful (*et adhuc pauci inveniuntur*). Yet the piety of Christians had at that time reached its highest point. But it did not turn towards the eucharist. Forsaken by the people, the monasteries, confraternities, and third orders were the refuge of the communion; and even there it scarcely prospered. Moreover, the doctors while recommending the communion, placed conditions upon it which restricted the practice of it. St. Bonaventura thought that one communion a week was sufficient for the holiest souls. St. Antonine and Denis of Chartreux regarded monthly communions as frequent. The statutes of the first confraternity of the Rosary (1470) ordered the members to confess four times a year.

When the hour of death arrived, all Christians regarded it as a duty to communicate.[1] The duty was so imperious that for several centuries communion was administered to the dead, those to whom the communion could not be administered while they were yet alive, even to those who had communicated before their death. St. Benedict, the patriarch of the monastic life, himself committed the eucharist to certain laymen, with directions that they should place it on the breast

285; Lateran council, *Decreta*, cap. xxi.; Durand, *In Sent.* iv. 12, quæst. 5; Bonaventura, *De profectu religiosorum*, ii. 77; see also *Regula novitiorum*, 13; Antoninus, *Summ. theol.*, pars. iii. xiv. 12. 5; Denys le Chartreux, *In Sent.* iv. 12. 5.

[1] Gregory, *Dialog.* ii. 24; Amalaire, *De ecclesiast. officiis*, iv. 41, Migne, cv. 1236; see Menard in his notes on the Sacramentarium, Migne, lxxviii. 473; Gauthier of Orleans, *Capitula*, 7, Migne, cxix. 734; Rodolfe of Bourges, *Capitula*, Migne, cxix. 707; Reginon, *De ecclesiast. discipl.* i. 120.

of a monk who died outside the monastery. In his life of St. Cuthbert, Bede cites a similar instance. He tells us that before carrying the body of the holy bishop into the monastery the monks placed the eucharist upon his breast. Undoubtedly the practice was condemned by several councils; it was therefore not an expression of the official theology. But it expressed the belief which prevailed in the monasteries. This belief was still dominant in the eighth century, then it gradually died out. That explains the fact that the passage from the writings of the Bede disappeared from the manuscripts which have come down to us. It was embarrassing; and it was suppressed. We know it only through Amalaire, who read it in the manuscripts of his day and reported it. Communion was no more administered to the dead but to the dying, including infants of tender years. The parish priests were obliged to have always in reserve portions of the eucharist in order to be ready on all occasions to give the viaticum—as the eucharist administered to the dying was called—to those who needed it. Throughout the greater part of the early Middle Ages they did not ordinarily go themselves to carry the communion to a dwelling, they simply took at the church portions kept in reserve, dipped them in wine and entrusted them to laymen, who brought the precious gift to those who were dying. This was practised until the end of the ninth century. After that time repeated rules enjoined upon the priests to administer the viaticum themselves, without resorting to laymen.

The consecration of the eucharist took place at mass in the presence of all the people.[1] By virtue of legislation begun by the council of Elvira (300), determined by the councils of Agde (506), Orleans (511, 538), of Mâcon (585), developed during the Carolingian era, all the faithful, unless prevented by distance from coming, were obliged to hear mass, and to hear it in full. And this legislation was put into practice. All attended mass. Moreover, from the thirteenth century disobedient Christians, when an occasion

[1] Reginon, *De ecclesiast. discipl.* ii. 57, 64, 69; A. Villien, *Histoire des commandements de l'Église*, pp. 33–51, Paris, 1909.

was presented, were reminded by fines that they should observe their duty. When the mendicant monks appeared, they attracted to their chapels people who often neglected the parish mass in order to hear the mass of the Franciscans or of the Dominicans. The secular clergy defended what they called their rights, in reality their interest. Hence there was a conflict in which the clergy at first victorious (bull of Sixtus IV., 1478), were at length defeated. In 1517, by the bull *Intelleximus*, Leo X. authorized the faithful to attend the mass of the monks on Sundays and feast days.

Every one of the faithful when he went to mass was obliged to bring with him his "sacrifice," that is to say, the bread and wine necessary for the communion.[1] Certain Christians communicated without bringing anything; but Cæsarius of Arles protested against this indelicacy. We find an echo of this protest in the council of Mâcon (585), which forbade coming to mass without offering bread and wine; and we hear the council of Toledo (693, canon 6) ordering that loaves of bread should be brought, and condemning the employment of pieces that had been cut. But we do not know whether this order was in force outside of Spain However that may have been, the offerings brought by the faithful were collected after the reading of the gospel. In large churches the operation was long and laborious. The ministers shared the task. Some collected the bread in a cloth or in a sack—either morsels or small loaves; others carried a basin and poured into it the wine contained in the cans which the faithful handed to them. All was subsequently placed before the altar. This rite was practised up to the ninth century. But at this time the faithful, who more and more neglected the communion, gradually ceased to bring the bread and wine. The ceremony of receiving the offerings fell into disuse, or at least was curtailed. This

[1] Cyprian, *De opere et eleemosynis*, 15, reproaching a rich woman for coming to church "sine sacrificiis"; Cæsarius, *Serm.* cclxv. 2 (appendix to the sermons of St. Augustine); Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, chap. vi.; *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne*, iii. 1479 (Chrismale), i. 3254 (Azymes); Raban Maur, *De inst. cler.* i. 31 (panem infermentatum).

evolution led to another. The eucharistic bread when brought by the faithful was common bread, that is to say, fermented; it gradually gave place to unleavened bread. The use of unleavened bread appears to have been of Irish origin. In any case the Irish were the first to feel the need of a eucharist not subject to decay, since their priests and monks were authorized to carry the eucharist to their homes. Moreover, it is from the writings of Bede and Alcuin, who were neighbours of the Irish, that we meet with the first testimonies concerning this practice. About 820 unleavened bread—as we learn from a passage in Raban Maur—was employed in the Frankish Church. In the eleventh century, when the Greek schism occurred, the use of unleavened bread was supposed to be of apostolic origin.

When the bread and wine had been brought, these elements were placed upon the altar. Then began the rites of the mass, properly so called.[1] They were the most august of all rites. The mass was a drama designed to commemorate and to represent the sacrifice of the redemption accomplished on Calvary. It was the sacrament—that is to say, the symbol—of the passion, the sacrament of redemption, the sacrament of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ. When the drama was finished, the prayer taught by Jesus Himself, the *Pater noster*, was recited. Then the ministers proceeded to break the bread, while the choir, from the seventh century and wherever the Roman usage was followed, sang the *Agnus Dei*. Finally, there was the communion; the faithful received the bread and wine. This bread, and this

[1] St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xx. 21, distinguishes the types of the sacrifice of Christ (Old Testament), the reality of this sacrifice offered on Calvary (*per ipsam veritatem*), and the sacrament or symbol of this sacrifice, intended to recall it to memory (*per sacramentum memoriæ*); *De Trinitate*, iii. 10, where mention is made of "sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus," which is consecrated by a mystical prayer (*prece mystica*) in memory of the passion (*in memoriam pro nobis dominicæ passionis*), and which is sanctified by the Spirit of God (*operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei*). Elsewhere he affirms that the Church is the mystical body of Christ, that the Christian who worthily receives the eucharist is mystically incorporated in Christ. These statements inspired all the literature of the early Middle Ages. Raban Maur, *De instit. cler.* i. 31; see hereafter, Chapter XII.

wine, which had served to commemorate the sacrifice of Calvary, represented the body and blood of the divine victim: they were the sacrament—or sacraments—of the body and blood of the Saviour. And all this was not purely symbolic, for the following reason. The Holy Ghost or the Word—here there was some fluctuation of opinion—descended into the bread and wine, impregnated it with His substance. Thus being deified, the bread and the wine deified all those who communicated.

The mass was therefore the sacrament (symbol) of the sacrifice on the cross. The eucharist was the sacrament of the divine body and blood. That was the expression when one wished to be exact. But conformably to a general law of language, one often made use of abbreviated locutions which were more concise, and it was currently said that the mass is the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, that the eucharist is the body and blood of Christ. Under the influence of these equivocal formulæ, the people grew gradually accustomed to believe that the consecrated bread and wine were no more bread and wine, but that beneath the appearances of these elements was concealed Christ with the body and blood which He had during His sojourn on earth. This is what is called transubstantiation. This belief in the ninth century had numerous adherents in the monasteries. Among others was Paschase Radbert, who made it his mission to defend it and popularize it. It spread progressively: at the end of the eleventh century it became the official doctrine of the Church, while the ancient belief which had been taught by Augustine, Fulgentius, St. Gregory, and Raban Maur was placed in the class of heresies. The idea of the mass and of the eucharist had undergone evolution.

This first evolution led to a second.[1] Since the mass

[1] Mabillon, *In ordinem romanum commentarius prævius*, Migne, lxxviii. 901, thinks that Baronius slightly exaggerates the expansion of the doctrine which attributed the consecration of the wine to mingling or to infusion; but he himself makes considerable admissions (p. 899: "in monasteriis etiam gallicanis plerisque vigebat eadem sententia"). Besides, he cites in opposition to this doctrine, texts of the thirteenth, and even of the sixteenth, century (p. 900); *Micrologus*, 14.

was intended to commemorate the sacrifice on the cross, and caused the Holy Ghost or the Incarnate Word to descend into the eucharistic elements, these elements were consecrated by a "mystical prayer"—to use St. Augustine's words—ordinarily called the "canon," and by numerous signs of the cross interpolated in that prayer. In case of necessity, the wine could be consecrated more expeditiously, simply by pouring some drops of consecrated wine or by dipping a consecrated Host into the unconsecrated wine. Such was the ancient ritual of consecration. In its place the dogma of transubstantiation put a new ritual, which consisted in the utterance by the priest of these words: "This is my body . . . this is the chalice of my blood." These words, formerly designed only to recall the ceremony of the Supper, had the magical power of bringing the body and blood of Christ in the likeness of the bread and wine which had disappeared. Nevertheless this new order of things was not instantaneously established. In the eleventh century, partizans of transubstantiation were to be found who, like the author of the *Micrologue*, attributed this miracle to the sign of the cross. Moreover, so far as the wine was concerned, the ancient practices persisted for a long time. Throughout the twelfth century the wine was still consecrated by dipping a consecrated host, or by pouring consecrated wine into it. On this point we have the admission of Baronius (*ad annum*, 1192, 24 *fin.*). After telling of a eucharistic miracle in which water had been transubstantiated by touching the body of Christ, he adds: "Quod semper fieri in vino quum commixtio intercederet tota antiquitas existimavit."

The Christian fell, sooner or later, into sin. He stained his soul, and was therefore obliged to purifiy it. He could not seek this purification in baptism, since this sacrament was not to be repeated. His sole resource was penance. Practised since the origin of Christianity it took its place slowly among the sacraments; hence its right to be mentioned here.

Penance went through several phases, two of which have special importance, and first demand attention. We may

call them the régime anterior to confession, and the régime of confession; or the old and the new régime.

In the old régime the great dividing line of sins was scandal.[1] Non-scandalous sins were distinguished from scandalous sins. To each of these two categories correspond a special system of penance. Non-scandalous sins were subjected to private, scandalous sins to public penance.

Private penance consisted in practising, independent of all ecclesiastical supervision, acts which were more or less painful, notably fasting, abstinence, prayer and almsgiving. The absence of supervision was the essential characteristic of this penance. The bishop, or the priest his representative, intervened only as a preacher, exhorting from the pulpit the faithful to expiate faults by fasting and by the other exercises which have been mentioned. The faithful went to church and listened to the preaching, which proved to them the necessity of penance. When they came home they conformed, as they thought proper, their conduct to the theological instructions; but they did not make known the state of their conscience either to the bishop or to the priest; God alone was a witness of their faults, a witness of their repentance and expiation. Nevertheless the episcopate succeeded in making Lenten fasting almost obligatory. And for most of the faithful penance consisted only in observing the quadragesimal fast collectively and semi-publicly. The penance of Christians was therefore not always done in the presence of God alone; it remained private, however, in that it was supervised by no one, and in that the faults which led to it were revealed to no one. And then—this is a point of importance—this penance did not oblige the culpable to abstain from the eucharist. The Christian who had only non-scandalous faults on his conscience could lawfully receive the eucharist, after having previously asked God's pardon, by almsgiving, fasting, or prayer. The bishop at the council of Mâcon, who ordered the faithful to bring to mass the bread and wine needed at communion, taught them that in

[1] A. Lagarde, in *Revue d'histoire et de la littérature religieuses*, 1912, p. 160; 1913, pp. 266, 540; 1914, p. 26.

making this offering they obtained the remission of their sins.

Public penance was done under the eye of the clergy; that was its characteristic. It was introduced between two liturgical ceremonies, one intended to inaugurate, the other to complete it. The ceremony of inauguration was designated as the imposition of penance, the closing ceremony as the reconciliation. In the first instance the sinners kneeled before the bishop, who was surrounded by his clergy, admitted their faults, consequently made their confession,—a summary confession which, moreover, had as its object, as has been said above, scandalous sins, that is, sins known by all the faithful or by a great number of them. After having acknowledged their guilt, they asked penance. The bishop laid his hands upon them, prayed, and begged the people to pray for them. At times he performed other rites, which varied in different churches. When the ceremony was finished, the sinners received penance; they were penitents, that is to say, they were excommunicated. The imposition of penance was, in fact, excommunication. Penitents had no right to participate in the communion; they had not even the right of taking a place among the faithful at the liturgical assemblies. At church they occupied separate places, and wore mourning; some local customs even prescribed their confinement in a monastery. It belonged to the bishop to fix the duration of the penance, and to end it by granting the sinners reconciliation. Nevertheless, at Rome and in countries which followed the Roman usage the reconciliation was appointed for Holy Thursday.[1] On that day the penitents came once more to kneel before the bishop, who once more laid his hands upon them and prayed to God for them. Reconciliation was the counterpart of the imposition of penance. It restored the sinner to his place among the faithful; it authorized him to participate in the communion; it put an end to the excommunication. Let us add that public penance, with its two rites of excommunication and reconciliation, was not to be repeated. The scandalous

[1] Duchesne, chap. xv.

sinner was admitted but once to claim the benefit of reconciliation.

Public penance was performed at Rome, in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain, in Africa, indeed in the whole Latin Church except in Great Britain, where, as we learn from the penitential of Theodore of Canterbury, it was unknown. It need not be said that its performance was not uniform. Zealous bishops like Cæsarius of Arles, adjured scandalous sinners to submit to the humiliation of penance, and obtained some results. Careless bishops waited for conversions without doing anything to effect them, and conversions left to the grace of God were rare. This is the spectacle presented to us in the Frankish countries at the beginning of the seventh century. Public penance, which few bishops attended to, was decadent.[1] But at this time the Frankish Church was confronted by a new penitential régime of which we have now to speak.

The régime of confession consists in the obligation imposed upon the sinner to reveal all his faults, private as well as public, to a priest called a confessor. Confession was established about the middle of the fourth century by Pacomius, the founder of cenobitic life. It produced good results. Monks told their temptations and their falls to other monks who were often not priests, but who had a reputation for sanctity. From their confessors they received encouragement and advice. And from these confidences, from this encouragement and from this advice, they derived a surplus of force for their conflict with the devil. During the fifth century the institution of Pacomius, under the patronage of Cassian, Palladius, and others, emigrated from Egypt to the monasteries of the West, even so far as to the Christian Celtic monks. The Celtic monks, instead of living remote from the world, as was the case in other countries, were in contact with the people, and exercised the ministry which elsewhere the secular clergy exercised. Accustomed to confession themselves, they imposed this régime on their parishioners, who obeyed with docility. They confessed. Only for the encouragement and counsels which the confessors of

[1] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, xi.

Thebäis gave to their penitents they substituted fines, fasts more or less prolonged, recitation of psalms, and exile. At first these penal measures were fixed arbitrarily. Then gradually rules were enacted, penal codes called "penitentials" were drawn up,—codes in which every sin was subjected to a definite punishment. The rôle of the confessor was that of the customs officer, who must know the tariff and how to apply it. This was the case in the Celtic countries, that is, in Great Britain and Ireland. The Churches of these two Christian communities had no knowledge of public penance, but from the middle of the fifth century they knew and practised confession. Isolated from the rest of the world which did not know them, they had no means of giving the law to the churches on the Continent—nothing except that missionary fever which, like faith, removes mountains. That made up for everything.

During the closing years of the sixth century (about 590), Irish monks led by Columban went and established themselves in the Frankish countries in the region of the Jura.[1] They led a life of austerity and mortification; for them religion was, above all, a moral life, a spirit of penitence. For the Franks, on the contrary, religion was hardly anything but a magical liturgy, the rites of which were punctiliously observed in association with the coarsest vice. The contrast was complete. Columban and his monks undertook to make this state of things disappear. They preached penance as they understood it, accompanied by a system of tariff in which no vice was overlooked. They preached, they announced the punishments reserved for sinners in the other world. The people, overwhelmed by their preaching, but subdued by the prestige of their virtue, came to them, put themselves under their care, even as the sick in their alarm surrender themselves to the physician. Whenever the missionary saw a sinner come before him, he asked him questions; and the latter, trembling, described his whole life, and enumerated his faults. Then the tariff was enforced:

[1] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, xvii. ; Malnory, *Luxovienses monachi*, p. 62, Paris, 1894.

so much for murder, so much for incest, so much for adultery, so much for robbery. On returning to his home the sinner did the works which had been ordered; and when his penance was finished, he regained his baptismal innocence. That which justified was penance, that is to say, the amount of penalties corresponded to the tariff of the various sins. Of course, the confession had to be complete, for every sin not subjected to the tariff was a sin which had not been expiated. Moreover, the sinner was at pains to declare everything, to keep nothing hidden. It was thus that the confessional made its entry into the Frankish Church. It entered without the knowledge of the clergy of the Franks, who, for a whole generation, did not know exactly what the monks were doing who came from the depths of the forests of Ireland. Besides, they considered these foreigners as mischievous agitators. Yet, about 647, at the council of Châlon, forty-four bishops, several of whom, like Eloi of Noyon and Donatus of Besançon, before becoming ecclesiastics had felt the influence of Columban, approved the new policy.[1] This is an important date. Before the council of Châlon, confession had existed for half a century in the Frankish Church, but it was then contraband; it was still only a Celtic institution. It was at the council of Châlon that it obtained its naturalization papers, that it was officially recognized by the Frankish hierarchy. And when it is remembered that the Celtic Churches were isolated from the rest of Christendom—at this time they ardently opposed the Roman monks, who had been sent by St. Gregory to England—it may be concluded that it was the council of Châlon (647) which inaugurated confession in the Latin Church.

This event certainly marked a capital date in the history of Christian penance. Yet we must be careful not to exaggerate its significance. The council of Châlon (647) laid down no obligation, it granted its approbation, nothing more.

[1] *Monumenta Germ.*, Concilia, i. 210: "De pœnitentia vero peccatorum quæ est medilla animæ utilem omnibus hominibus esse censemus et ut pœnitentibus a sacerdotibus data confessione indicatur pœnitentia universitas nuscetur consentire." It will be seen that there is here no shadow of an order.

After 647 the method of penance preached by the Irish monks, and up to that time ignored or despised by the clergy, became an approved devotional practice, analogous to the subsequent wearing of the scapular or the recitation of the rosary. It was a great advance. But we are still a long way from the sacrament of penance and the law of the fourth Lateran council. To arrive at that point, confession had to make great conquests, and especially it had to undergo a great transformation.

This transformation was effected in the middle of the eighth century, and its author was Boniface. A passionate servant of the papacy, Boniface became the apostle of Germania, and desired to subject that country to the former discipline of public penance which was preached by Rome. He could not, however, destroy the results which had been attained in the Frankish empire, after more than a century of ardent propaganda by Celtic monks; he wished, therefore, to maintain confession. In order to realize this programme, he undertook to graft public penance on confession, or rather to solder the two together. Let us remark that the undertaking could not be realized, for public penance, with the excommunication and reconciliation which constituted it, was at the antipodes of the Celtic discipline. But Boniface did what he could. He took the rite of reconciliation by the imposition of hands and prayer, from public penance, and affixed it to confession. The following is one of his ordinances: "We cannot observe in all their fullness the canonical regulations relative to the reconciliation of sinners, but yet we should not omit them altogether. The priest will therefore take care, after receiving the confession of sinners, to reconcile them with prayer immediately."[1] This reconciliation, granted directly after private confession, and therefore private itself, had scarcely anything except the name, in common with the former reconciliation, which put an end to the excommunication which was pronounced before all

[1] *Statuta Bonifacii*, 31, Migne, lxxxix. 823. The *Statuta* in their present form are not free from interpolations, but canon 31 is not intelligible unless it is from the pen of Boniface

the people and was prolonged for weeks, months, or even years. Boniface succeeded in creating only a phantom of public penance. But his intention was plain, since it was formulated literally in the ordinance. He wished to save some fragments—however small—of the traditional discipline. And this reconciliation which he annexed to confession was a wreck, a shapeless wreck of public penance.

The wreck was saved. The confessor after hearing the recital of sins and applying the tariff, reconciled the sinner, who had never been excommunicated, to the Church: confession retained the rite with which Boniface had enriched it. It was a simply formal and senseless rite which was to cure the congenital vice with which it was afflicted. It had the ambition to play a more important part, and one day was to see its dreams realized. But before describing this new evolution, let us speak of the progress of confession.

It was slow but steady. In the first half of the eighth century, Charles Martel had a confessor.[1] Yet until about 740 the monks seem to have had a monopoly of confession. They alone possessed the penitential tariff; they alone applied it. There is reason to believe that it was Boniface who put an end to this situation by ordering the secular clergy to reconcile sinners after receiving their avowals. Boniface, who transformed confession, at the same time aided effectively in spreading it. Alcuin and Theodulf—and here mention may also be made of Chrodegang, who ordered his clergy to confess—joined their efforts to those of Boniface. And Charlemagne, crowning all these efforts, ordered priests who had the cure of souls, to confess their parishioners.[2] One can see the path traversed since the time when the council of Châlon had put confession in the class of praiseworthy but optional practices, without any connection with the canonical discipline. At the beginning of the ninth century, confession being inscribed in the Carolingian legislation, formed a part of the institutions of the Frankish Church;

[1] *Annales Petaviani*, 726, in *Monum. Germ.*, Scriptores, i. 9.

[2] Capitular of Aix-la-Chapelle (789), cap. 81; *Capitula novem*, M. G. Concilia, 228.

and the clergy were commanded to count it among the functions of their ministry. As always happens, the usage gradually conformed to the law.[1] In the eleventh century frequent confession was not unheard of among the pious faithful. Guibert de Nogent tells us that his mother confessed nearly every day. When the German Church was detached from that of the Franks, the habit was already formed, and the daughter followed in the way marked out by the mother. Otto I. had a confessor whose name is given by Thietmar, who reports several other instances of confession. The empress Agnes, mother of Henry IV., confessed every day. Across the Channel the Anglo-Saxon Church, which favourable circumstances had freed from the Celtic monks, was unable to escape the obligation of continuing their work. Confession was inscribed in the ordinances of Ælfric, in the canons of the Council of Enham (1009); the kings Edgar, Ethelred, and Canute made a place for it in the civil law.

The most triumphal course is not without its incidents and even accidents. One need not be surprised that confession met with difficulties.[2] On various occasions, murmurs arose and complaints were heard which, however, were directed not against the system itself, but against certain of its modes. The first complaint came in the interests of public penance. In the Carolingian era a return to this venerable discipline was manifested under the influence of Rome. Several councils deplored its almost total disappearance, and issued measures intended to put it in force once more. They were not hostile to private confession, but they wished it to have its proper place; they wished to leave to it private sins, and to subject public sins to the régime of excommunication and reconciliation. This programme was realized. Public sinners,

[1] Guibert, *De Vita*, i. 14; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, ii. 4 (955), viii. 14, ix. 10 (Fr. Kurze, Hannover, 1889); *Canones Ælfrici*, 31, Migne, cxxxix. 1475; Berthold, *Annales*, 1077, Migne, cxlvii. 403 (on the empress Agnes); Council of Enham, canon 20, Mansi, xix. 308; *Canones sub Edgardo rege*, Mansi, xviii. 514; *Leges ecclesiast. Æthelredi*, 1 et 2, Mansi, xix. 319; *Leges ecclesiast. Canuti regis*, 18, Mansi, xix. 555.

[2] Council of Châlon (813), canons 25, 38; Council of Reims (813), canon 31; Council of Pavia (850), canon 6.

those whom to-day the penal code sends to prison or to the scaffold, were condemned to do public penance. This system prevailed until the end of the eleventh century. The indulgence of the crusade which arose at this time set conditions to the pardon, which sinners accepted with enthusiasm. Smitten by this unexpected rivalry, public penance died out. In the middle of the thirteenth century it had disappeared from almost all the churches.

Other complaints were made, and for this reason.[1] Certain sinners substituted written for oral confession; for example, Robert, bishop of Le Mans (872); Hildebold, bishop of Soissons (884); Hugues, bishop of Auxerre (1032). Parallel with written confession in the tenth century, arose the custom of collective and summary confession, the first witnesses of which seem to have been the biographers of the bishops Ulrich and Godehard. The people were assembled in the church, some one in the name of the whole assembly recited the *Confiteor*, and the bishop gave the absolution. Finally, during the same period, that is to say the tenth century, as we learn from Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, when a priest was wanting, confession was made to a layman. These practices raised objections to which they yielded, nevertheless not all at the same time. Confession by writing, condemned in the eleventh century by the treatise *De vera et falsa pœnitentia*, which was attributed to St. Augustine, soon disappeared. Collective confession, condemned by the same treatise, also disappeared, but at a later date. As for confession to laymen, advocated by the author of *De vera et falsa pœnitentia*, and afterwards by the greatest theologians of the Middle Ages, although attacked by others, it prolonged its existence until the sixteenth century.

By the side of these protests, certain problems arose.

[1] Morin, *De pœnitentia*, viii. 25 4, p. 596 (confession of Robert), Anvers, 1682; Hincmar, *Ep.* xxvi. to Hildebold, Migne, cxxvi. 172; John xix., *Ep.* xvii. to Hugh of Auxerre, Migne, cxli. 1151; *Vita S. Oudalrici*, 4, M. G. Scriptores, iv. 392; *Vita Godehardi prior*, 28, M. G. Scriptores, xi. 188; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, viii. 14; *De vera et falsa pœnitentia*, 25–31, among the works of St. Augustine, Migne, xl. 1122–1127; P. Lombard, *Sent.* iv. 17. 4; Gratian, *Decretum*, pars ii. *De pœnitentia*, dist. i.

Two should be mentioned here: the problem as to the value of confession, and the problem as to its obligatory character. The first of these questions was not raised in the era of the Celtic monks. They did not pretend to remit sins: they reserved this privilege for works of penance; and if they required the enumeration of sins, it was in order properly to prescribe the remedy. But the reform effected by Boniface shattered this interpretation of the rôle of the confessor and of confession. From the ninth century many sinners attributed a magical power of purification to the absolution given by the priest; others believed that confession itself, quite apart from absolution, had this mysterious virtue. The doctors of the twelfth century, in the course of their theoretical researches, encountered this problem. They discussed it at length, and they taught that the absolution of the confessor confirmed and certified the pardon obtained by contrition, but did not produce it. Nevertheless this solution, dictated by respect for tradition, was too much opposed to the desires of the people to endure. It will be seen hereafter how it was revised. As to the second question, the doctors assumed a less conservative attitude. All, with the exception of Gratian, declared in favour of obligatory confession. Furthermore, as has already been said, Peter Lombard included confession in the list of sacraments, and his opinion was accepted by the doctors of the thirteenth century.

While confession was advancing and becoming organized, what was the papacy doing? It was doing nothing.[1] It did not preoccupy itself either with the direction or with the prevention of the movement. It allowed these practices to be formed or deformed haphazard. It permitted the elaboration of theories. All took place independent of it. Moreover, until about the end of the ninth century it did not

[1] Gregory II., *Capitulare pro Baioariæ oblegatis*, Migne, lxxxix. 534, legislates on public penance in canons 6 and 11. In canon 12 he says that the remedies of penance are necessary for all, that is to say, that every Christian should expiate his sins by penance, but he makes no allusion to confession. John VIII., *Ep.* cccIvi., Migne, cxxvi. 951, speaks of the people who go to church "confitentem delicta sua"; Alexander II., *Epist. pontificum Rom.*, Loewenfeld, p. 43, Lipsiæ, 1885.

recognize penance except in its traditional form: it ignored the new system originated by the Celtic monks. From the time of John VIII., the popes—at least some of them—recognized confession, but did nothing to further it. Until Alexander II. and Gregory VII., that is, until the second half of the eleventh century, Rome did not emerge from its inaction and decree measures favourable to confession. They were very modest measures. Alexander II. addressing the soldiers who were going to fight the Moors, said in substance: "I remit their sins, by the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul; but let them confess, however, and let them accept the penance which is awarded to them, for otherwise the devil would accuse them of impenitence." And in the Roman council (1080), Gregory VII. promulgated a rule of which the following is an epitome (canon 5): "When a grave sin has been committed, penance should not be asked of the first comer, for only a false penance might be received; application should be made to prudent and religious men (*prudentibus et religiosis viris*) who will grant a true penance." As may be seen, Gregory did not even say that confession ought to be made to a priest; on the contrary, he authorizes implicitly confession to a layman; he only required that the confessor should know the true penance, that is, the science of the penitential. Finally, after a silence of more than a century, the papacy, by the mouth of Innocent III. in 1215, promulgated the famous law which obliged all the faithful who had reached the age of discretion to confess privately at least once a year their sins to their respective parish priests. For a long time before this, the local laws in France, in England, and in Germany prescribed confession to the faithful, and the theologians declared it necessary. Rome merely registered decisions in which it had not taken the initiative.

It was also outside of Rome that the last evolution of confession took place, which attributed a magical virtue of purification to absolution. It was a victory of the people over the theologians. The people for a long time had attributed the power of purifying the soul, to the absolution given by the priest. The theologians, on the contrary,

attributed the remission of sins either to acts of penance or to inner repentance, which was called contrition. There was thus a conflict, an acute conflict, throughout the twelfth century, which even in the century following had not been quelled. Finally, after long resistance the theologians resigned themselves to capitulation.[1] The capitulation prepared by St. Thomas was signed at the beginning of the fourteenth century by Duns Scotus and Durand.

When disease made its appearance, Christians at times asked for a cure,—a miraculous cure by anointings made with oil either on the entire body, on the principal parts of the body, or at least on the region where the disease had its seat. In the fifth century these curative unctions were made in three different ways.[2] Some rubbed themselves with oil taken from a lamp which had been placed on the tomb of a martyr or of a saint. Others addressed themselves to some holy personage still alive, and begged him to make the unction himself, or at least to bless the oil which they presented to him, and which they afterwards carried home. Others still, utilized the *chrisma*, that is, the oil which the parish priest employed in the ceremony of baptism. In the first case the oil derived its curative virtue from the saint or martyr on whose tomb it had been burned. In Gaul the oil from the tomb of St. Martin, according to Gregory of Tours, was very potent; Gregory also attributed great powers to oil from the tomb of St. Nicetius. In the second case the miraculous virtue came from the personage who performed the unction or who blessed the oil, such were the monks mentioned by Palladius and Cassian, such was the nun of whom Gregory of

[1] St. Thomas, *In Sent.* iv. 18, quæst. i. 3, sol. 1; Duns Scotus, *In Sent.* iv. quæst. 4. 2; Durand, *In Sent.* iv. 18, quæst. 2. 2.

[2] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francorum*, iv. 36, vi. 6, viii. 15; *Vitæ Patrum*, 19; *Gloria Confessorum*, 31; Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.* cclxv. 3, cclxxix. 5 (following sermons of St. Augustine); Innocent, Letter to Decentius, 11, Migne, xx. 560; notice the expression "oleo chrismatis": Serm. *De rectitudine catholicæ conversationis*, Migne, xl. 1172 (of the ninth century, erroneously attributed to Eloi); Bede, *In Marcum*, vi. 13; *In epist. Jacobi*, Migne, xciii. 39; *Stat. Bonifacii*, 4, 29; Migne, lxxxix. 821; Hincmar, *Ep.* xxvi., Migne, cxxvi. 172; *Vita Adalhardi*, 78–82, Migne, cxx. 1547. Puller, *The Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 64, 172 et seq., London, 1904.

Tours speaks. In the third case, the oil was consecrated by the bishop, to be used at baptisms: for this reason it was one of the constitutive elements of the baptismal rite; it was therefore a *sacramentum*, more exactly a *genus sacramenti*: that explains its efficacy. The first two proceedings had the confidence of the people. The Roman hierarchy, on the contrary, advocated the third, which increased its prestige; perhaps it was inaugurated in opposition to the two others, and to acquire a new right to popular gratitude. However that may be, from the beginning of the fifth century the anointing of the sick was regulated by a constitution of Pope Innocent I. which is summed up in the following articles: (1) the oil employed in anointing the sick is the oil of the *chrisma* prepared by the bishop (that is to say, baptismal oil, *oleum chrismatis*); (2) the unctions with this oil are ordinarily performed by the faithful themselves, but they can also be performed by priests or by bishops; (3) this oil being an integral element of the sacrament of baptism, a *genus sacramenti*, cannot be given to penitents unless they have been previously reconciled (and consequently unless they have received the eucharist which crowns the reconciliation).

Later, at an unknown date, perhaps during the pontificate of Gelasius, the use of the chrisma for the cure of the sick was suppressed; and therapeutic unctions were performed with the oil brought by the faithful in cans, to the mass on Holy Thursday, which they caused to be blessed a little before the recitation of the *Pater* (it was the moment when the offerings of bread, milk, etc., were blessed), and which they carried home with them for their personal use. Such is the liturgy contained in the Gelasian sacramentarium and in the Gregorian sacramentarium. It was probably in this form that Cæsarius of Arles endeavoured to introduce the Roman discipline into Gaul, and that Roman missionaries introduced it among the Anglo-Saxons. However that may be, Cæsarius said substantially to the faithful the following: "When you are sick, you resort to diabolical superstitions to be cured. That is very wrong. This, on the contrary, is what you ought to do. Come to the church, receive the

body and blood of Christ; then with the holy oil rub your body, or cause it to be rubbed by another. By so doing you will recover your health, and, besides, your sins will be remitted." And in his commentary on the Epistle of St. James, Bede mentions the custom of the faithful who were sick, of causing themselves to be anointed with holy oil, combined with prayers for a cure (*sanentur*). He adds that, in conformity to a text of Pope Innocent, the faithful can perform the unctions themselves provided that oil blessed by the bishop is employed.

We come now to the Frankish Church. In the seventh century—as we learn from Gregory of Tours—the Franks usually sought to cure their diseases with oil taken from the lamp of some famous sanctuary or governed by a person with a reputation for sanctity. For the same purpose, they also employed the chrisma or baptismal oil. In the eighth century, Boniface decided that unctions designed to cure the sick should be performed by the priests (*Statuta Bonifacii*, 29); that priests should always have in their possession the oil necessary for the unctions of the sick (*id.* 4); that this oil should be blessed by the bishop, and that the priests should ask it of him every year on Holy Thursday (*id.* 29; council of Soissons, canon 4); that while the priests should always have the chrisma in their possession, they should never, under pain of deposition, give it to the faithful as a medicine (*Statuta*, 5). These rules were enacted in the Carolingian legislation (council of Châlon, 813, canon 48), and were later incorporated in the canonical collections.[1] They mark an important date in the history of the unction of the sick. Before the time of Boniface, the sick were authorized to rub themselves either with the chrisma or with another oil blessed by the bishop. It was Boniface who put an end to this ancient discipline, and granted to priests the monopoly of extreme unction.

This evolution only affected the ritual side of the unction of the sick. It was followed shortly afterwards by another far more important evolution which modified the meaning of

[1] Reginon, i. 75; Burchard, iv. 75.

unction. It consisted in the following. Until the ninth century the unction of the sick, whether performed with the oil of the chrisma or with some other oil blessed by the faithful themselves or by thaumaturgists or by priests or by laymen, was a more or less magical procedure and nothing more. It restored health, or at least assuaged suffering; its action stopped there. The texts of the Gelasian and the Gregorian sacramentaria, not to mention many others, are decisive. They represent the oil exclusively as a remedy. And Cæsarius of Arles, while insisting on the bodily cure, mentions also the remission of sins, in connection with what he had just said of the eucharist, which at that time was thought to purify the soul. Just before the ninth century, Theodulf of Orleans found nothing to point to in the unction of the sick except its healing power. But a half century later this quality, without disappearing, passed into the background, and gave the principal place to the remission of sins. The oil with which the sick are rubbed effaces their faults. Thus declared the council of Pavia (850, canon 8), Hincmar in his letter to Hildebold of Soissons, and some years previously the monks who witnessed the last moments of the abbot Adalhard.

How was the passage from one to the other of these conceptions effected? An examination of the Frankish liturgy permits us to answer that question.[1] While the Roman Church ordered the sick to take the communion before being anointed, the Frankish Churches were generally agreed to reverse the order of the two ceremonies and to place the communion last (see the sacramentaria published by Martène, and the observations of Martène himself. The sacramentarium of Prudentius of Troyes was not an exception; it also put extreme unction before the communion. It was only when extreme unction was not to be administered that it commanded the sick to communicate directly

[1] Martène, *De ritibus ad sacramentum extremæ unctionis spectantibus*, especially art. ii. 3, iii. 8. Ives of Chartres, *Ep.* cclv., Migne, clxii. 260: "Unctio enim infirmorum est publicæ pœnitentiæ sacramentum quam non esse repetendam . . . testatur Augustinus"; Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, ii. pars xv.

after the reconciliation). The order of the rites was as follows: imposition of penance, reconciliation, unction, communion. This order reacted on doctrine. Little by little it became the custom to consider the unction of the sick as an annex or even as a supplement of penance, not only of private but also of public penance which was then in force. It was called "the oil of reconciliation," "the sacrament of public penance." Already Theodulf and Amalaire had taken some steps in this path, but had not gone to extremes; for they attributed only a healing virtue to the anointing of the sick. Others were bolder, and to the therapeutic effect they added a spiritual effect, making the oil participate in the effects produced by reconciliation. The sacramentaria were arranged in conformity to these principles, and formulas like the following were introduced: "Unguo oculos tuos de oleo sanctificato ut quidquid . . . deliquisti per hujus olei unctionem expietur." There was still another result. Up to this time the anointing of the sick was often repeated—the case of a bishop who was ill is cited, who was anointed seven days in succession. But when it became the sacrament of public penance, it shared the fate of public penance. This, however, was not to be repeated: it could be received but once. The unction of the sick could be received but once · it became extreme unction.

The fusion of unction of the sick with the rite of public penance had then, as has just been seen, two important consequences. Let us now remark that this fusion lasted only temporarily. Realized in the ninth century it vanished in the twelfth. The beginning of the rupture came not on the side of extreme unction, but on that of public penance. It was the latter which disappeared. We know how. Receiving its death-blow at the end of the eleventh century, from the first crusade, it gradually disappeared totally, leaving its heritage to confession and to private penance. About the middle of the twelfth century private penance was flourishing, but the former public penance had ceased to exist. It was no longer administered to public sinners in a state of good health, and consequently no one thought of administer-

ing it to the dying. And extreme unction, which continued to prevail, found itself isolated from the rite in the shadow of which it had acquired the dignity of a sacrament.

The first consequence of this isolation was that the principle that it was not to be repeated was lost sight of. Being imposed by public penance, it had no reason for surviving it; and it did not survive it. Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard rebelled against it, and maintained that the oil of the sick could be received several times by the same person. The second consequence was the transformation of extreme unction into an independent sacrament,—a somewhat illogical consequence, for the unction of the sick should, as a matter of regularity, have lost the privilege which was derived from its union with public penance. But Hugh of St. Victor, and Peter Lombard following him, took the rights acquired exclusively into account. They retained for extreme unction its title to be a sacrament, which it had possessed for three centuries; and as they could no longer identify it with public penance, they gave it an existence of its own, and made it a sacrament distinct from all the others Their solution was adopted by the doctors of the thirteenth century, who considered it, and caused it to be considered, as a dogma.

It was necessary to assign a use to this new sacrament. It was here that difficulties and unavoidable embarrassments arose, though not for Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard. They found it quite simple to preserve for extreme unction the function which it had performed since the ninth century, and they affirmed that the oil of the sick at the same time that it relieved the body, also served for the remission of sins. They forgot the changes which had been made. Formerly extreme unction remitted sins because it was incorporated in public penance. But the latter disappeared, and its inheritance had passed to confession and private penance. Extreme unction consequently could not purify the conscience; by keeping it in its former place, Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard had been victims of a gross inadvertence. The doctors of the thirteenth century perceived

this inadvertence and avoided it. They recognized the fact that extreme unction, at least as a rule, did not remit grave sins. But what did it do? It was remarked with alarm, that all the uses were already exhausted. Was extreme unction, then, a useless sacrament? In order to escape this disastrous consequence, the theologians resorted to meaningless formulas. It was admitted that extreme unction had a spiritual effect and an effect on the body; but the spiritual effect was never clearly explained.

Lastly, let us remark that the number of unctions varied according to the times. It was not definitely fixed until after the thirteenth century. It was, moreover, after the thirteenth century that the indicative formula (*Unguo te*) was supplanted by the deprecative formula (*Indulgeat tibi Dominus*).

Religious services were assured by a corporation designated as the Clergy.[1] In the fifth century the clergy in each church were organized in the form of a hierarchy of several degrees. Each degree was called an order. At the head was the bishop; then came priests, deacons, deaconesses; lastly, the inferior ministers, subdeacons, acolytes, readers, exorcists, porters, cantors. Each order had determinate functions. The right or power to perform these functions was conferred by a rite called ordination or consecration; and the right to receive this ordination or consecration was derived from election. Election and consecration were thus the two gates which gave admission into the clergy.

Election was the first gate. The story of the episcopal elections will be told hereafter, and it will be seen that

[1] Martène, *De rit. ad. sacr. ordinis spect.*; Duchesne, chap. x.; Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales du iv^e^ au xi^e^ siècle*, pp. 27, 172, 184, 197, 243, 250; Nicholas, *Ep.* lxvi., Migne, cxix. 884; Ives de Chartres, *Serm.* ii., Migne, clxi. 519; Menard, *In S. Gregorii librum Sacramentorum notæ*, Migne, lxxviii. 488; Mabillon, *In ordinem romanum commentarius prævius*, Migne, lxxviii. 912, 919 (art. 16, 18); Pelagius, *Letter to John the Patrician*, Migne, lxix. 411, 412; Hergenroether, *Photius*, ii. livre v. chap. 8; Raban Maur, *De inst. cler.* i. 4, reckons the episcopate as an order; J. Loth, *Un Ancien Usage de l'Église Celtique*, in *Revue celtique*, xv. 92; St. Jerome, *In Ezechiel*, xliv. 17 (tonsure of the priests of Isis).

bishops were elected according to the period and the country, sometimes by the people, sometimes by the prince, sometimes by a corporation, sometimes by the papacy. Here we are to speak only of the recruitment of the other orders. This recruitment in the fifth century was in the hands of the bishop. Nevertheless, he was restricted in so far as the deacons and priests were concerned. The bishop chose his candidates for the diaconate and for the priesthood; but he presented them to the people, who signified their approval either by silence (the Roman usage) or by the shout, *Dignus est* (the Gallican usage). The appearance of the rural clergy created a new discipline. The rural church usually belonged to some rich and powerful personage who had built it at his own expense, and on his own property. He had proprietary rights, and these he exercised. He himself chose a man, sent him to the bishop, who ordained him; then he put him at the head of his church with the mission to say mass and administer the sacraments. One of the first acts of this kind was that of Clovis the Frankish king, who ordered the bishop of Reims to consecrate Claudius. This system was afterwards called the "patronate." Most of the priests of the rural churches were under the patronate. They were ordained by the bishops, but were chosen, appointed, and invested by the count or noble of the region. The patronate gave rise to long disputes of an administrative and financial kind; but the principle, that is, the nomination of the parish priests by powerful nobles, was without difficulty accepted throughout the early Middle Ages. The bishops were resigned to the situation, although humiliated by it. The most that they did was here and there to claim the right to refuse unworthy men. It was only from the time of Alexander III. (1159–1181) that the Church made laws concerning the patronate. This legislation was restrictive; it reduced the patronate to a simple right of presentation to the bishop, who preserved his freedom. But in several countries it remained a dead latter.

After election came ordination. This consisted in liturgical rites which were not uniform until the twelfth

century. During the early Middle Ages there were two principal liturgies: the Roman and the Gallican, to which the Mozarabian liturgy was closely related. In the Gallican liturgy, each of the inferior orders was conferred by a rite in which the candidate received the insignia of his dignity. At Rome, on the contrary, promotion to orders was performed by a simple benediction deprived of any solemnity, or even without a benediction. For the superior orders the differences were quite as marked. At Rome the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons comprised only certain prayers to which was added, in the case of the deacons, the laying on of hands. The Gallican liturgy performed other rites, notably that of unction. Then about the tenth century there appeared in the Frankish Church what was called the "delivery of the instruments." This rite, which is believed to be of English origin, consisted in committing to the deacon the book of the Gospels, and to the priest a chalice with the paten. It widened the breach which separated Rome from other Churches; it made agreement more difficult than ever. Yet there was agreement in the end, although it came about in an unexpected manner. Rome adopted the Frankish liturgy of ordination by amalgamating it with its own; it capitulated. This capitulation was accomplished in the twelfth century. And the schoolmen of the thirteenth century, without expressing the least doubt, declared that the "delivery of the instruments" was the essential rite of ordination.

As a rule, superior orders were not reached without passing through the inferior orders. Nevertheless this principle had exceptions. The most serious of all concerned the episcopate. At Rome and in the rest of Italy, notably at Naples and Ravenna, when a bishop was to be elected the choice often fell upon a deacon. Then how did they proceed? Was the deacon required to pass through the presbyterate? No, episcopal consecration was conferred upon him. The Benedictines Mabillon and Martène recognize loyally that the passages in the *Liber Pontificalis* are decisive, and that several popes were raised from the diaconate to the episcopate without passing through the presbyterate;

and Mabillon makes the conjecture that it was Photius, one of whose grievances against Rome bore precisely on this point, who obliged Rome to change its practice. It is certain that Nicholas I. himself (858) did not receive ordination as a presbyter. To sum up, until about 860, one passed from the diaconate to the episcopate without any intermediate step, and one was raised from the subdiaconate to the presbyterate without passing through the diaconate. Witness is born to this second custom, less remarked by historians, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, in its notices of Leo III., Pascal I., Gregory IV., Sergius II., Leo IV., Benedict III., Adrian II., and Stephen V. And both these customs had as their common cause the importance which the diaconate had acquired. At Rome and in Italy the deacons had a preponderating situation owing to their administrative functions. They eclipsed the priests. A deacon could legitimately pretend to the episcopate, but for him the presbyterate would have been a degradation. It followed from this that the presbyterial body was recruited from the subdeacons.

The benefice of ordination was not inamissible. It was lost when one left the Church, and no longer belonged to it. Outside the Church the bishop could not consecrate, the priest could not say mass. But the Church was left on account of heresy or schism. And to fall into heresy or into schism, it was sufficient to transgress the ecclesiastical laws. Therefore a man ceased to be a bishop or a priest the day when he transgressed the rules laid down by the Church. By virtue of the same principle, any ordination received outside the Church, that is to say, received from a bishop separated from the Church, was null. Such were the principles,—principles which went back to the time of St. Cyprian, and which are precisely stated in a letter of Pope Pelagius. They were enforced with fierce energy during the early Middle Ages. Many were the bishops and priests whose ordination was annulled because it had been performed by schismatic bishops, or simply because it did not conform on all points to the disciplinary regulation. When clemency was desired, the degraded bishops or priests were authorized to return to the

Church after having previously been reordained. About 670, Theodore of Canterbury subjected to reordination all the priests consecrated by the bishops of Britain only because these bishops were schismatic. He inflicted the same fate on Ceadda, bishop of York, whom he transferred to the bishopric of Lichfield, after having had him ordained. The Roman council of 769 annulled all the ordinations made by the anti-Pope Constantine, who had received episcopal ordination according to the traditional rites, but this was subsequent to an irregular election. The Roman council of 897 (the "council of the cadaver"), presided over by Pope Stephen VI., annulled the ordinations made by Pope Formosus, only because Formosus was already bishop when he was elected to the pontifical see. These same orders, it is true, were declared valid by Popes Theodorus II. and John IX.; but they were again annulled by Pope Sergius III., who confirmed the sentence of the council of 897. In the eleventh century, Popes Leo IX. and Urban II. reordained priests and deacons who had received a first ordination from simoniacal bishops. Peter Lombard did not yet know what to think of ordination performed by heretical, schismatical, or simoniacal bishops. It was not until the middle of the thirteenth century that the doctrine triumphed, according to which ordination owes its efficacy exclusively to the performance of certain rites which are called essential.

Election and ordination were crowned with the exercise of functions. It is impossible here to pass in review the functions of all the orders. We may limit ourselves to some words concerning the episcopate, in relation to the presbyterate, concerning the deaconesses, and concerning the tonsure. Priests and bishops said mass, baptized, and preached; but bishops had a monopoly of certain liturgical functions, notably confirmation and ordination. They alone confirmed; they alone conferred the sacrament of orders. These two prerogatives—not to mention several others of less importance—certainly gave the episcopate a rank, a grade, and consequently an "order" superior to the presbyterate. Therefore one is not a little surprised to find the scholastic

theologians confusing the presbyterate and the episcopate, as if they formed one and the same order. One is tempted to believe that they were influenced by passages in which St. Jerome affirms the equality of priests and bishops,—passages which the doctors of the early Middle Ages knew, and cited willingly. But it seems that this explanation should be rejected. It was probably a desire not to make the orders more than seven—that is to say, the superstition about the number seven—which led theologians to erase the episcopate from the list of orders.

Deaconesses aided women to dress and to undress before and after baptismal immersion; they helped them to leave the font, they gave them the unction; in a word, in the baptism of women, they took the place of deacons. It was the principal function confided to them in the Roman Church. But elsewhere, notably in the churches of Britain, they were authorized to distribute the eucharist; they approached the altar. Several Merovingian councils found themselves obliged to protest against this abuse, which made its way into Gaul at the end of the fourth century, and which seems to have been slow in disappearing. The war made on this abuse was fatal to the order itself, which was discredited and which succumbed. After the seventh century the deaconesses to be met with, were nuns or the wives of deacons; they were no longer the deaconesses who formed part of the clergy.

The tonsure is of pagan origin. The priests of Isis and of Serapis shaved the head. It was from them that the Christian clergy borrowed the tonsure; or rather they borrowed it from the monks. About the end of the fourth century the latter began to imitate the priests of Isis. At the beginning of the sixth century the tradition was created: the tonsure formed an integral part of the monastic state. It was then that it was adopted by the clergy. At the end of the sixth century the work of causing its adoption was complete; every one of the clergy was obliged to have the tonsure. Consequently it was through the monks that the

tonsure passed from the priests of Isis to the Christian priests.

Marriages were blessed by the clergy.[1] The bride and bridegroom went to church, presented themselves before the priest, who prayed over them, and gave them the benediction. This very ancient custom was not yet obligatory in the sixth century, but it became so in the Carolingian period. After that, to contract a marriage without the intervention and benediction of the priest, was a sin which must be expiated by penance. The prayers which the liturgy put into the mouth of the priest asked God to cause His grace to descend upon the bridal pair. From this, to conclude that marriage was a sacrament constituted by the sacerdotal benediction, was but a step. And this step was taken. Ives of Chartres considered the religious ceremony of marriage as a sacrament which produced a consecration. But from another point of view the patristic texts agreed in saying that marriage is essentially a contract and nothing else. There was therefore an antinomy betweeen the Carolingian liturgy and the Fathers. How should it be solved ? Hugh of St. Victor found an ingenious solution. Instead of sacrificing the Fathers to the liturgy or the liturgy to the Fathers, he combined in one synthesis the liturgy with the Fathers. He set forth marriage as a sacrament-contract, that is to say, a sacrament constituted by the contract and not by the blessing of the priest. This explanation, through the medium of Peter Lombard, passed into scholasticism.

The doctors of the Latin Church taught the absolute indissolubility of marriage. But the civil legislation, that of Rome and that of the barbarians, authorized divorce in certain determinate cases. Public opinion for several centuries was ranged on the side of the legislation; and the clergy themselves at times sacrificed the teaching of the

[1] *Capitul.* (802) 35; Nicolas, *Lettre aux Bulgares*, 4, Migne, cxix. 980; Burchard, xix. 45 (Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher*, ii. 419); Ives de Chartres, *Ep.* xlv., cxxiii.; Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, ii. pars xi. 5; Gregory, ii. *Ep.* xiv. 2, Migne, lxxxix. 525.

doctors to the popular will. The council of Vannes (465, canon 2), the councils of Verberie (756, canon 9) and Compiègne (757, canons 11, 19), denied the indissolubility of the conjugal bond. The same is true of Theodore of Canterbury and of the penitentials of Irish origin. And Pope Gregory II. himself authorized the husband to remarry if his wife were sickly. From the Carolingian epoch legislation and the councils maintained the indissolubility of marriage.

The objects of the principal devotions were relics, images, indulgences, the recitation of daily prayers, and the chaplet.[1] The devotion of relics was superior in age to the others, it surpassed them also, at least generally, by its intensity. For several centuries it stood alone, and with the exception of the devotion of indulgences, the others, when they originated, were never serious rivals of it. Relics were of two kinds; some were authentic, others were false, and were circulated by impostors. There were not many of the latter kind in the sixth century; let us cite as examples, however, the pieces of the true cross, the filings of the chains of St. Peter, and various objects belonging to St. John Baptist. But gradually they made an advance which grew always greater. The most improbable and most indecent relics invaded the churches, and the faithful, with a credulity without limits, came to venerate them. Most of the impostors who manufactured these false relics are unknown; some of them, however, are known; for example, Teramano, who in 1472 invented the "Santa Casa," and said that the house in Nazareth where the mystery of the Incarnation was accomplished, had been transported by the angels (1291–1295) into Italy. This gross falsehood had a complete success.

[1] A. Luchaire, "Le culte des reliques," in *Revue de Paris*, Juillet, p. 189, 1900; P. Saintyves, *Les saints successeurs des dieux*, p. 38, Paris, 1907; Guibert de Nogent, *De pignoribus sanctorum*, iii., Migne, clvi. 649; Innocent III., *De sacrificio missæ*, iv. 30; H. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher*, i. 144 (redemptions); Theodulf, *Capitula*, 23, 29, Migne, cv. 198, 200; Bede, *Ep.* ii., Migne, xciv. 659; *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne*, iii. 399 (chapelet).

The devotion of images made its appearance in the Latin Church much later than the devotion of relics. In the ninth century the Frankish Church employed images only for the instruction of the faithful. It will be seen hereafter (Chapter XII.) what conflicts it had to wage with Rome, which in this respect had made evolutions. Nevertheless, in the end Rome made its theology prevail. But the worship of images never prospered in the Occident. It was stifled by the devotion of relics which has just been referred to, and by the devotion of indulgences to which reference is to be made now.

Indulgences were of two kinds: plenary and partial. The partial indulgence was the remission of a more or less considerable number of penances inflicted by the confessor on sinners, in conformity to the penitential tariffs. It therefore supposed a confession previously made, and the application of the penitential tariff. It made its appearance in England in the eighth century under the name of "redemption" (the ransom of penalties). It was practised in the Frankish Church in the ninth century, but was condemned by the episcopate. For the Carolingian councils, which attacked certain penitentials, had especially in view the "redemptions." On the whole it was only from the tenth century that the partial indulgence was granted by the bishops. It was only from this era that it had a legitimate existence, and taking into account the explanations which have just been given, it can be said that its origin belongs to the tenth century.

The plenary indulgence was the remission of sin itself granted on the authority of St. Peter. It was above the law of confession, above the penitentials; it was derived from St. Peter, the doorkeeper of heaven. From the seventh to the ninth century St. Peter himself granted this benefit. From the tenth century he charged his vicar the Pope with the granting of it. At first the latter acquitted himself timidly of this mission; but he soon grew bolder, and in the eleventh century he remitted sins with an ease and a generosity which left nothing to be desired.

As has been seen, the plenary and the partial indulgence had neither the same origin nor the same nature. They had a common destiny. Both were commercially exploited by the papacy; they became industrial enterprises, and their history appertains to the chapter on the pontifical finances where we shall meet with it again. Let us confine ourselves here to mentioning a misadventure which happened to both. The penitential tariffs which were in force in the tenth century gradually fell into desuetude; they ended by being even totally forgotten, and the confessors imposed penances upon sinners which had nothing in common with the former ones. In this transformation the partial indulgence lost its object. Logically it ought to have disappeared. As a matter of fact, it was more powerful than ever. The popes continued to grant to the faithful, remission of the penances which had been imposed upon them by no one. The machine turned in a vacuum and accomplished nothing—except to gain money. It was this that the papacy held on to.

While the partial indulgence lost every species of meaning, the plenary did not escape accidents. A day came when the popes, having for a long time been ignorant of confession, became acquainted with it, accepted it, and while remitting sins on the authority of St. Peter, did not grant this benefit except to those who had previously confessed. The indulgence then ran a great risk. Nevertheless it escaped, thanks to this circumstance, that confession was commonly regarded as a simple formality without intrinsic virtue. The indulgence even when preceded by confession thus preserved its former efficacy. But the schoolmen of the thirteenth century taught a new doctrine, according to which indulgence, did not remit the sin, but only the spiritual penalties which God imposed after the sin had been pardoned. This time the indulgence was profoundly injured. In place of the remission of sins there was left only deteriorated merchandise. The consumption did not on that account diminish. Moreover, the faithful were generally ignorant of the scholastic innovation.

The doctors often exhorted the faithful to pray, but they

confined themselves to general recommendations, without precision. Theodulf of Orleans was the first to decree regulations on the subject of prayer. He enjoined upon his priests to oblige their parishioners to recite every day, morning and evening, either the Creed or the Lord's Prayer or some other prayer, especially one of the following: "Thou who hast created me, have mercy upon me"; "My God, be merciful to me a sinner." After having addressed God, the Christian should also address the saints and ask their intercession. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that Theodulf's attempt at regulation was for a long time isolated. The Carolingian bishops confined themselves to asking their priests to teach the faithful the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. It was intended that every Christian should know both by heart. This was the programme of Bede,—a programme formulated in the famous letter to the archbishop Egbert; but their daily recital was not required. It is not until the thirteenth century that any regulation analogous to that of Theodulf is to be met with. It emanated from the bishop of Paris, Eudes de Sully. Eudes ordered his priests to accustom the people to pray; but to the *Pater* and the *Credo* he added the *Ave Maria*. The following is the text of his ordinance: *Exhortentur populum semper presbyteri ad dicendam orationem dominicam et Credo in Deum et salutationem beatæ Virginis.* Several councils of the thirteenth century echoed the orders of Eudes de Sully. Gradually the *Ave Maria* took its place beside the *Credo* and the *Pater*; it was one of the prayers which every good Christian was bound to recite every day. In the fifteenth century the Ten Commandments were added to it.

The *Ave Maria* at that time was not so extensive as it is to-day. It comprised only the salutations of the Angel Gabriel and of Elisabeth as they are found in the Gospel of St. Luke (i. 28, 42). *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui.* This form had existed in the Roman liturgy since the seventh century (offertory of the mass for the fourth Sunday in Advent); but St. Ildefonse was the first to make

use of it as a prayer. And his example was not contagious. It was only in the middle of the eleventh century that the bishop Ildefonse began to have some few imitators. In the middle of the twelfth century the recitation of the *Ave Maria* was as yet but little practised. It was in the fourteenth century that it became popular. It was also at this time that the *Ave Maria* was lengthened. It was at first lengthened by placing the word "Jesus" at the end of the salutation (*ventris tui Jesus*). This addition was adopted about the end of the fourteenth century throughout almost the entire Church. It was afterwards lengthened by adding the following petition: *Sancta Maria, mater Dei ora pro nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis nostræ.* But this change required a great deal of time. In the middle of the fifteenth century the prayer *Sancta Maria* had only been outlined. In the sixteenth century it was finished, but had spread very little. It was not until the seventeenth century that it found admission throughout the Church.

The chaplet—an implement used in counting the number of prayers—had its origin when a need for it was felt. This happened at the end of the tenth century. At this time there spread among the monks, especially among those who were not priests, the practice of reciting for the dead either the one hundred and fifty psalms of the Psalter, or fifty or one hundred psalms representing one-third or two-thirds of the collection. The monks who were priests said mass. The illiterate monks substituted for the recitation of the psalms, of which they were incapable, the recitation of one hundred and fifty, one hundred, or fifty Pater nosters. In order to count these prayers the idea occurred to some of them of making use of beads strung upon a cord. This practice was useful and was not troublesome; it spread rapidly among the illiterate monks, and even among the laity. Thus was originated the chaplet. It served to count the Paters: whence its name *Pater noster* which it bore throughout the Middle Ages, and which it has preserved even to our own day.

About the middle of the twelfth century the *Ave Maria,*

the history of which has just been traced, began to rival the *Pater*. For the one hundred and fifty, one hundred, or fifty Paters, some pious persons substituted a corresponding number of *Ave Maria*; and the chaplet which hitherto had been used to count the *Pater* was then employed for counting the *Ave*. It became the "Psalter of Our Lady." Let us remark, however, that during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries this use of it was rare. But in the fifteenth century the Dominican Breton Alain de la Roche made on behalf of the one hundred and fifty *Ave* an active propaganda, which he completed by the institution of a confraternity. Moreover, he caused the faithful to believe that St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominican order in the thirteenth century, had been charged by the Holy Virgin herself to propagate the recitation of one hundred and fifty *Ave Maria*. Thanks to this pious falsehood, the devotion of the chaplet in its new form had an always progressive extension.

CHAPTER III

History of the Monastic Life

Mabillon, *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 6 vols., Paris, 1703–1739. Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, Edinburgh, 1861–1879. A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, tom. i.–iii., 4th edition, Leipzig, 1904. H. Hélyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques religieux et militaires et des Congrégations seculières*, 8 vols., Paris, 1792. Dugdale, *Monasticum Anglicanorum*, 6 vols., London, 1817–1830. M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Congregationem der katholischen Kirche*, 2 vols., Paderborn, 1896. *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3 Auflage, 22 Bände, Leipzig, 1896–1909.

During the sixth century the monastic life spread to an unforeseen extent. Four centuries later it acquired a power which it had never had before, and yet which was to be surpassed under Innocent III. Thus during the Middle Ages monasticism became more important. The history of its progress proceeds always onward and upward, yet its advance was not uninterrupted. It is a history of advance followed by impediments and even by complete arrests. It was not a river flowing on to the ocean: it was a tide which rushed impetuously on, soon to lose the ground which it had gained; or rather it was the blooming of a tree which disappeared and then reappeared more abundantly, though only momentarily. From time to time there appeared among the people, men who were inspired, prophets who had communed with God, or who had at least received His messages. By word or by act they exhorted their brethren to throw off the yoke of earthly vulgarity, to work for heaven and for the glory of Christ. Moved by the accents which rang in their ears, men separated themselves from the embrace of their passions, from their interests, from their most imperious needs, and

resolutely pursued the way leading to salvation. Such was the triumph of monasticism. Yet soon, wearied with the effort which they had made, they returned upon themselves and relinquished their dream. That was its disaster. During all the Middle Ages the monastic state passed through alternating prosperity and decadence. Degenerate monks took the place of enthusiastic monks. Ruin followed advance.

At the end of the fifth century[1] the monastic life needed a legislator to substitute fixed rules for the caprice of personal initiative. In the century which followed the fall of the Roman empire, three men arose to remedy this defect, and performed their task with an ardour which was rewarded by unequal success. These were Cæsarius of Arles, Benedict of Nursia, and Columban.

CÆSARIUS OF ARLES AND COLUMBAN[2]

Cæsarius came first. Born at Châlon on the Saône, he entered at an early age the monastery of Lerins, left it some years later, and settled at Arles (about A.D. 496), where shortly afterwards he occupied the episcopal see (503). After becoming bishop, Cæsarius did not forget his former companions in the ascetic life. He took pains to be of use to them, to impart to them constancy, stability, regularity, and especially that dignity of life of which they stood so much in need. To this end he drew up two rules, one addressed to the monks, comprising 26 chapters, the other longer, for the nuns. These regulations were introduced into several monasteries in the Rhone region, and even beyond it. The rules for women especially, were adopted by St. Radegonde in her monastery of St. Croix, Poitiers (about 565); later, she entered the monastery of Jussamoutiers[3]

[1] On the origins of the monastic life in the West, see E. H. Babut, "Saint Martin de Tours," in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, 1911, ii. 538.

[2] A. Malnory, *Saint Césaire évêque d'Arles*, Paris, 1894; Arnold, *Cæsarius von Arelate und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1894; E. Martin, *Saint Columban*, Paris, 1905; Ch. Wyatt Bispham, *Columban, Saint, Monk, and Missionary*, New York, 1903.

[3] Malnory, 252, 257, 276; Hauck, i. 258.

(about 650). For nearly a century the laws of Cæsarius prevailed in the monastic life of Gaul and Lombardy. But at the end of the sixth century a monk came from an island lost in the ocean, landed among the Franks, and displayed his fiery activity in Gaul, in Allemania, and in northern Italy. Cæsarius gradually gave place to his formidable rival. He was eclipsed by Columban.

Columban[1] was born in Ireland about 540, in what is now the province of Leinster. In his youth he was assailed by carnal temptations, and not knowing how to escape this evil, he sought the advice of a recluse, who said to him: "Do you believe you can resist the seductions of women so long as you listen willingly to their voice? Have you forgotten Adam conquered by Eve, Samson reduced by Delilah, David by the beauty of Bathsheba, Solomon, notwithstanding all his wisdom, led astray by the love of women. . . . Young man, you must take flight if you would avoid a fall." Alarmed at this sombre picture of human corruption, Columban decided to retire from the world. He left his father's house and sought refuge in the monastery of Inis, then at Bangor, where the monk Comgal had just founded an abbey. There, guarded by fasting and prayer, he engaged in a merciless conflict with the flesh; and made an endeavour to quench within his body the fire of concupiscence. But soon the solitude of Bangor did not satisfy him. He dreamed of inciting men to practise self-denial, of teaching them to discipline their bodies, and of being himself the apostle of repentance. He took his departure with twelve companions, and after a stay in England, arrived among the Franks. This band of missionaries, who fed on the bark of trees, roots, and wild berries, provoked at first surprise, then veneration. Learning that these men of God had come into his kingdom, Gontran, king of Burgundy, put them in possession of the old Roman castle of Annegray (Haute-Saône): sometime afterwards, he gave them Luxeuil, then Fontaine, in the same department. The example set by these foreigners was

[1] Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, i. 4, Migne, lxxxvii. 1011, or better, *Monum. Germ.*, *Scriptores rerum merov.* iv. 108; Hauck, i. 261.

contagious. Columban witnessed the arrival of several hundreds of young men, desirous of being in the school of such a master, and of following in his footsteps the path to heaven. Eager to gather these recruits, Annegray and Luxeuil took them in (590).

For twenty years Columban governed his three monasteries, especially Luxeuil, which speedily eclipsed the two others. In 620, being driven into exile by the hatred of Thierry II., he was brought as a prisoner to Nantes. From there he retraced his steps, and under the protection of Theodebert went to evangelize Allemania, until the death of his protector obliged him to cross the Alps and settle at Bobbio (612). He died shortly afterwards (615); and then an abundant harvest rewarded the efforts of this indefatigable labourer.[1] Luxeuil became the centre of attention. From every direction people came to this sanctuary to ask what virtue it possessed, what it was which it alone could give—holiness and knowledge. The seventh century had its Lerins, a Lerins which replaced and surpassed the extinct work of Honoratus. Many young men who put themselves under the discipline of the great patriarch entered his family to go no more out; and soon from this hive, which was far too small, came forth three swarms of monks who founded the monasteries of Grandval, of Pfermund, and of St. Ursanne in the diocese of Bâle. Others sought entrance at Luxeuil only to be initiated into the monastic spirit. When their apprenticeship was finished, they departed and founded elsewhere copies of the model which they had admired in the Vosges. Such were the establishments of Romaric, Frodobert, Berchaire, Ebertramme, Theudofred, Valery, Bertin, which in turn founded the monasteries of Remiremont (Habend), Montier-la-Celle, Hautevilliers, Montiérender, St. Quentin, Corbie, St. Valery (Leuconaüs), St. Omer (Sithiu). Others went out from Luxeuil to become bishops; among them were Audomar, bishop of Therouania, Leudin-Bodon, bishop of Toul; Chagnoald, bishop of Laon; Hermenfroy, bishop of Verdun;

[1] Hauck, i. 288–307; G. Bonet-Maury, "Saint Colomban et la fondation des monastères irlandais en Brie," in *Rev. historique*, lxxxiii. 277–299, 1903.

Achaire, bishop of Vermandois; Regnacaire, bishop of Bâle; Mommolin, bishop of Noyon; Donatus, bishop of Besançon. Several of these bishops themselves founded monasteries: Donatus, for example, built St. Paul at Besançon; Audomar called Bertin to Sithiu, and furnished lands for his abbey. During the seventh century, Luxeuil was a nursery of bishops and monks.

But Columban did not confine his activity to Luxeuil. His influence reached regions which his monks had never yet penetrated. He had admirers in the world who made a point of imitating him. He counted especially on Autharius, who had shown him hospitality on his return from Nantes. Autharius had three sons, Adon, Radon, and Dadon. All three, when they reached the age of manhood, consecrated monasteries. Adon founded Jouarre, his brother Radon built Rueil, and Dadon founded Rebais, from which place came Philibert, who was to establish Jumièges, Noirmoutier, Montévilliers, and restore Quincy. But the work of Columban evoked enthusiasm elsewhere than in the family of Autharius. The royal treasurer Eloi, the count of the Palace, Wandregesile (Wandrille), also wished to reproduce copies of Luxeuil. Wandregesile founded in Neustria (Normandy) the celebrated abbey of St. Wandrille (Fontenelle). From Solignac came Rémacle, who established three monasteries in the Rhine countries (Cougnon, Stavelot, Malmedy). Were it advisable, other names might be cited here. It is enough to mention Gall and Potentien, both companions of Columban, who founded, the one the monastery of St. Gall, which still exists in Switzerland, the other the monastery of Coutances, in that part of Neustria which is now called Normandy.

Columban was thus the patriarch of monastic life in the seventh century. He was also its legislator. To this army of monks that he had created—more precisely, to the veterans of this army, for he did not foresee the developments of his work—he gave a code, a rule, *regula monachorum* supplemented by the *regula cœnobialis*,[1] from which the following

[1] Migne, lxxx., 209; Seebass, in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xvii. 215; Ozanam, *Études germaniques*, iv. 109; Hauck, i. 267.

is an extract: "Let the monk live in the monastery under the law of one father, and in the company of several, to learn humility from the one and patience from the others: from the former, silence; from the latter, meekness. Let him not do as he pleases. He should eat what he is ordered to eat; he should not possess except what he receives; he should obey commands that he does not like. He is not to go to his bed unless exhausted with fatigue; on falling asleep he should submit to awaking before his sleep is finished. If he has suffered an injury, let him keep silence." But this rule of Columban, which in its general lines is hardly anything but the reproduction of former monastic codes, punishes the least infractions with fastings on bread and water, by periods of supplementary penance, and especially by numerous flagellations. In other words, it pursued too rigorously the evangelical ideal. It presumed too much on human weakness; besides, it did not sufficiently enter into the details of daily life. It was wanting in precision. The enthusiasm which animated its first disciples made them endure this severity, and it supplied these deficiencies. But after some years enthusiasm waned; the defects of the work of Columban appeared. Then search was made for a legislation better adapted to the conditions of monastic life. This was not hard to find; for from the middle of the sixth century it controlled several Italian monasteries. Columban, who took the place of Cæsarius, was in turn superseded by a monk older than himself and a contemporary of Cæsarius.[1] This fortunate rival was Benedict.

ST. BENEDICT [2]

St. Benedict was born at Nursia in Umbria about 480. In early manhood he retired from the world, being alarmed at its corruptions. He withdrew to Subiaco, to a wild grotto not far from the Arno. There he led a solitary life;

[1] Hauck, i. 307.

[2] F. A. Gasquet, *A Sketch of the Life and Mission of St. Benedict*, London, 1895; Grützmacher, *Die Bedeutung Ben. und seiner Regel*, Berlin, 1892; H. Grisar, *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste*, Freiburg, 1906; Montalembert, i., ii.

but gradually admirers gathered about him, and became his disciples. This hermit at last found himself at the head of twelve monasteries. Subiaco was not to be his final dwelling-place. In 529 he left Umbria and went to settle at Mount Cassin in Campania. There he founded a monastery which he ruled until his death (about 542). At his monastery he prescribed a rule, consisting of seventy-three chapters, which was borrowed from St. Basil and from Cassein; but he arranged it himself.

The rule elaborated by Benedict was well-balanced, specialized, and practical, being far superior to that of Cæsarius. Yet it was slow in spreading. Throughout the sixth century it was confined to certain Italian monasteries. The *Vita Mauri*, which asserts the contrary, is a romance. It was not foreseen that the former hermit of Subiaco, the founder of Mount Cassin, would one day be the patriarch of monastic life in the entire Occident; and he would never have had this honour had he not found a powerful protector in Pope St. Gregory.

Gregory had an adoration for Benedict. It was the rule of Mount Cassin to which he subjected the monastery of St. Andrew, which he founded at Rome in 575. After he had become Pope he devoted a book of his *Dialogues* to the celebration of the virtues and miracles of his favourite saint; and when he determined to invite the Anglo-Saxons to embrace the Christian faith, he asked for labourers from the monastery of St. Andrew. Monks carried the rule of St. Benedict to England. The *Dialogues* were circulated in Gaul, in Lombardy, and in Allemania. Monks and *Dialogues* made ample conquests. The Continent may be noticed first. At an early date, probably in 630, Luxeuil abandoned its illustrious founder and put itself under the direction of the Umbrian monk. This abandonment became more general. About 660, Lerins followed the movement. At that time a council of Autun recommended the Benedictine rule to all the monks. At the beginning of the seventh century, Columban had swelled the sail of the monastic bark; fifty years later Benedict was at the helm.

During this period the Roman monk Augustine built a monastery at Canterbury. His companion Mellitus founded Westminster; the Anglo-Saxon Wilfrid established Peterborough; Benedict Biscop founded Wearmouth and Yarrow. At the end of the seventh century, England was won to the Benedictine rule. Then it made proselytes. The Anglo-Saxon Boniface founded in Germany, Ohrdruff, Fritzlar, and Fulda; another Anglo-Saxon, Pirmin, endowed Alsace and the Rhenish country with monasteries. It is needless to prolong the list. In the eighth century, the spiritual family of Benedict had spread throughout the Occident.

The members of this family were sometimes of noble origin; others had brilliant destinies. Among the monks of England may be counted about thirty of its kings or of its queens, notably Sigebert, king of East Anglia; Ceowulf and Eadbert, kings of Northumbria; Ina, king of Wessex; Sebbi and Offa, kings of Essex; Cœnrad, king of Mercia; Ethelburga, Eanfleda, and Elfleda princesses of Kent. Boniface is also to be mentioned (about 680–754), who left his monastery of Nursling at an early day and went to evangelize Germany; also Bede (about 637–735), who passed his life at Yarrow, where he wrote the history of his country; and, finally, Alcuin (about 735–804), who taught literature at York until the day when Charlemagne secured him for France.[1] The monastic life did not have the same attraction for the Frankish that it had for the Anglo-Saxon princes. Yet it made some converts among the former; the queen Bathilde entered the monastery of Chelles which she had founded during the last fifteen years of her life (680). Itta, wife of Pepin of Landen, ended her days in the monastery of Nivelle which she had founded (652); her daughter Gertrude accompanied her. Arnoul, the ancestor of the Carolingians, who had become bishop of Metz after having been a soldier, resigned his bishopric and became a monk (641). The brother of Pepin the Short, Carloman, duke of Austrasia, left his throne (747) and shut himself up at Mount Cassin. Two years later a Lombard king Rachis

[1] Montalembert, v.

also abdicated and became a monk. Throughout the eighth century, monastic institutions did not cease to prosper.

But this prosperity had its usual effect; it gave rise to abuses. The observance of rules ceased gradually in most of the monasteries; and so, too, did the Christian virtues. These houses, which had served as asylums of piety, were in many cases haunts of dissipation. Charlemagne could have remedied the evil, or at least could have lessened it, had he cared to take the trouble; but this did not occur to him. He paid little attention to the abbeys, except to grant them to his bishops or to men whom he wished to reward.[1] It was then that Benedict of Aniane made his appearance.[2] He was the son of a count of Aquitania, and was educated at the court of Pepin. Benedict, who was at first named Witiza, in 773 entered the abbey of St. Seine (diocese of Langres), and leaving it later on, founded (about 779) a monastery in his own country on the bank of the Aniane. Benedict was a thoroughgoing monk. He sought to follow and to make others follow the Benedictine rule in all its purity. His house set an example to the others. It was a model monastery. It was a model which, except for a happy coincidence, would not have been imitated. Louis the Debonnair governed Aquitania. He took an interest in Benedict, showed him favour, and entrusted to him the inspection of the monasteries in Aquitania. Benedict became a power. He was asked to give advice, and to furnish a supply of monks. He did both, and thus saw the Benedictine rule once more established in the houses where it had been abandoned. His authority increased after the death of Charlemagne (814). Louis the Debonnair having become emperor, fixed his seat at Aix-la-Chapelle and summoned into his presence the Aquitanian reformer, built for him, at a distance of two hours from his palace, the abbey of Cornelimunster [3] (called also the abbey of Inda from the name of the

[1] Hauck, ii. 565–575.

[2] Ardo, *Vita S. Benedicti abbatis anianensis*, Migne, ciii. 353; *Mon. Germ.*, Scriptores, xv. 200; Hauck, ii. 575–576.

[3] *Vita*, 35.

river on which it was situated), and entrusted to him the guardianship of all the monasteries of the empire. In this high position, Benedict laboured with increased ardour to regenerate the monastic way of living. Through the intervention of the emperor, from whom he obtained whatever he desired, he organized a congress of monks in the imperial palace at Aix-la-Chapelle.[1] From all parts of the Frankish empire, abbots accompanied by their monks assembled in convocation (817). Benedict kept them there for several days, preached to them, spoke to them on the necessity of reform, and explained to them that the cure of the evil was to be found in the employment of the Benedictine rule. The entire assembly was of this opinion, which was also the opinion of the emperor. It was decided that in all the monasteries of the empire of the Franks, the rule of St. Benedict should be established and observed as a whole. The reform was sanctioned by the emperor. It was about to infuse new life into the monastic institutions, and to give them a fresh impulse.

Unfortunately it was not applied. The emperor's nephew Bernhard, and then his son, revolted against him; and he could not aid Benedict, who, indeed, died in 821. The decrees of Aix-la-Chapelle were soon forgotten, and the abuses continued. Then came the Normans, who destroyed some monasteries and increased the disorder in others. The undertaking of Benedict of Aniane and of Louis the Debonnair was an attempted rather than an actual reform. At the beginning of the tenth century the monastic decadence was deep-seated. The council of Trosly, which met in 909, took notice of this, and deplored it in the famous canon 3: "To whom it may concern, in regard to the existence of monasteries, or rather in regard to that which concerns their ruin, we do not know what to say or do. In punishment for our crimes, which began at the house of the Lord, part of the monasteries have been burned or destroyed by the pagans; others have been pillaged and almost annihilated. Those of which some ruins remain, have preserved no regular discipline."

[1] *Vita*, 36.

England afforded the same spectacle. There, too, monastic institutions were corrupted by disorders concerning which information is given in the writings of Bede[1] (734), who says: "There are, as we all know, innumerable places which bear the name of monasteries where not the least monastic observance is to be found. . . . Indeed there are numerous establishments which have no value for God or man." There also pirates from the north accomplished their work of devastation. Coming from Denmark about 837, they began a work of pillage in England. In 871, when Alfred sought to drive them out, the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic monasteries had disappeared.

In the tenth century the attempt made by Benedict of Aniane and Louis the Debonnair was renewed; and this time the effort was crowned with success. The monastic life may be said to have emerged from the tomb and to have entered upon a new career. This advance was wonderful. Monasteries were built and rebuilt as if by magic, and they rivalled one another in enthusiasm. This was permanent. In the eleventh century the effort had not died out. The Benedictine rule remained. At this time the only concern was to apply it with full vigour. This was the work of certain monks who were supported by men of wealth and power. This collaboration, which gave it its intensity and its permanency, proves that it responded to a general need. It became incarnate at Cluny, which without having a monopoly was the highest example of the tendency.

CLUNY

In the centre of Burgundy a young monk, Bernon, directed two monasteries at Gigny and Baume, and there the Benedictine rule was obeyed in all its purity. Being informed of his merits, William, duke of Aquitania, marquis of Auvergne and count of Maconnais, gave him the village of Cluny and its environs, requiring him to build there a monastery where the rule of St. Benedict would be observed. The deed of gift

[1] Migne, xciv. 659

has come down to us. Its date is 11th September 910. Such is the origin of Cluny (department of Saône-et-Loire) It was due to the initiative of a feudal lord who was fascinated by the virtue of a monk. It was the first example of a kind of collaboration to which we have already called attention, and which is to be met with at every step in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Bernon died in 927. After that Cluny was governed by Odon (942), Aymar (965), Maïeul (994), Odilon (1049). These men, with whom one must associate William of Dijon and Richard of Verdun, were for more than a century the great workers in monastic reform. This rôle, be it remarked, was one which they did not arrogate to themselves; they were its recipients. A certain lay or ecclesiastical lord would have on his estate one or more abbeys either ruined or decayed. He obtained help from Cluny. In this way Odon received Fleury on the Loire, St. Julien of Tours, St. Pierre of Tulle, and St. Martial of Limoges. By Maïeul were founded, St. Maur-des-Fossés, Marmoutier, and Peterlingen. This last-named abbey was a gift of the empress Adelaide, wife of Otto I. According to a monk of that time, Otto himself entrusted to Maïeul the inspection of all the royal monasteries of Germany and Italy. William was a monk of Cluny whom Maïeul sent to St. Benigne of Dijon (990). He had under his orders forty abbeys or priories which had been committed to him by the king of France, the duke of Normandy, the duke of Burgundy, the bishop of Langres, and the bishop of Metz. Richard applied to Odilon, who sent him to St. Vannes of Verdun (1004). He did not remain at Cluny,[1] but he retained the spirit with which he had been imbued in the cloister of Reims which had been reformed by the abbey Fleury. After having become the abbot of St. Vannes he obtained an influence comparable to that of William of Dijon.[2] More than twenty monasteries were confided to his care.

The reform, it need not be said, did not enlist the sympathies of those upon whom it had been imposed. The

[1] Hauck, iii. 463. [2] *Id.*, *ib.* 466.

monks of Fleury had, at one time, the idea of killing Odon, who interfered with their habits. Those of St. Maur-des-Fossés preferred to leave their monastery rather than to change their manner of life: on all sides there were protests and murmurings; but everywhere force was with the law, that is, with the will of the master of the abbey, and of the reformers who carried out his orders. And the abbey, subjected once more to the Benedictine rule, became at times of its own accord a centre of reform. This was notably the case at Fleury. In the second half of the tenth century, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, afterwards of York, having previously entered Fleury on the Loire in the spirit of St. Benedict, founded seven monasteries. Certain English monks came to the same abbey to ask for monastic organization. Then they left to carry the reform to Glastonbury, to Winchester, to the principal Saxon abbeys.[1] England did not escape the influence of Cluny.

Germany also, to a certain extent, felt this influence from the middle of the tenth century, if it be true that Otto I. committed to Maïeul the supervision of the German and Italian monasteries. In any case, the spirit of Cluny was conveyed across the Rhine by Poppon.[2] Poppon was a disciple of Richard of Verdun. About 1020, chance circumstances brought him into contact with Henry II. of Germany. Attracted by the qualities of this monk, the emperor wished him to enter his service, and claimed him from Richard, who was obliged to surrender him. Poppon was at once charged with the government of the abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy, to which was soon added the abbey of St. Maximin at Trèves. From Conrad, the successor of Henry, he received monasteries to reform or to found, notably those of Limburg and St. Gall. Others he obtained from bishops who were bent upon following the example set by the emperor. This movement, originating at Cluny, and inaugurated by Poppon in Germany, was continued throughout the eleventh century. But this was not all. The reform of Cluny penetrated into Italy and Spain, and even into Poland, where it was introduced

[1] Mabillon, *Annales*, iii. 567. [2] Hauck, iii. 499.

by the king Casimir, who indeed, before ascending the throne, had for seven years been a monk at Cluny.

From the beginning the gifts which flowed in expressed to Cluny all the gratitude which was felt for the work done there. Odon alone received two hundred and sixty-one deeds of gift. His successors received as much, or even more. From the beginning of the eleventh century the abbot of Cluny owned immense estates. His authority was correspondingly great. He held actually in his control not all, but a majority of the monasteries which had been reformed. He was their chief; he directed the Benedictine houses which, while once isolated, now formed a congregation, that is, an organization, at the head of which was Cluny. The abbot of Cluny was one of the most important personages in Christendom. Already, in 973, Otto II. wished to put Maïeul on the pontifical throne; but the latter declined the honour, and insisted on remaining a monk.[1]

A power so considerable could not be destroyed in a few years. For centuries Cluny was a social institution; but the spirit which animated its founders gradually died out. At the end of the tenth century, laxity invaded the congregation, attended by abuses which developed progressively. Thenceforth those who were thirsting for mortification, penitence, and abnegation did not any longer address themselves to Cluny to slake their thirst.

Of a truth, Cluny had never had a monopoly of the ascetic life. Already in the first half of the tenth century, Bernon and Odon had rivals.[2] Among them was Gerard, who (913) founded a monastery at Brogne near Namur, and reformed a number of abbeys in lower Lorraine (in what is now Belgium); like the monks of Metz who (935) re-established the Benedictine rule under the patronage of bishop Aldaberon, in the region of Metz, and made a way for Cluny in upper Lorraine; like that fiery Italian anchorite Nil (910–1005), who from his hermitage at Grotta Ferrata recalled the principles of morality to his depraved contemporaries. But it was especially at the end of the tenth

[1] Hauck, iii. 383. [2] *Id.*, *ib.* 355.

century that ascetic undertakings were multiplied. Some were owing to flight and retirement from the world; others, on the contrary, had apostolic aims which obliged them to mingle with men of the world, to convert them, and formed what are called the mendicant orders. Still others made it their mission to fight the foes of the faith with the sword. And, finally, others devoted themselves to works of charity. They were grouped then about four fundamental types which we are now about to consider.

MONASTIC REVIVALS AFTER CLUNY

I. *Before the Mendicant Orders.*—In the first group are the following: Romuald,[1] who in the years between 980 and 1027 founded different hermitages in Italy, notably that of the Camaldoli, from which proceeded the Camaldules; Jean Gualbert, who after following Romuald separated himself from him and founded at Vallombrosa near Florence (1039), a hermitage into which he introduced shortly afterwards the rule of St. Benedict; Herluin, who founded the Abbey du Bec (1039) in Normandy; Etienne of Thiers in Auvergne (1076), who founded the order of Grandmont on Mount Muret; Bruno, who established the Chartreuse near Grenoble; Robert de Molesmes, who founded the abbey of Citeaux (1098); Robert d'Arbrissel,[2] who built in Anjou the two abbeys of Fontevrault, one intended for men, the other for women (1099); Norbert, who founded the abbey of Prémontré near Laon (1120); Berthold, who with some companions settled on Carmel (about 1156); the Flemish priest Lambert "Le Béghe," who (about 1170) preached repentance at Liège, made a number of young women, who were called "Béghines,"[3] leave the world, and assembled them in a secluded place, thus founding the first convent of Béghines; the seven citizens of Florence, who on 15th August 1233 founded in this town he order of Servites (slaves of Mary).[4]

[1] Hélyot, v. 233. [2] Hélyot, v. 294, vii. 406.
[3] E. Hallman, *Die Geschichte des Ursprungs der belgischen Beghinen*, Berlin, 1843. [4] Hélyot, iii. 302, 316, 353.

These holy personages all wished to lead their disciples to perfection, but they did not all follow the same path. Romuald, Bruno, Berthold, who was probably inspired by Bruno, the seven founders of the Servites, Lambert le Béghe, made the hermit life their ideal.

Norbert adhered to what is called the rule of St. Augustine, an anonymous system which certain bishops for a time endeavoured to introduce among the clergy. Others took the rule of St. Benedict as their guide. Nevertheless, Robert d'Abrissel introduced some strange modifications which made it scarcely recognizable. In particular, he decided that the abbess of Fontevrault should be chief of the order, and that even the men should obey this woman. This was in honour of the Holy Virgin, who at the Saviour's passion was committed to the apostle St. John.

The institutions to which these men submitted had various destinies. The Carmelites, dedicated to a hermit life, followed it as long as they dwelt on Carmel. In 1138, when the Saracens drove them away, they came into Europe, and soon afterwards settled in England. Then they changed their organization, ceased to be hermits, and followed the fashion of the mendicant orders, especially of the Dominicans. We shall encounter them again, when we consider the great family of the mendicant orders. A century and a half before the Carmelites, the Carmaldules effected an analogous evolution. They abandoned the hermit life to which their founder Romuald had consecrated them, and modelled themselves, not after the mendicant orders, which did not then exist, but according to the rule of St. Benedict. The Carthusian friars for a while led a hermit life with all its austerity, as is proved by the words of Guibert de Nogent: "They do not have a common dwelling like other monks, but each has his cell near the cloister. There they work, take their repasts and their rest. On Sunday they receive bread and vegetables for the week, and cook the vegetables for themselves. That, if I am not mistaken, constitutes their nourishment. They hear mass only on Sundays and festivals." But, while they were hermits, they made some concessions to social life

which is essential to human nature. It is notable that they decided to take their meals and their recreation in common. In the thirteenth century the order of Carthusians occupied one hundred houses, but it never had a great extension.

The disciples of Etienne de Thiers were driven from Muret shortly after the death of their master, and settled in the desert of Grandmont, from which they took their name. In the middle of the twelfth century the order had sixty houses, but its growth was checked by the early schisms of its members.

The Premonstrant friars at the beginning of the thirteenth century owned five hundred houses; at the end they had more than a thousand. They were especially numerous in Germany, where several sees were rightfully occupied by disciples of Norbert. The order of Fontevrault was for the most part confined to France, where it had only a moderate development. Moreover, the strange supremacy of the abbess of Fontevrault caused much difficulty, which at times degenerated into disorder. The Abbey du Bec colonized little, but it won undying glory by two of its members, Lanfranc and Anselm, who, having taught there, became in succession archbishops of Canterbury.

The monastery of Citeaux gradually decayed because there were no novices, but in the spring of 1121 a young Burgundian named Bernard came on the scene, bringing with him thirty companions. Later on, the Cistercians venerated Bernard as their founder. They took, especially in France, the name of Bernardines. They were right, for it was Bernard who caused an army of monks to come forth from a house that was almost extinct. Scarcely had he entered Citeaux when young men came to him in throngs. In 1113 there were swarms of them, and every year it was the same. In 1115 the monastery of Clairvaux was founded, of which Bernard became the abbot; and it soon eclipsed Citeaux. In 1130 the Cistercian order controlled thirty houses; ten years later it had one hundred and thirteen. At the time of Bernard's death it was in possession of two hundred and eighty-eight (1153), and later still there were more than

seven hundred. Wealth increased their power. For a century the Cistercians enjoyed the confidence of the Holy See. It was to them that Popes Alexander III. and Innocent III. appealed when they began the conflict with the Albigenses: but shortly afterwards they were eclipsed by the mendicant friars.

In a short time the Béghines had a wonderful expansion in Flanders, France, and Germany. Many cities possessed fifty, sixty, one hundred *béghinages*, and even more. Every village had some of them. Gathered under the direction of a superior, their primitive hermit life soon gave place to the life of a community. The Béghines practised penance, and by their work provided for their needs. In the twelfth century they were forestalled by the Franciscans and Dominicans, who imbued them with their spirit, and made them tertiaries in the two orders. This monastic influence had three results. First, the Béghines, who were originally free to renounce the penitential life whenever they chose to do so, to leave their monastery and return to the world, were gradually led to take vows and to follow the conventual life. This was not so everywhere, but it was the case in many places. Second, in order to conform to the rules of their directors, some of them, long before the time when they made their vows, gave up living by the fruit of their labours, and made mendicancy one of their rules. Lastly, many of them, victims of their contact with the enthusiastic Franciscans or *fratelli*, were led into an exaggerated mysticism, fell into heresy, and were suspected by the hierarchy, which put difficulties in their way, and condemned them. These heretical or revolutionary women were often disgraced with the name of "Béghardes" as opposed to the true "Béghines." But Béghines and Béghardes had such close relations that it was difficult to distinguish between them; and the discredit attached to the latter frequently injured the former. Clement V. proscribed both orders (1311). John XXII. endeavoured to enforce this measure, but was forced to capitulate in the presence of the threats of the people and of the Franciscans. But a half-century later, Popes Urban V. and Gregory XI., supported by the emperor Charles IV., believed

that they could advance resolutely in the path marked out by Clement v. Then the Béghines were made the object of violent persecutions, which reduced their numbers and disorganized them. Just before the advent of Protestantism they were completely decadent.[1]

The citizens of Florence, whom the people called "Slaves of Mary" (Servites), retired some leagues from that city to Mount Senario (1236). The Servites increased and gathered in several regions of Italy. Under the reign of St. Louis they penetrated into France and settled at Paris, where they received the name of "White Cloaks" (*Blancs Manteaux*). Pope Innocent v. disliked them, and endeavoured to suppress them altogether; but they received favours from Honorius iv. and Martin v. In 1567, Pius v. placed them in the ranks of mendicant orders.

II. *The Mendicant Orders.* — The ascetic institutions devoted to the apostolate formed what are usually called the "Mendicant Orders." To this class belonged the Franciscans or Minor Friars, the Dominicans or Friar Preachers, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians. It is here that the Waldenses have a place, who were the first of the mendicant orders, but being victims of unfavourable circumstances were driven from the Church.

Peter Bernadoue, who early received the name of Francis, was born at Assisi, a small town in Umbria (1182). His youth was somewhat dissipated, but, at about the age of twenty-four, he was converted, gave up his property, and led a life of piety. Persecuted by his father, to whom he abandoned all his clothing, and becoming an object of ridicule, he met nevertheless with some admirers who joined him. This was the humble germ of a tree which in the future was to grow to gigantic proportions (1209). After some months they bore the name of Minor Friars; in the meantime they were known as Penitents of Assisi.[2]

[1] H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, iii. 371 et seq., New York, 1888.

[2] P. Sabatier, *Vie de St. François d'Assise*, Paris, 1894 (*Life of S. Francis of Assisi*, London, 1894); Hauck, iv. 366.

This small company at first evangelized Umbria; then Francis went to Rome to ask the pontifical approval of his work (1210). Pope Innocent III. received without enthusiasm this man, who seemed to him a visionary. After vainly seeking to discourage him, he authorized him to make the attempt. This partial approval was enough for Francis, who resumed his apostolic career. His reputation for sanctity was now firmly established. Moreover, wherever he went he was received with veneration, and he evoked enthusiasm. People listened to him, admired him, and also wished to imitate him, to share his poverty and his destitution. Every year brought him fresh companions, and also women associates; for in 1212 a young girl Claire took her place beside the friars, and her example was followed by others. The nuns remained in the monasteries, but the friars scattered, and, by order of their superior, went to evangelize Morocco, Syria, Hungary, France, Germany, and England. At this time Francis undertook the conversion of Egypt and Palestine. But his health, already shaken by his austere life, was after 1209 ruined by the ecstasies which he experienced, which became more and more frequent and protracted, and which at length imprinted stigmata in his flesh, that is to say, fleshy blackish growths resembling vaguely the marks of the nails which pierced the limbs of Christ. Francis died in 1229. At this date the Roman Church had for ten years taken an interest in his work; it had even for three years approved it (1223).

It had approved it, but at the same time it had modified it. It found itself in the face of a prodigious evangelical movement, from which two or even three religious orders were recruited. The Minor Friars became monks; the companions of Claire became Benedictine nuns; other disciples of Francis remained in the world, bearing the name of Tertiaries. Then absolute poverty was replaced by collective property. Francis, who witnessed this work of deformation, tried to prevent it. Notwithstanding his filial attachment to the Roman Curia, he declared that he had received the direction of his life from the Lord Himself, and he forbade his friars to change it

in any respect. This is what he said in his will: "When the Lord granted me brethren, no one showed me what I ought to do; but the Most High Himself revealed to me that I should live according to the pattern of the Holy Gospel. . . . I have done manual work, and I wish to continue it; moreover, I desire all the other friars to engage in some honourable business. Let those who have none learn one, not to receive a price for labour, but in order to set a good example, and to avoid idleness. I forbid absolutely all the friars, no matter where they are to be found, to ask any bull of the Court of Rome, either directly or indirectly. . . . I forbid absolutely all friars, clerks, or laymen to introduce modifications into this will, under pretext of explaining it."

These efforts of Francis were unavailing. His work was altered during his life; it continued to be altered after his death. In 1229, Pope Gregory IX. canonized him; but the following year the same Pope declared to the Minor Friars that they were not obliged to obey the injunctions of the testament. He pointed out to them, besides, the way to evade the rule which forbade them to hold money. This consisted in resorting to trustworthy men outside the order, who would take charge of their fortune, would pay the debts of the friars, and would be considered as agents, not of the friars, but of the benefactors of the order.[1] In 1245, Innocent IV. authorized once more the employment of "trustworthy men" (*viri fideles* or *nuntii*), and he added that all property, the possession of which had been forbidden to the order, should be regarded as belonging to the Holy See, which would place it at the disposal of the monks. In 1255, Alexander IV. repeated the declaration of Innocent IV. In a word, the Minor Friars could buy, sell, build, amass provisions, and consume them; nevertheless, they owned nothing, and never acted as owners. All the property at their disposal belonged to the Holy See. They had only the usufruct, which conferred no right, which was only usage *de facto*. They practised absolute poverty, even as Christ and

[1] Bull *Quo elongati*, Potthast, 8620; *Ad mandatum illud vos dicimus non teneri.*

the Apostles practised it, and like them possessed nothing. Thanks to these subterfuges, the popes made a good appearance. They seemed to be faithful to the thought of Francis, which in reality they treated as a fiction.

This attitude of the papacy provoked murmurings and indignation among many Franciscans, but was applauded by the majority. From the very beginning, indeed, the great Franciscan family was divided into two parties; on the one hand were the fervent and *spiritual*, on the other the moderate and *conventual*. The first wished to obey to the letter the rule of Francis; the others regarded the rule as impracticable, and they made it less severe. The history of the Franciscan order for more than two centuries was chiefly the history of the struggle between the spirituals and the conventuals. The latter had numbers on their side, and Elias of Cortona, the second successor of Francis, who in 1232 governed the order, was on their side. At the end of seven years the spirituals succeeded in deposing him, but they gained almost nothing by the change. Finally, they triumphed with John of Parma (1247); then they set forth their programmes, expressed their ideas and their views as to the future. And one of them, Gérard of Borgo San Donnino, encouraged and perhaps aided by John of Parma, performed this task in the *Liber introductorius in Evangelium æternum* (1254).[1] The Introduction to the Eternal Gospel—it is usually referred to as the *Eternal Gospel*—announces that the reign of the Son which succeeded that of the Father is itself to come to an end in the space of six years (1260), and to be replaced by the reign of the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost will govern through the monks, just as the Son has governed through the secular clergy. Consequently the monks will then have all the power. They will, it is true, be persecuted by the secular clergy as well as by the Roman Church. But in case of extremity they can form an alliance

[1] E. Renan, "Joachim de Flore et l'Évangile éternel," in *Nouvelles Études d'histoire religieuse*, p. 272, Paris, 1884; P. H. Denifle, "Das Evangelium æternum und die Commissio zu Anagni," in *Archiv für Literatur*, i. 49–143; P. Fournier, "Joachim de Flore, ses doctrines, son influence," in *Rev. Questions historiques*, lxvii. 457–505, 1900; Lea, iii. 20 et seq.

with the infidels, and lead them into battle against the Roman Church. In any case they will not have to take into account the decisions of the Pope.

It may be seen that the spirituals, by dwelling so much on the ideal, had become revolutionaries. They were treated as such. Gérard, the author of the *Eternal Gospel*, was cast into prison for the rest of his life. The General of the Franciscans, John of Parma, was threatened with a like punishment, but by favour was authorized to retire to a convent. The spirituals, hitherto regarded as utopians, were henceforth under suspicion, were watched, and punished when an occasion arose. An occasion arose, indeed, for the apostles of poverty became more and more enthusiastic, and in 1317, John XXII. caused hundreds of them to be burned, some of whom were monks, others tertiaries.[1] These cruel measures, without ending the opposition, accomplished an important result. Those who persisted in rebellion were by the force of events separated from the Franciscan order, and lived as well as they could until the day when the Inquisition had them hunted out and made them take up their abode in dungeons. These were the Fraticelli. Those who remained in the Franciscan family laboured to realize their ideal by peaceful means. It was from among them that John of Valle came, who in the fourteenth century founded (1334) the *Strict Observance*.[2] Favoured by the council of Constance, and by Popes Martin V. and Eugenius IV., this institution was rapidly extended; at the close of the fifteenth century it had almost wholly absorbed the Franciscan family. But let us return to John XXII.

[1] Lea, iii. 72 et seq.

[2] O. Huttebrauker, *Der Minoritenorden zur Zeit des grossen Schismas*, Berlin, 1873; P. Thureau-Dangin, *Saint Bernardin de Sienne*, chap. v., Paris, 1896. The controversy concerning the poverty of Christ and of the Apostles broke out in 1321 and marks a second phase in the struggles which disturbed the Franciscan order. At the outset all the Franciscans made common cause with their minister general. The majority of the order did not separate themselves from him, so as not to put themselves in revolt against the papacy. Franz Ehrle, "Die Spiritualen," in *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i. 509, Berlin, 1885; "Historia septem tribulationum," *ib.* ii. 249; Fleury, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, xcii. 62, xciii. 14, Paris, 1717; Lea, iii. 129.

This Pope, who waged war to the death on the spirituals, also dealt a serious blow to the Franciscan order. In the year 1322 he issued several bulls in which were the following declarations: "To distinguish between actual profit and the right of profit is impossible. Whereas profit to be legitimate implies of necessity the right to profit by it, the Holy See cannot be the owner of the goods of which the Minor Friars have the benefit. To say that Christ and the Apostles possessed nothing, and did not have the right of property, is heresy." Among the Franciscans, not only in the camp of the spirituals but in that of the conventuals themselves, these assertions raised an opposition which was led by Michael of Césène, minister general of the order, and William of Occam. The poverty of Christ, said these dissenters, had been taught dogmatically by several Popes, particularly by Nicholas III. in his bull *Exiit.* In regarding as heresy a truth defined by his predecessors, John XXII. was himself guilty of heresy. For this reason he no longer belonged to the Church, and should be deposed from the pontifical throne.

Louis of Bavaria, who was at this time for other reasons in conflict with John XXII., took the side of Michael of Césène and of Occam. They, for their part, did their best for him; but they failed. John XXII. remained Pope until his death. Of the storm which seemed about to overwhelm him, there remained only his bulls, which contradicted those of his predecessors, in which afterwards Gallicans sought objections to the infallibility of the popes.[1]

Dominic[2] was born in Calahorra in old Castile (1170). About 1195 he was admitted to the chapter of Osma, which the bishop had just subjected to the rule bearing the name of St. Augustine. Until 1203, Dominic was merely a young

[1] Bossuet, *Defensio declarationis cleri gallicani*, ix. 41–45; Fleury, xciii. 15.

[2] Quétif-Echart, *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, i. 25, Paris, 1719; A. Touron, *La Vie de Saint Dominique*, 1739; H. Lacordaire, *Vie de Saint Dominique*, Paris, 1840; A. Drane, *The History of St. Dominic, Founder of the Friar Preachers*, London, 1891; J. Guiraud, "Saint Dominique et la fondation du Monastère de Prouille," in *Rev. historique*, 1897, lxiv. 225; *Id.*, *Saint Dominique*, Paris, 1899.

canon, thinking only of his own salvation. The apostolic vocation was awakened within him about 1204, during a journey which he made in the south of France in company with his bishop, Diego. The heresy of the Cathares was then prevalent in Languedoc, and the pontifical legates appointed to arrest it were hated by the populace, whom they treated cruelly, and whom they even scandalized by their insolent pomp. To the deplorable missionary methods of which he was the witness, Diego endeavoured to substitute a contrary method, and to present to the country the spectacle of a simple and austere life. He won to his opinions the legates, who abandoned their princely suite, travelled on foot through Languedoc in company with Cistercian monks, and preached the gospel. But after a short time the discouraged monks returned to their abbeys. One of the legates died, another changed his post, a third, Pierre Castelnau, was killed. Diego died; Dominic alone remained. He it was who was to carry out the plan of Diego. For several years he was a good missionary, nothing more. He preached to the heretics, and edified them. He kept aloof from the war brought on by Innocent III. He was alone, and had no labourers to command. It is only in 1215 that we find him settled at Toulouse at the head of a small company,—small, for it consisted of but six members, of whom history has preserved the names of Peter Cellasius and Thomas. But the company rapidly grew larger. Some months later it had almost tripled in size. At the end of six years (1221) it had sixty convents scattered through Christendom, divided among eight provinces. In 1228 the number of its provinces had risen to thirteen. From the beginning it was protected by Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, who granted it one-sixth of the tithes of his churches. At first, Rome was more than reserved. In 1215, Dominic visited Innocent III. at Rome and humbly begged him to approve his undertaking. He was coldly received. The only answer he obtained was the suggestion that he should choose one of the existing rules for his companions, and should abstain from creating a new order. Rome had satisfaction: the founder of the small

community at Toulouse gave his associates the rule of the canons of St. Augustine. But the papacy was not inflexible. At the end of 1216, Honorius III. approved the work of Dominic, and took it under his protection.[1]

The society of Friar Preachers originally possessed tithes, houses, and churches; it had the right to hold property; and there was nothing abnormal in this, since its members were regular canons. But Dominic was not slow to see that the wonderful success of the Franciscans was due to their poverty, and he determined to imitate them. At the general chapter in 1220 he put his society under the rule of poverty, and the following year he refused the tithes which the bishop of Toulouse granted him. Although they were regular canons, the Friar Preachers were after that time mendicant monks—a transformation theoretical rather than real; for the existence of their monasteries had always to be assured by endowments. In any case, it was a unique transformation.[2]

After 1220 the Dominican order made its way. Its history runs parallel to that of the Franciscans, of whom it was to be the desperate and often successful adversary. Soon the papacy confided the Inquisition to it; and this trust, of which, however, it was not the exclusive but the principal guardian, permitted it to exercise an immense influence upon the conscience.

The Carmelites[3] were as yet only hermits when they left Carmel and came to settle in England (1240). They quickly made many converts; but then they perceived that the life of hermits was not consistent with their new situation. The first general, Simon Stock, realized that an evolution was inevitable. He constructed a constitution partly after the plan of the Dominicans, and presented it to Innocent IV., who approved it (1247). From this time on

[1] Potthast, 5402, 5403, 5434, 5448.

[2] Quétif-Echart; *Acta Sanctorum, Auguste*, i. 494, 638; Potthast, 5763, 6542; *Realencyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd edition, iv. 768.

[3] Hélyot, i. 282; Papebroch, *Acta Sanctorum*, April, i. 769; May, ii. 709; J. Launoy, *De Simonis Stockii viso*, Opera, ii. 2, 379, Paris, 1731; Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, iii. 255, London, 1896.

the Carmelite order, subject to the Cenobite régime, took its rank with the mendicant orders founded by Francis and Dominic. It was their brother, that is to say, their rival, for it competed with them. This was a competition which would never have been serious except for special circumstances. The Carmelites asserted that their order had been founded by Elijah the prophet, that it was the most ancient of all the orders, and that it was the most illustrious of all, since it counted among its members, prophets, apostles, and the Virgin Mary herself. They likewise asserted that the fortunate Simon Stock had received from the Holy Virgin the scapular, all the holders of which were assured of their salvation. These false statements, which they did their best to spread, brought them an ample harvest of prestige and veneration. About the middle of the fifteenth century (1452), besides the Carmelite friars appeared the Carmelite nuns, whose founder was the general of the order, Soreth. This monk endeavoured to reform the order of the Carmelites which for more than a century had fallen into laxity, but he died by poison (1471).

In the thirteenth century, Italy abounded in hermitages, the inhabitants of which followed different rules, and sometimes observed none. To bring some order out of this chaos, Pope Alexander IV. called an assembly of all the anchorites in a single congregation subjected to the rule called that of St. Augustine, and partly realized his project (1256).[1] Such was the origin of the Augustinians. This order, which owed its origin to an ecclesiastical police measure, furnished the papacy with ardent defenders like that Augustinian Trionfo to whom the Pope was a kind of god; but it was from it that came one of the most terrible adversaries of the Holy See, Martin Luther.

In 1176, Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons, made the discovery that the disciple of Christ ought to renounce the goods of this world and conform his life to that of the Apostles. At once he despoiled himself of his fortune and

[1] Hélyot, iii. 7; Th. Kolde, *Die deutsche Augustiner Kongregation*, Gotha, 1879.

reduced himself to extreme poverty. Led by his example, many men and women renounced their possessions and became his disciples. Valdo, not content with encouraging them, made use of them. He sent them forth two by two on the mission of preaching to the world penitence and detachment. These wandering preachers, who had nothing on their feet but wretched sandals, were called by their admirers "the Poor of Christ," "the Poor of Lyons," "the Poor." Those who mocked them called them "barefoots" (*insabbati*). Such is the origin of those to whom posterity gave the name of Waldenses (Vaudois).

Valdo was a good Catholic, and desired the approval of his superiors. Learning that a council was about to meet at the Lateran, he sent his disciples there. These, both men and women, betook themselves to Rome, and asked to be authorized to continue their pious occupation (1179). They were contemptuously dismissed, and they returned to announce to their leader the failure of their request. Valdo was not disconcerted. Not being able to secure the support of the hierarchy, he dispensed with it and pursued his propaganda. But the archbishop of Lyons did not approve this. He drove Valdo and his band from the diocese; then some years after he denounced them at the council of Verona, where Lucius III. in company with Frederick Barbarossa presided (1184). His wishes were granted. The council of Verona inscribed "the Poor of Lyons" on the list of heretics whom the Church condemned, and whom the secular power was commanded to exterminate.

Condemned by the Church, Valdo and his disciples did not cease their efforts. Impelled by unwearied zeal, they went on with their conquest of souls, preaching wherever they could, in the streets, on the public places, in churches, in houses. And their preaching bore fruit. In a few years they spread into Lorraine, Germany, Languedoc, Aragon, Catalonia, and Lombardy. In the last named country they met the Confraternity of the Humiliated, who had the same end in view. They combined with it, or rather absorbed it. Like Languedoc, Lombardy was a favourite country of the

Poor of Lyons. Moreover, as a general rule, the masses of the people gave a good reception to these men and women of tried austerity. The governments looked at them from another point of view: it was their concern to follow the council of Verona. It will be elsewhere seen how they acquitted themselves of this task. It is sufficient here to say that the persecutions which decimated the Waldenses did not exterminate them. Entrenched in the mountains of Dauphiny, of Savoy, of Piedmont, the Poor of Lyons persisted throughout the Middle Ages; and when the hour of the Reformation arrived, they entered upon negotiations with the disciples of Luther, who believed that they saw in them their ancestors, the Protestants of an earlier day. The Waldenses were not Protestants.[1] The truth is that, obliged to give themselves an ecclesiastical organization, they had created a complete priesthood, and they had, besides, adopted some characteristics of the Cathares.

III. *Military Orders.*—There were three military orders, namely: the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem or Hospitaliers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. Reference is elsewhere made to the Knights of the Sword (*chevaliers porte glaive*), founded in 1212 by Albert of Livonia. It is enough here to say that this association was absorbed (1237) by the Teutonic Knights.

The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem[2] had their origin (1048) in the hospital founded at Jerusalem by certain citizens of Amalfi. This house, which was intended to receive sick pilgrims, to nourish them, and to protect them against ill-treatment by the Saracens, had no importance for fifty years. But after the crusaders had taken Jerusalem they heaped

[1] Hauck, iv. 862; H. Böhmer, in *R.E.* xx. 799; Lea, i. 76; Bossuet, *Histoire des variations*, xi. 71; A. Dieckhoff, *Die Waldenser im Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1851; K. Müller, *Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen*, Gotha, 1886; Bossuet (*loc. cit.* xi. 123) justly said of the Waldensians of the seventeenth century: "The Waldensians of the present are not predecessors, but followers, of the Calvinists."

[2] J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*, 4 vols., Paris, 1894; *Id.*, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre*, Paris, 1904; Hélyot, iii. 74, 98.

favours on the hospital, which therefore developed its service considerably. Yet the state of the institution was still precarious. To make it more permanent, Gerard, the guardian of the hospital, put the house under the protection of Pope Pascal II.,[1] who increased its endowments and granted it privileges (1113). Raymond du Puy, the successor of Gerard, issued rules which received the approval of Popes Innocent II., Eugenius III., and Lucius III. Thus was established the order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. For a long time it remained faithful to its twofold mission of hospitality and protection, which in the beginning had been assigned to it. Then little by little hospitality was sacrificed to protection, and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem became exclusively a military order. It was a powerful order, which occupied the strongholds of Palestine, and bravely defended the land against the Mussulmans. Nevertheless, the knights could not prevail against the enemy, which gradually drove them back, and ended by capturing from them St. John of Acre (1291). Driven from Palestine and decimated, the order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem seemed to be condemned to die. But, on the contrary, it was on the eve of beginning a new career. It settled at Rhodes, and made that island a bulwark of Christianity,—a bulwark against which for two centuries the efforts of the Turks were shattered. At length in 1522 the Grand Master, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, besieged by Soliman and abandoned by the Christian princes, after a heroic defence was forced to capitulate. Driven from Rhodes, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem were authorized by Charles V. to settle at Malta (1530). Then the name Knights of Malta was given to them.

The order of Templars[2]—so called because its first foundation was near the place where legend puts the site of Solomon's temple—was established in 1119 by the knight

[1] Jaffé, 6341.

[2] Lea, iii. 238–334; H. de Curzon, *La Régle du Temple*, Paris, 1886; G. Schnürer, *Die ursprungliche Tempelregel*, Freiburg, 1904; H. Finke, *Papsthum und Untergang des Templerordens*, Münster, 1907; G. Lizerand, *Clement V. et Philippe le Bel*, pp. 43, 250, Paris, 1910.

Hugues des Payens. The object of Hugues was to assure safety to pilgrims on their way to Palestine. In 1127 he wished to provide a rule for his companions, who were as yet few in number; and this task he confided to St. Bernard. In 1128 he went to France and appeared before the council of Troyes, which approved his undertaking and granted him the rule composed by St. Bernard. From this time on the order of the Templars, or, as was then said, "Poor Soldiers of the Temple," was canonically established. The Templars did not long remain poor. Kings and princes heaped riches upon them. Popes also, especially Eugenius III. and Alexander III., granted them many privileges. At the end of the thirteenth century they had vast domains throughout Christendom. They also had enemies—enemies who sometimes were only envious and jealous of their wealth; but at other times had serious grounds of complaint against them. For the Templars were not always able to resist the temptations of pride, and in more than one instance they despised the laws of justice, and indeed of simple humanity. Nevertheless, let us remark that their misdeeds were neither more numerous nor more serious than those of certain other corporations. Let us add, too, that their morals without being perfect bore comparison with those of other monks and of the clergy. On the whole, the Templars could carry their heads high, and had not to blush for their weaknesses and mistakes which were common to every one. As for their riches, these were in the care of the Holy See. But who would have robbed them? That, however, which appeared to be impossible was soon to become actual.

Philip le Bel, who was always in want of money, did not shrink from any means of getting it. To oppress the French with taxes, to make arbitrary confiscations, to debase the currency, were common proceedings during his reign. One day he carried his audacity to the point of expelling certain Jews from his kingdom in order to take possession of their property. About 1305 he devised a new expedient, which consisted in laying hands upon the fortune of the Templars. The affair was attended with some difficulty, considering that

the Templars, like the monks, were dependent on the Pope, and on him alone. But this obstacle was not of a kind to arrest the cunning Capetian. Philip knew the canon law; he knew that according to a pontifical decree the secular power, under pain of excommunication, was obliged to give forcible aid to the Church in the suppression of heresy. He resolved to induce the ecclesiastical authority to command him to arrest the Templars on suspicion of heresy. To obtain this precious imperative mandate he brought forward an indictment comprising many grievances, above all the five following: (1) The Knights Templar are not admitted into the order until they have denied Christ, and have spit upon the Cross; (2) they introduce obscene rites into the ceremony of initiation; (3) they consider sodomy as commendable; (4) they worship an idol; (5) those of them who are priests do not consecrate the Host at mass.

This plan was cleverly conceived. It remained only that it should be carried out. Philip applied to Pope Clement v., who owed his tiara to the king of France, and who, besides, was not of an energetic and strong race of men, and did not refuse to take his orders. Nevertheless, he reflected, consulted, took measures, and, above all, gained time. This did not advance the policy of Philip, who was in haste to achieve results. After two years of negotiations with Clement (1305–1307), he applied to the Grand Inquisitor of France. Friar William was the name of this personage, who was also called Friar Humbert,—a Dominican, confessor to the king, as well as being Grand Inquisitor. Desiring to please his august penitent, he called upon Philip to arrest all the Knights Templar resident in France. No order was ever better executed. On 13th October 1307 the Templars were arrested simultaneously throughout the kingdom of France. They were imprisoned, and then forced to appear before the commissaries of the king to be examined, or rather, let us say, to confess their guilt. For the inquiry was conducted according to the inquisitorial method which subjected the accused to torture, forbidding him to prove his innocence, and commanding him to confess his guilt: all this under pain of

going to the stake. Overcome by torture, terrified at the prospect of a fiery punishment, the unhappy Templars admitted everything that was asked of them. In accordance with the usual fiction, they declared that they had made their confessions freely, without constraint. Moreover, some of them had not courage to brave the torture, and to escape suffering hastened to confess their pretended crimes. Proud of the success of his method, on 16th October, Philip informed all the Christian princes of the matter, and urged them to follow his example. He was happy; he believed that he had attained his object.

But he had not taken Clement v. into account. The Pope combined with a sentiment of his own dignity a pride which outweighed the weakness of his character, and which sometimes gave him a semblance of energy. Upon receiving the news of the events of 16th October, Clement at once raised his voice, accused the king of encroaching on the jurisdiction of the Holy See, and then officially committed the affair of the Templars to cardinals chosen for the purpose (27th October 1307). Three weeks later, it is true, the weak Pontiff, alarmed at his own audacity, took a step in retreat. He declared that the guilt of the Templars was a fact juridically established, approved the conduct of the king of France, and commanded the Christian princes to imitate it (Bull. *Pastoralis præeminentiæ* of 22nd November 1307). But in February 1308 his desultory independence was revived, and he once more suspended the power of inquisitors and bishops, reserving to himself the prosecution of the Templars. In the presence of this unexpected resistance Philip resorted to the stringent measures which had succeeded so well during his conflict with Boniface VIII. He convoked the States-General at Tours (May 1308) and asked their advice. That which he had expected took place. The States-General declared the Templars to be worthy of death, and gave the king a free hand. Reinforced by their approval, Philip urged the Pope to capitulate.

Poor Clement, after vainly trying to resist, yielded. He was heartily desirous, however, of preserving appearances,

and of masking his change of front. With this in view he charged the bishops throughout the entire Christian world to report against the Templars (bull of 12th August 1308, already anticipitated by the bull of 5th July). Moreover, he reserved for an œcumenical council the right to give rules for the order itself. Lastly, he appointed a commission to make an investigation the results of which should serve as the basis of the decision of the council (other bulls of 12th August 1308). This display of entangled jurisdictions had the fault of being too complicated; yet if it had worked regularly, it would have offered guarantees of impartiality. But Clement proceeded to do his best to put the wheels of the machinery out of order. From the very first he urged the princes and the bishops to subject the Templars to torture, so as to extort their confessions. He did not make this recommendation to France, where the prelates concerned for the glory of the king had from the beginning vied with one another in manifesting their zeal, but to the rest of Christendom he made it. To give but one example: Edward II., king of England, who had forbidden the employment of torture in his realm, received by a pontifical letter of 6th August 1310 a severe admonition, and was directed to conform to the canons. Furthermore, the Pope did nothing to protect the commission charged with preparing the work of the œcumenical council against the ill-will of the king of France and of the bishops. He learned that the council of Sens had treated as backsliders, and for this reason had condemned to the stake, fifty-four Templars for having retracted before the pontifical commissaries the confession which had three years before been wrung from them by torture, and he made no protest against the infamy. Not less to be regretted was his attitude towards the œcumenical council. This assembly, composed of three hundred bishops, met at Vienne, in Dauphiny, on 16th October 1311. Clement tried to insist upon its issuing a sentence of condemnation. The bishops, with the exception of four, previously to condemning the knights desired themselves to put questions to them, to receive their depositions, and to hear their defence. That

amounted to declaring rather plainly that the procedure followed up to that time did not inspire them with confidence. Clement was obliged to swallow this affront and to give up proclaiming the guilt of the Templars as if it had been legally proven. But he took care not to authorize the appearance before the council of these unfortunate persons, to set forth facts which would have brought to light the craftiness of the king of France. He resorted to the expedient of abolition "by provision." Consequently he explained that the order of Templars, in the absence of proofs, could not be condemned, but that for the future its existence would be a permanent cause of trouble, and that he, the Pope, would therefore abolish it (bull of 22nd March 1312, published the following April at the second session of the council).

The order, which had been abolished without being condemned, held property, and had members over whom it was necessary to exercise some control. Clement exercised this control. He decided that the property of the Templars should be vested in the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. As to the members of the order, he sent them back to the provincial councils, with the exception of the leaders, concerning whom he reserved judgment. That was the theoretical solution. Practically, things did not take this course. Philip le Bel, who from the beginning had taken possession of the fortunes of the French Templars, was careful not to relinquish them. He testified his allegiance to the sentence of the Pope, gave promises, made use of subterfuges, but until his death kept the booty, which was surrendered only gradually and partially by his successors. In England, Edward II. tried to appropriate the spoils of the Templars, but he finally conformed to the pontifical decision. The provincial councils, with rare exceptions, failed to fulfil the mission which had been assigned to them. Clement, who had pledged himself personally to judge the chiefs of the order, did not keep his promise; for himself, he substituted a commission of cardinals. The latter after a long delay (1314) repaired to Paris and brought before it the digni-

taries of the Templars, who since 1307 had been languishing in dungeons, and condemned them to prison for life. The sentence was pronounced with great pomp before the portals of Notre Dame. Then a tragic incident occurred. In 1307 the Grand Master, Jacques de Molai, had confessed crimes of which the order had been accused. He had made this confession in the hope of being set at liberty. When he found that he was condemned to prison for life, he made a retraction, declared that in 1307 he had made false confessions, and proclaimed the innocence of the order of Templars. One of his companions followed his example. By this retraction both of them became heretical backsliders. Because of this they were at once condemned to the stake by Philip le Bel. Being taken immediately to a small island in the Seine, to the place where the statue of Henry IV. now stands, they perished in the flames (11th March 1314).

The order of Teutonic Knights,[1] founded in 1121 at St. John of Acre in Palestine, by Conrad the German chaplain, and in the same year endorsed by Clement III.,[2] was primarily intended to direct a hospital built near the walls of St. John of Acre by citizens of Bremen and of Lübeck (1189). It was therefore at its origin exclusively an asylum. This service was soon greatly appreciated in Germany, and gave popularity to those who performed it. A large number of German towns sent for the monks of St. John of Acre and entrusted their hospitals to them.

Yet after 1198 the monks of the hospital founded by Conrad had enlarged the circle of their duties. Still continuing the care of the sick, they had taken up the sword to fight the infidels in case of necessity. They remained monks, but these monks had made themselves knights. That was in Palestine. In Germany they were at first only monks; but there also, at the end of several years, a change took place. This was in 1226. Christian, bishop of the Prussians, made useless attempts to subdue the rebellious subjects in his diocese. He remembered that the Teutonic Knights acquitted

[1] G. Uhlhorn, in *R.E.* iv. 589; Hélyot, iii. 143, 165.
[2] Jaffé, 1667.

themselves as well on the battlefield as in the hospital, and he appealed to their martial courage. His expectation was not unfounded. The knights entered Prussia in 1230 and evangelized the country at the edge of the sword. The work took long, but it was successful. In 1283 the Prussians ceased to resist, and for a very good reason: they were exterminated. Being masters of the country, the Teutonic Knights peopled it with German colonists and governed it. When established at Marienburg as their capital, they made Prussia a State of which they were the kings. It was a prosperous State where agriculture and commerce flourished, and where wealth was developed day by day. So it went on for about a century; then the discipline of the order was weakened. Corruption entered their ranks. It was the beginning of their decadence. Poland observed the situation, and sought the opportunity of making a bold stroke. On 15th June 1410 it fell upon the knights and inflicted upon them the bloody defeat of Tannenberg. A half-century later the knights, who had become gradually weaker, were forced to sign the peace of Thorn, which took from them a part of Prussia, and left the other part only on condition that they should take an oath to become vassals of the king of Poland (1466). They took this oath, although most unwillingly, and for a half-century worked to have their revenge. But in 1525 the Grand Master of the order, Albert of Brandenburg, giving up the idea of revenge, negotiated with Sigismund, king of Poland, the treaty of Cracovia, which made the country a fief of Poland,[1] although administered by the Teutonic order. This act of apparent abnegation was really a crafty political manœuvre. Albert, who in his quality of knight had taken the vow of chastity, wished to marry, to leave the Roman Church and become a Protestant. He could not achieve this without the protection of Sigismund. To obtain this protection he consented to become duke of Prussia, that is, vassal of the king of Poland; but hereditary duke, with power to bequeath the crown to his children. Prussia became a duchy

[1] J. Pietsch, *Dict. d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, i. 1546, Paris, 1912.

where Protestantism found its best support. As for the knights, some of them—and these formed the majority—followed the example of Albert and apostatized: the remainder, scattered through Germany, elected a new Master and cherished the illusion that they were faithful to the past. The order of Teutonic Knights, indeed, continued to exist, but it was only a shadow. The apostasy of Albert of Brandenburg gave it its death-blow.

IV. *Hospital Orders.*[1]—In the first rank of humanitarian orders in the Middle Ages, the Friars of the Holy Ghost, the Trinitarian Friars, and the Friars of our Lady of Mercy have a place. In the background appear the Antonites, the Knights of St. Lazarus, the Haudriettes, the Friars of Haut-Pas, and other less important congregations which cannot here be mentioned.

The order of the Holy Ghost was devoted to the care of the sick. It was founded in 1178 by Guy of Montpellier,[2] who built it at the gate of this city. In 1198, Pope Innocent III. approved the work of Guy, and confided to this charitable man (1204) the direction of the hospital founded at Rome by the Anglo-Saxons (in Sassia). The Friars of the Holy Ghost pronounced the following oath: "I consecrate myself to God, to the Holy Ghost, to the Blessed Virgin, and to our lords the sick, to be their servant all the days of my life." During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they spread gradually over Europe, and occupied nine hundred houses, four hundred of which were in France. In the fifteenth century there occurred a decline, which obliged Pius II. and Sixtus IV. to suppress them.

The order of Trinitarians[3] had as its object the ransom of Christians who had been taken captive by Mussulmans. It

[1] G. Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebesthätigkeit im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1884.

[2] Hélyot, ii. 200; G. Brune, *Histoire de l'ordre hospitalier du Saint-Esprit*, Paris, 1892; Ch. de Smedt, "L'Ordre hospitalier du Saint-Esprit," *Revue des questions historiques*, lix. 216, 1893; Uhlhorn, p. 187.

[3] A. Hauck, *R.E.* xx. 123; P. Deslandres, *L'Église et le rachat des captifs*, Paris, 1902; *Id.*, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires*, 2 vols., Paris, 1903.

was founded at Cerfroid, in the diocese of Meaux, by Jean de Matha, a gentleman from the county of Nice. At Cerfroid, Jean met the hermit Felix of Valois, who seems to have become his assistant. At all events he was aided by the Countess Marguerite of Burgundy. His work, approved by two bulls of Innocent III., prospered (1198, 1199). After the year 1199 Jean was able to ransom from the Mussulmans of Tunis one hundred and eighty-six Christian captives. He died in 1213.

The order of Our Lady of Mercy was also designed to obtain the freedom of Christians taken captive by the Mussulmans.[1] Its founder was Pierre Nolasque, a native of Languedoc. Pierre, when he devised the plan, was in the service of Jayme I. of Aragon. Encouraged by this prince as well as by Raymond of Pennafort, who himself revised the rule of the new order, Pierre threw himself into the work (1228). He gathered companions, collected money, and ransomed Christians. His order, approved by Gregory IX. (in 1230 and 1235), spread throughout Europe, especially in Spain and the south of France. Pierre was not a priest; the same was true of the first Grand Masters who succeeded him. It was only about 1317 that the order of Our Lady of Mercy had a priest at its head.

The Antonites,[2] or Hospital Friars of St. Anthony, were founded in 1065 under the following circumstances. A young nobleman of Dauphiny was attacked with a malady known as "St. Anthony's fire." His father, Gaston, went to the Church of St. Didier la Mothe, which, it was said, possessed relics of St. Anthony, and he promised the saint, if he would cure his son, to dedicate his fortune to the relief of victims of the same disease. The son was cured; the father paid what he had vowed; and aided by nine companions, one of whom was his son, he founded a hospital at St. Didier. This small company, approved by Urban II. at the council of Clermont (1095), was transformed by Honorius III. into a

[1] Fr. Zumel, *Vita Sancti Petri Nolasci*, *Acta Sanctorum*, Janvier, ii. 981–988; P. Gams, *Kirchengeschichte Spaniens*, iii. 1, 236; Hélyot, iii. 271, 299.

[2] Hélyot, ii. 110; Uhlhorn, 178, 432, 478.

religious order governed by vows. In 1286 it adopted the rule called that of St. Augustine. For a time it developed and spread into most European countries. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it comprised three hundred and sixty-four houses.

The Knights of St. Lazarus[1] consecrated themselves to the service of lepers. Up to 1253 their Grand Master was a man who had once been leprous. They built hospitals in most of the European countries; but their chief house was in France, at Boigne. In 1150 there existed a hospital for lepers at Jerusalem, the keepers of which were made knights by Baudoin IV. (1174). This was probably the origin of the order of St. Lazare which (about 1490) was abolished by Innocent VIII.

The Haudriettes, founded about 1250 at Paris by Madame Haudry, were devoted to the care of the mendicant women.

The Friars of Haut-Pas were occupied in building bridges and in helping travellers. Coming from Lucques, where their existence was remarked (1127), they spread thence into different countries. At Paris they founded the hospital of St. Jacques of Haut-Pas.

V. *Orders subsequent to the Thirteenth Century.*—Here we meet with the Friars of the Common Life, the Minimes, the Order of St. Saviour or of St. Bridget, the Olivetans, the Jesuates, the Oblates, the Annonciades, and the Hieronymites.

The Friars of the Common Life[2] were founded by Gerard Groot, born in Holland (1340) at Deventer, in the diocese of Utrecht, whose early years were worldly, was converted (1375), lived a life of penitence, and gradually gathered some disciples around him. Such was the origin of the Friars of the Common Life. This society proposed to sanctify its members, but imposed no vows: it did not even require a life in common. It was therefore, properly speaking,

[1] Hélyot, i. 257; Uhlhorn, 272, 493.

[2] L. Schulze, "Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens," in the *Realencyclopädie*, iii. 472; Hélyot, ii. 347.

not a religious order: it was rather what would to-day be called a club. Its rule continued until the death of Groot (1384). After this the Friars of the Common Life felt the need of giving themselves an organization and statutes, of living a life in common,—a result which, after some experimental years, was obtained about 1392. Then the Friars of the Common Life, although they were not real monks,—they took no vows,—made an approach to the monastic life. Several of their oldest members adopted a more severe rule, and at Windesheim, near Zwolle, founded a congregation of regular canons. The Friars of the Common Life spread into Holland, Belgium, and Germany. They exercised a considerable influence on the education and instruction of the young. As for the congregation of Windersheim, it, too, had a certain expansion. To it belonged the author of the *Imitation*, Thomas à Kempis, in the bishopric of Cologne (1380–1471).

The Order of the Minimes[1] was founded about 1454 by Francis of Paula, a small town in Calabria. When scarcely more than a child, Francis led the life of a hermit, and gained a reputation for sanctity which brought him many disciples. The Minimes were hermits. Francis died in France (1507), at the château of Plessis-lez-Tours, where twenty years before Louis XI. had called him, to obtain through his intercession the grace of escaping death.

The Order of St. Saviour owes its origin to St. Bridget.[2] Bridget was of a noble Swedish family, and was born near Upsala (1303). Married, according to her father's wish, at the age of thirteen, she was nevertheless able to reconcile her duties as wife and mother with the practice of earnest piety and unwearied devotion to the poor. When about forty years of age she had visions. Christ appeared and made revelations to her, and enjoined upon her especially to found a new order. Bridget obeyed the divine commandment, and with the help of the king of Sweden founded the monastery

[1] Hélyot, vii. 426.

[2] H. Schück, *Svensk Literaturhistoria*, Stockholm, 1890; G. Binder, *Die heilige Brigitta von Schweden und ihr Klosterorden*, München, 1891; H. Lundström, "Brigitta," in *Realencyclopädie*, iii. 239; Hélyot, iv. 26, 43.

of Vadstena (1346). Thus arose the order of St. Saviour. In 1370 it was approved by Urban v., who three years later granted important indulgences to the monastery. Bridget, who exerted herself to obtain these favours, and who, besides, had a considerable ascendancy over Pope Urban v., the king, and the Swedish nobility, indeed over all those who came into contact with her, died at Rome (1373). Her order spread rapidly throughout the northern countries, and penetrated even into Italy and Spain. Each convent comprised thirteen priests and sixty nuns. The monastery of Vadstena was a powerful centre of literary culture in Sweden.

The Olivetans,[1] so called because their first monastery was established (1319) on Mount Oliveto, near Sienna, was founded by John Toloméi, who died in 1348. They followed the rule of St. Benedict, and should therefore be regarded as a branch of the great Benedictine family.

The Jesuates[2] were founded (1360) at Sienna by a rich merchant of that city, John Colombini. The order was approved by Urban v. (1367). It followed the rule of St. Augustine, and devoted itself to the care of the poor. Later, it engaged in more profitable occupations, and manufactured *eau de vie*. Clement ix. suppressed it (1669).

The Oblates[3] formed a congregation of women devoted to the care of the sick. The founder, Jeanne Françoise Romaine, assembled her first companions at Rome (1433), and obtained the approval of Eugenius iii.

The Order of the Annonciades[4] was founded (1502) under the following circumstances. Louis xii., king of France, before ascending the throne married Jeanne, the daughter of Louis xi., and sister of Charles viii. After becoming king he wished Rome to annul his marriage so that he might take as his wife Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles viii. Pope Alexander vi. granted him full permission, and Jeanne was set aside (1498). The poor queen retired to Bourges and founded a monastery of nuns devoted to the inculcation of the virtues of the Holy Virgin. This plan, even before it

[1] Hélyot, vi. 192.
[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vii. 418.
[3] Hélyot, vi. 208.
[4] *Id.* vii. 341.

had been executed, received the approval of Alexander VI. (1502); the monastery was established in 1503.

The Order of the Hieronymites[1] was founded in Spain (about 1320), by Vasco, and in 1377 received the approval of Gregory XI. It spread in Spain, Portugal, and America. Moreover, the kings of Spain willingly endowed it with their wealth. It was in a monastery of the Hieronymites at St. Just that Charles V. died. It may be added that in the course of the fifteenth century, three other congregations of the same name settled in Italy.

[1] Hélyot, iii. 435.

CHAPTER IV

The Pontifical Election

From the fifth to the sixteenth century the election of the Pope was subject to various regulations, several of which, it is true, had only shades of difference. At the time of St. Leo, the election took place by consent of the clergy and of the Roman people. But this primitive arrangement disappeared at the fall of the Western Empire. Indeed, Odoacer made a treaty with Pope Simplicius authorizing the former to preside at pontifical elections; and by virtue of this agreement, after the death of Simplicius he awarded the pontifical see to Felix III.[1] (A.D. 483). This interposition of the civil power in the appointment of the Pope continued after the fall of Odoacer (493). The Gothic kings insisted that the Church of Rome should be governed by men devoted to their cause, and they worked to secure this result. Several popes of this period owed their appointment to Gothic influences.[2] Among these popes were Felix IV. (526), of whom the first recension of the *Liber Pontificalis* says, "he was consecrated by order of Theodoric," and Silverius, who, according to this same *Liber Pontificalis*, purchased his nomination from King Theodahat (536). The Gothic king asked a price for his services; the electors at Rome, of influence, asked a price for theirs. Candidates for the papacy bought the see of Peter as one purchases a notary's study or a registrar's place. The

[1] Information furnished by the Roman council of 6th November 502, Mansi, viii. 265; M. G. *Auctores antiquissimi*, xii. 448.

[2] As to the election of Felix IV., see the letter of Athalaric to the Senate, in *Cassiodori Varia*, viii. 15, M. G. *Auct. antiq.* xii. 246; G. Pfeilschifter, *Der ostogothenkönig Theodorich der Grosse*, p. 203, Münster, 1896.

scandal went so far that the Senate twice forbade this unbecoming traffic.[1] It did not succeed; for it was three years after its last edict that the appointment of Silverius was made. Moreover, money was not the only cause of the difficulty. After the death of Anastasius II. (498) the electoral corps was divided into two parties, and two popes, Symmachus and Laurentius, were elected. The schism lasted more than six years, and did not come to an end until the day when Theodoric the king, deferring to the wishes of Symmachus, drove Laurentius from Rome[2] (505).

To prevent these evils, Symmachus devised an ingenious plan; this was to authorize the Pope himself to appoint his own successor. The rule established by Symmachus did not remain a dead letter. It was utilized for the first time by Felix IV. (530), who, knowing that he was at the point of death, transmitted his office to the archdeacon Boniface, gave him the pallium as the sign of investiture, and by means of a *præceptum* posted on the doors of the churches at Rome, commanded the electors on pain of excommunication to submit to his will.[3] It was utilized a second time (531) by Boniface II., who gave the succession to the archdeacon Vigilius, and solemnly announced this constitution to all the clergy, in the basilica of St. Peter.[4] But neither Felix nor Boniface could ensure the success of their plan. In 530 the electors, without giving heed to the edict of the dead Pope, rejected the archdeacon Boniface and granted the pontifical chair to the Alexandrian deacon Dioscorus. Invested by a great majority of the Roman clergy and by the Senate, Dioscorus was consequently the lawful Pope; but only for a short time, as he died at the end of twenty-three days. Then in its confusion the Roman Church consented to recognize Boniface as its chief, who from being anti-Pope, by a lucky chance became lawful Pope, who, thanks to the support of the Gothic king, even succeeded in having his predecessor

[1] *Cassiodori Varia*, ix. 15, 16, in M. G. pp. 279–281.

[2] *Vita Symmachi*, in Liber Pontificalis.

[3] Duchesne, "La succession du Pape Felix IV.," in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.* iii. (1883) 239–266, and in Liber Pontificalis, i. 282, Paris, 1886.

[4] *Vita Bonifatii II.*, in Liber Pontificalis.

Dioscorus anathematized by the Roman clergy. In 531, when Boniface appointed Vigilius as his successor, the clergy did not dare to protest; but the Gothic king protested. He claimed for himself the right to appoint the titular of the Roman see, and gave Boniface to understand that he had been guilty of high treason. Terrified at this the poor Pope convoked the provincial bishops (*suburbicarii*), the clergy of Rome, and the Senate. In the presence of this assembly he humbly acknowledged that he had infringed upon the rights of the king, and also that he had violated canonical law. To make reparation, he threw his constitution into the fire.[1] His successor was not Vigilius, but John II. (533), to whom succeeded Agapitus (535). This Pope inflicted a fresh affront on the memory of Boniface II. He removed from the archives, and burned in the presence of all the clergy, the formula of anathema drawn up against Dioscorus by Boniface and endorsed by the Roman clergy.[2] Thenceforth the system devised by Symmachus was definitely abandoned; no pope undertook ever again to appoint his successor.

To return to the archdeacon Vigilius, whom (531) Boniface II. had tried ineffectually to make his heir. Six years later (29th March 537) we find him again in the chair of St. Peter. Vigilius had become Pope.[3] This was by virtue of an election which is now to be explained. On 22nd April 536, Pope Agapitus died at Constantinople, whither he had gone by order of the Gothic king Theodohat to make some ecclesiastical negotiations. At this period the Monophysite heresy continued to make a difference between Rome and Constantinople, between the West and the East. The empress Theodora, wife of Justinian, who greatly desired to have the question settled in favour of the East, cleverly took advantage of the death of Agapitus and resolved to place as his successor at Rome a man who sympathized with the

[1] *Vita Bonifatii II.*; Mansi, viii. 737; Hefele, ii. 744.

[2] *Vita Agapiti*, in Liber Pontificalis.

[3] Duchesne, *Vigile et Pélage*, *Rev. des questions historiques*, xxxvi. (1884) 369–440.

eastern theology. Precisely at this time Vigilius, the former candidate for the papacy, was at Constantinople. Theodora made alluring promises to him, and demanded pledges. The bargain was concluded. Vigilius agreed to deal very liberally with the Monophysite question. As a reward, he received seven hundred pounds in gold and a letter commanding Belisarius, who was then in Italy, to have Vigilius elected Pope. Equipped with this twofold treasure, he left Constantinople, took ship, and landed in Italy.

All this was rapidly accomplished; yet not rapidly enough. The subdeacon Silverius had actually bought in haste, from Theodahat the Gothic king, the succession of Agapitus. And when Vigilius presented himself to occupy the pontifical chair, the place had been taken. The ambitious deacon was not disconcerted by so slight a difficulty. He went to see Belisarius at Ravenna, showed him Theodora's letter, promised to give him two hundred pounds in gold on the day when the desires of the empress should be satisfied, and then committed his destiny to Providence. Providence did not fail him. Some time afterwards (March 537) Silverius, accused of attempting to surrender Rome to the Goths (who were driven out on 10th December 536), was summoned before Belisarius, deposed, and sent into exile at Patara in Lycia. When this had been done, the Byzantine general gave orders to the Roman clergy to fill the vacancy in the Apostolic See. The clergy obeyed with docility. It proceeded to elect a Pope, and its choice fell on the protégé of Theodora. After becoming Pope, Vigilius did not forget his predecessor. He had the unhappy pontiff surrendered to him, and when the latter was in his keeping he sent him to the island of Palmaris, where he allowed him to die of hunger.[1]

Vigilius died at Syracuse on 7th June 555, after having expiated his crimes by cruel afflictions which need not here be recounted. At this time there was a Roman deacon at Constantinople named Pelagius who was very hostile to the

[1] Baronius, 538, 18, says of Vigilius: "Qui coegerat sanctum predecessorem suum Silverium deportatum in insulam illic animam exhalare."

imperial theology, and for this reason had been confined in a convent. Pelagius had evil ideas, but he was very intelligent. Justinian sent for him, and promised him the succession of Vigilius provided he would become converted. The prospect of ascending the throne of St. Peter had a marvellous effect on the prisoner. The doctrines opposed to the imperial orthodoxy appeared to him in a new light. He discovered heresies in them which up to that time had escaped his notice. Pelagius condemned everything that he was required to condemn. Justinian, for his part, gave his orders, and Pelagius was made Pope.

In 536, Rome was in the power of Constantinople. It submitted to the Byzantine domination, which was to be maintained until the fall of the exarchate of Ravenna (751). Of what sort were the pontifical elections to be during this period? To judge by those of Vigilius and Pelagius, it might have been inferred that the emperor would impose his own candidates upon the Roman Church. But the elections of Vigilius and Pelagius were exceptions. After these two popes, the emperor, as a rule, ceased to interfere in the election, and reserved for himself the right of ratification. This is how events occurred.[1] The third day after the Pope's death, the clergy, the people, and the soldiery met at the Lateran and proceeded to appoint some one in his place. When the majority agreed upon a name, what was known as the *consensus*, that is, the report of the election, was prepared, and was presented to the prefect, who dispatched it to Constantinople. The emperor replied with a *jussio* or *præceptio*, which authorized the consecration of him who had been elected. So soon as the imperial authorization was obtained the Pope elect, who was usually a deacon and sometimes a priest, received episcopal consecration at St. Peter's at the hands of the bishop of Ostia, assisted by the bishops of Albano and Porto, and by the archdeacon. Between the sending of the *consensus* to Constantinople and the arrival of

[1] Duchesne, *Le Liber diurnus et les élections pontificales au viie siècle*; *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, lii. (1891) 5; Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, i. 219.

the *jussio* at Rome, sometimes a period of a year elapsed, at the very least several months. In the meantime the Roman Church was governed by a council of administration. The Pope elect was a member of this council. He and his colleagues signed the acts of importance; yet sometimes he alone signed them. In any case, he could not be consecrated bishop of Rome before he had obtained the authorization of the emperor. Thus the Roman Church understood the matter. The report of the election which it sent to the emperor ended with a petition: "We beseech you to grant an order, so that our desires may be fulfilled by the ordination of him who has been elected." Moreover, in 590, Gregory the Great, who was elected Pope against his will,[1] wrote to the emperor Maurice begging him not to ratify the election. But the prefect of Rome intercepted the letter, and sent to Constantinople only the *consensus* of the Roman Church.

In 579, at the election of the predecessor of Gregory, as the city was besieged by the Lombards it was impossible to ask the *jussio* of the emperor at Constantinople, and so the episcopal consecration was at once performed. In the seventh century, critical circumstances of another kind prevented submitting the elections of Honorius (625) and Theodorus (642) for ratification. Emboldened by these precedents, the Romans believed they could put Pope Martin I. at the head of their Church without the authorization of the court of Constantinople (649). Unfortunately the emperor, who had no taste for the theology of Martin, made a pretext of the nullity of the election to deprive him of his office.

On the whole, apart from insignificant cases which with a single exception were due to circumstances, the pontifical elections were submitted for about two centuries to the emperor for ratification. About the end of the seventh century, two reforms in matters of detail were introduced into this procedure. One of these had to do with the place of ratification. The emperor Constantine Pogonatus decided in 684 that the decree of election should thereafter be submitted to the exarch of Ravenna, and that this official should

[1] Jaffé, 1066.

grant the authorization necessary for proceeding with the consecration of the Pope elect. The journey to Ravenna was shorter than that to Constantinople. The decree of Constantine Pogonatus lessened the length of time during which the pontifical throne would be vacant. The other reform made by the same emperor was of a financial kind. By virtue of a practice dating from the time of the Gothic kings, the Pope elect was obliged to pay a sum of money into the imperial treasury in order to secure his ratification. In 680, Constantine Pogonatus did not exact this pecuniary contribution. After this date the popes no longer had to pay in order to ascend the throne of St. Peter. That was the theory, but practically it was not always so. In 687, the exarch being called upon to decide between different candidates, gave the preference to Sergius, but demanded one hundred pounds in gold, which the Pope paid to him out of the treasury of St. Peter.

In 731, Pope Gregory III. had his election confirmed by the exarch. This was the last time. The exarchate of Ravenna was then approaching its end; twenty years later it had ceased to exist. The pontifical elections by the force of events were withdrawn from the control of the empire. Nothing was gained by this. In 757, rivalries of influence and of interest troubled the election of Paul I. The case was very different ten years later when the Pope died[1] (767). Count Toto, a nobleman of the Roman Campagna, entered Rome at the head of an armed force, took possession of the Lateran, and there installed his brother Constantine. The new Pope was as yet only a layman, but bishops were found to confer orders upon him. On 5th July 767, Constantine II., endowed with episcopal consecration, solemnly inaugurated his pontificate at St. Peter's. For a year all went well. Then Christopher, the confidant of the late Pope, decided that the moment had come to set things in order. He had a secret understanding with the Lombard king, who procured soldiers for him; and when he had obtained all the aid necessary, he attempted an attack on Rome. Success crowned

[1] Duchesne, *Les Premiers Temps de l'état pontifical*, p. 110.

his undertaking. Count Toto was slain, Pope Constantine with his attendants was imprisoned. Some days later the eyes of all were put out. Being master of the situation, Christopher convoked the Romans to an electoral assembly and presented to them the priest who was elected Pope with the name of Stephen III. (7th August 768). Order was re-established.

But it was necessary to prevent the return of the scenes which (767) had dishonoured the see of St. Peter. It was this which engaged the council which was held in the basilica of the Lateran (769), where Constantine II., thoroughly beaten, was afterwards deposed. A constitution was promulgated, according to the terms of which the pontifical election was thenceforth reserved to the clergy. Laymen were forbidden to take part in it, except to acclaim the one elected, and to ratify with their signatures the act of his election.[1]

The constitution of 769 banished the laity from the electoral body, of which they had hitherto formed a part. There is reason to believe that, discontented at losing their traditional rights, they made the working of this new legislation difficult if not impossible. In any case the régime of 769 had only a transient existence: in 824 it was repealed. At this date Pope Pascal I. died. His administration, stained with violence and disturbances, raised complaints which came to the ears of Louis Debonnair. From the time of Pepin, the Frankish princes were charged by the popes themselves with the defence of the Roman Church, to protect it against its enemies within and without. Learning of the evils from which Rome was suffering, Louis directed his son to go there and relieve them. Lothair went, made an inquiry, remarked the abuses committed by Pascal and by his predecessor Leo III., repaired what could be repaired, took measures designed to satisfy the Romans and also to reinforce the imperial authority. One of these measures was a constitution intended to regulate the pontifical election.

The constitution of Lothair contains two articles. One authorizes the laity to take part in the pontifical election;

[1] Mansi, xii. 719; Hefele, iii. 435; Hinschius, i. 228; Duchesne, p. 169.

the other submits the election to confirmation by the emperor, represented by the *missus*, who after 824 was to reside permanently at Rome; forbids proceeding to the episcopal consecration of the Pope-elect without the imperial authorization and, besides, requires the Pope-elect, before receiving consecration, to swear fidelity in the presence of the emperor's representative. It was by making the oath stricter that the Byzantine régime was renewed to the advantage of the emperor of the Franks.

Gregory IV. submitted to the constitution of Lothair, but his successor Sergius II. wished to be emancipated from it (844). Lothair, being dissatisfied, sent his son, King Louis, directly to Rome, escorted by an army, and a deputation of bishops to call the recalcitrant Pope to order. Sergius took the oath, the Romans bound themselves to carry out the pontifical election in the presence of the imperial delegates, and not to permit the consecration of the Pope-elect until the ratification of the emperor had been received. The law thus avenged worked rather regularly so long as the Carolingian house remained in power. With the exception of Leo IV., who was besieged by the Saracens, and procured a dispensation, the popes who came after Sergius II. submitted their election to the emperor for approval, and were not consecrated until they had obtained the imperial *jussio*.

Not satisfied with this success, the emperor Louis II. wished to become master of the pontifical election. After the death of Benedict III. (858) he imposed his candidate Nicholas I. upon the clergy. The choice was, without doubt, excellent, for Nicholas I. has a place among the greatest of the popes; but he violated the constitution of 824, which authorized the emperor to ratify the election, and not to dictate the choice to be made by the electors. Moreover, Nicholas himself, in order to suppress the abuses of which he was the beneficiary, decided in a council (861) that no stranger to Rome could henceforth interfere with the pontifical choice.[1] In conformity to this decree, the emperor Louis II. contented himself with ratifying the election of Anastasius II. (867). It is not

[1] Duchesne, p. 240.

known whether he showed the same reserve in the election of John VIII. (872), who in any case answered to his wishes. In 885 the imperial *missus* took part in the election which favoured Stephen V. Charles the Fat wished, nevertheless, to have the new pontiff deposed, on the pretence that he, the emperor, had not been consulted. He was appeased when it was proved to him that everything had been done regularly. Two years later, at the diet of Tribur (November 887), Charles the Fat was deposed. The Carolingian empire, notwithstanding the efforts made by Pope Formosus to prolong its existence, disappeared with Arnulf (896). Three or four princes came to Rome to have themselves consecrated emperors, but disappeared after a reign of a day. One must await Otto to see another empire arise—the Germanic empire (962).[1]

In the three-quarters of a century which separated the Carolingian from the Germanic empire, Rome fell successively into the power of the house of Spoleto, of the king of Provence, of Bérenger, duke of Frioul, and of the house of Theophylactus. Each of these governments, at least when it had time, endeavoured to have popes nominated who would be devoted to them. The dukes of Spoleto, who were first at work, gained a complete success with Stephen VI. (896). In the two following pontificates they seem to have been held in check by popular factions. They had their revenge under John IX., who at the council (898) re-established in their interest the constitution of 824, and submitted the pontifical elections to their veto.[2] But some months later the dukes disappeared without having been able to enjoy the conciliatory decree which would have consolidated their power.

Louis of Provence and Bérenger, during the few years of their ephemeral power, took part in four pontifical elections. It is not known whether they succeeded in controlling them, or

[1] Mansi, xviii. 325; Duchesne, p. 307.

[2] M. G. *Constitutiones*, i. 26, taking account of the text of Luitprand (*Gest. Ottonis*, 8): "jurantes nunquam se papam electuros aut ordinaturos præter consensum et electionem domini imperatoris Ottonis"; Duchesne, pp. 343–348; Hauck, iii. 233.

were obliged to yield to local factions. Information is more definite from the time of the pontificate of Sergius III. This Pope, who was the lover of Marozia, permitted the family of that young girl to gain an authority at Rome which it preserved for almost sixty years. Theodora, the mother of Marozia, either alone or in concert with her husband, Theophylactus, appointed three popes, one of whom, John X., was her lover. Marozia, having superseded her mother, caused the accession to the pontifical see of Leo VI., Stephen VII., and then of her son John XI. Finally, Alberic, another son of Marozia, who had risen to power (932), began to appoint popes. Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Marinus II., Agapitus II., were his creations. At the point of death, he made the Romans swear to choose his son Octavian when they should have to fill the next vacancy on the pontifical throne. The Romans kept their word. Agapitus died (955), and they made Octavian his successor, who took the name John XII. This Pope, notorious for his dissolute morals, ascended the pontifical throne after an "election" the result of which was fixed in advance by an oath. So it was after the fall of the Carolingian house. The election was not abrogated, but it served only to ratify the choice already made by the civil power. It was the pretence of an election.

At the end of some years, John XII., beset by many difficulties, called Otto I. to his assistance; and to assure his own protection, offered him the imperial crown. Otto accepted the offer; the empire was re-established (February 962). By the same stroke the constitution of 824 was again put into force; in other words, it was agreed that the pontifical election should be submitted for the imperial approval, and that the Pope-elect, before being consecrated, should swear fidelity in the presence of the emperor's representative. But about the end of the following year, Otto learned that he had been betrayed by John XII.; he returned to Rome and deposed him, appointed Leo VIII. in his place, and then issued the famous "constitution of Otto."

The constitution of Otto reserves to the emperor the right of choosing the Pope; it suppresses, at least *de facto*,

the pontifical election, which, nevertheless, continues in force *pro forma*. The emperor designates the candidate whom he considers most worthy to occupy the pontifical chair; then the Pope-elect is installed at the Lateran and consecrated at St. Peter's.

Inaugurated in November 963, the constitution of Otto was in force as long as the three Ottos occupied the imperial throne, that is, until 1002. After an interval of forty years, which coincides with the reigns of Henry II. and Conrad II., it was again taken up and vigorously applied by the emperor Henry III. Otto I. appointed Leo VIII. (963–965), John XIII. (965–972), Benedict VI. (972–974). Otto II. chose Benedict VII. (974–983) and John XIV. (983–984). Otto III. elevated to the pontifical throne his cousin Gregory V. (996–999), then his former master Sylvester II. (999–1003). As for Henry III., he promoted to the papacy, Clement II. (1047), Damasius II. (1048), Leo IX. (1048–1054), and Victor II. (1055–1057). In order to be legally regular, Henry, at the council of St. Peter's (1046), caused his right to appoint popes to be proclaimed by Pope Clement II.

Still the Romans intended to be masters of their own house.[1] They wished themselves to choose their popes: they did not accept the idea that a German emperor should presume to do it. The constitution of Otto was odious to them; whenever a favourable opportunity was offered, they rebelled against it. Under the Ottos these attempts at independence were for the most part unfortunate. When the emperor learned that the Romans had emancipated themselves, he crossed the Alps and went to restore order. Upon his arrival the national Pope fled if he had time; once the master had departed, it was the imperial Pope who fled to save his life. Thus for some time there were two interchangeable popes, one imposed by the emperor upon the Romans, the other set up in opposition to the emperor's man. Leo VIII., who was nominated on 4th December 963 by Otto I. in place of John XII., was, six months later, driven out by John. In the following year he was brought back by

[1] Duchesne, pp. 353–380.

Otto, who caused the surrender of Benedict V., the successor of John XII.,—surprised and killed *in flagrante delicto* of adultery,—and brought him to Hamburg. In 974, Otto II. was engaged in a war in the interior of Germany. The deacon Franco, sustained by the nobility, believed the moment had come to avenge the honour of the Roman Church. He had the imperial Pope strangled, and put himself in the latter's place, taking the name Boniface VII. Unhappily, at the end of a month the followers of Otto II. took their revenge, and caused Benedict VII. to ascend the pontifical throne. Boniface VII. fled hastily to Constantinople, and remained there until 984. At this date Otto II. had just died (December 983); his successor, Otto III., was a child; there was nothing to fear from German despotism. Boniface VII. therefore returned from Constantinople and poisoned the imperial Pope John XIV., who had succeeded Benedict. Hereafter until his death (985) he had no rival. John XV., who replaced him (985–986), also encountered no competitor, no doubt because he was supported by the nobility, and because Otto III., being still a child, was incapable of opposing him. But upon the death of John XV., Otto, who had become a young man, exercised his right and gave the pontifical throne to his cousin Gregory V. The nobility, represented by Crescentius, supposed that they might again take up their attitude of opposition. Some months after his accession, Gregory V. was expelled, and John XVI. took his place. This time the revolt was cruelly punished. In 998, Otto himself brought back his Pope to Rome. The unhappy John XVI. was terribly mutilated; his principal supporters were beheaded or hanged.

On the whole, from 963 to 1002 the national Pope appointed by the Roman nobility did not succeed in holding his own, except during the childhood of Otto III. After 1002 the situation was different. Henry II. and Conrad II., who for nearly forty years were on the Germanic throne, were indifferent to the constitution of Otto; and the imperial popes temporarily disappeared. The popes of Crescentius took their place (John XVII., John XVIII., and Sergius IV.);

then the popes of Tusculum (the two brothers Benedict VIII. and John XIX., and their nephew Benedict IX.). In 1044 the party of Crescentius, exploiting the scandal caused by the debauchery of Benedict IX., gave the see of St. Peter to Sylvester III. Benedict, driven from Rome by his successor, in his turn drove the latter away; then having decided to marry, he sold the papacy to the archpriest Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI.; but, finally, as his plans for marriage failed, he again took the pontificate. When, about 1046, there were three popes, each having his small army, it was a great deal—it was indeed too much. Upright souls then recalled the constitution of Otto, and begged Henry III. to enforce it. The German monarch readily accepted the invitation. He crossed the Alps, came into Italy, called a council at Sutrium, where he deposed two of the rival popes, namely Sylvester III. and Gregory VI.[1] (20th December 1046). Some days later he assembled in St. Peter's, Rome, a second council, and proceeded to make a pontifical appointment, which was to be followed by three others. For ten years there were once more popes of the empire who were at the same time German popes.

The last of these popes, Victor II., died 1057. In the previous year (October 1056) the powerful Henry III. died. The year 1057 opened a new era in the pontifical elections. Under the Byzantine domination and during the Carolingian period the Pope was elected by the clergy and laity of the Roman Church, then, save in exceptional cases, the selection was submitted to the emperor for approval. During the tenth century the elections were nothing more than empty forms: as a matter of fact the Pope was nominated sometimes by the Roman nobility, sometimes by the German emperor. In 1057 a new power made its appearance: the party of reform, which was led by Hildebrand and incarnate in him. These reformers had a programme which was to this effect: the elections should be re-established; they

[1] Mansi, xix. 617; Hefele, iv. 710; Delarc, i. 30–35; Hauck, iii. 588, 589; *Annales romani*, in M. G. *Scriptores*, v. 469; W. Martens, *Die Besetzung des päpstlichen Stuhles*, p. 46, Freiburg, 1887.

should be withdrawn from the influence of the Roman nobility and of the German emperors; they should be conducted independent of the laity and of the inferior Roman clergy; they should be confined to the highest dignitaries of the ecclesiastical world, to those known as cardinals. The reformers did not dare to carry out this programme during the lifetime of Henry III., whom in 1046 they would have been fortunate to find in order to deliver the Roman Church from the scandalous Benedict IX. They carried it out in 1057, and quite independent of all foreign influence they elected Stephen IX. After carrying it out they formulated it in the decree of Nicholas II., which was promulgated in the Roman council[1] (13th April 1059).

They carried it out, formulated it, and then violated it. In 1058, when there was a question of replacing Stephen IX., Hildebrand, who wished to put Gerard, bishop of Florence, on the pontifical throne, went to Germany to the empress Agnes and asked her to approve his candidate. It was only after he had obtained her approval that the two councils, that of Sienna and that of Sutrum, took place, where Gerard was elected with the name of Nicholas II. (January 1059). In 1061, to make up for this, this same Hildebrand had Alexander II. elected according to his own principles. But in 1073, when he was supported by the people, he did not consent to be consecrated (30th June) until his election had been ratified by Henry IV. His policy seems to have lacked consistency; his ideas themselves, too, seem to have been incoherent, for the decree of Nicholas II., who was really made by Hildebrand, recognized the right of the king of Germany to ratify the election made by the cardinals. The following are the principal provisions of this decree: "Henceforth when the Pontiff of this Roman and Universal Church shall die, the cardinal bishops shall at first very seriously deliberate, then shall take as co-adjutors the cardinal clergy, then the rest of the clergy; and the people

[1] M. G. *Constit.* i. 537; Hefele, iv. 800–825, v. 67; the council of Worms (1076) declares that the author of the decree of 1059 was Hildebrand; Delarc, iii. 194.

shall be admitted to give their consent to the new election. To avoid the evil of venality, religious men will direct the election; the others will have only to follow . . . with all the honour and respect due to our dear son Henry [Henry IV. was still a child] actually king, and if God wills it, future emperor, even as we have granted; also with all honour and respect to those of his successors in whom the Apostolic See shall have personally recognized this right."

The incoherence is only on the surface. Like all politicians, Hildebrand knew when he had to yield to the imperious requirements of reality. He induced Agnes to approve the choice of Nicholas II., because he needed the support of Germany in his conflict with the Italian nobles, who, as in the time of Marozia and the Crescentians, endeavoured to appoint a pope—Benedict X. By the decree of 1059, Hildebrand in obscure language authorized the king of Germany to ratify the election, because that decree was promulgated in the name of Nicholas II., who, being appointed under the patronage of the German power, could not condemn his own election. Besides, Hildebrand explained that the papacy, when it was desired, could evade this ratification, which it accepted out of pure condescension. In 1061, dissatisfied with the court of Agnes, which a short time before had refused to receive the legates of Nicholas II., he revoked its privilege of ratification, and without consulting it, caused the election of Alexander II. But then a formidable ecclesiastical war broke out. Honorius the anti-Pope, supported by the Italian nobility and by the court of Agnes, was on the point of gaining the victory. Hildebrand, who did not succeed in overthrowing him without prodigies of diplomacy, being favoured by fortunate political circumstances, profited by the lesson. When he was himself elected Pope, he resorted to the royal ratification so as not to bring on the storm which had threatened to wreck his predecessor. He retreated when it was necessary, but he did not lose sight of the goal before him.

When Gregory VII. died (1085), Henry IV. was excommunicated, and it was not long before his son Henry V.

suffered the same penalty. It was not the moment for the empire to take advantage of the decree of 1059. The imperial ratification had therefore no part in the elections of Victor III. (1086), Urban II. (1088), Pascal II. (1099), Gelasius (1118), and Calixtus II. (1119). When peace was signed at Worms (1122), the precedent was established. Henry V. did not even dream of claiming any of the rights formerly exercised by the Ottos and by his ancestor Henry III. Henceforth the pontifical elections were to be no more dependent on the emperors; they were to be no more, at least directly, under the control of the nobility. Except at the council of Constance, they were to be the appanage of the cardinals. The decree of Nicholas II.—or, as it might be called, the decree of Hildebrand—made the papacy for ever independent.

The decree of 1059 did not anticipate the fact that the cardinals would be divided into factions which were not slow to exercise their dissolvent influence. After the death of Calixtus II. a schism was almost effected. It took place when an attempt was made to replace Honorius II.[1] (1130). Without waiting for the usual delays, certain cardinals appointed a pope without the knowledge of the majority, which for its part proceeded to a pontifical election. Consequently there were two popes, one nominated regularly by the college of cardinals, the other, irregularly by a minority. Nevertheless it was the latter candidate who, with the name of Innocent II., was recognized by the great powers, thanks to the patronage of St. Bernard, thanks also to the blundering diplomacy of his opponent Anacletus II. Abandoned by the majority, Anacletus held out for eight years, and during that time the Church was troubled.

An analogous situation arose in 1159, after the death of Adrian IV. Then again the cardinals were divided into

[1] Watterich, *Pontificorum romanorum vitæ*, ii. 174–199, Leipzig, 1862; R. Zöpffel, *Die Doppelwahl des Jahres 1130*, p. 269, Göttingen, 1871; Hefele, v. 406; E. Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard*, i. 276–287, Paris, 1895, endeavours unsuccessfully to prove that the election of Innocent III. was conformed to what he calls "the primitive text" of the decree of 1059.

two irreconcilable groups, and appointed two popes, Alexander III. and Victor IV. But on this occasion the candidate Alexander III., who was victorious, was elected regularly by the majority. Thinking that in the future a more exact legislation would remove the evil from which he had suffered, he resolved to add certain new provisions to the decree of 1059. At the Lateran council (1179) he had a rule adopted by the terms of which every pontifical election, to be valid, required an attendance of two-thirds of the cardinal electors.[1]

The decree of Alexander III. had one merit; it succeeded. After 1179 the factions did not lay down arms, but they caused no more schisms. They took their revenge by a policy of obstruction. The election of Innocent IV. (25th June 1243) took place after an interregnum of nineteen months. Alexander IV., who died on 25th May 1261, was not replaced by Urban IV. until 29th August, that is, after more than three months' delay. To elect Clement IV. (5th February 1265) an equal amount of time was required; and when Clement IV. died (29th November 1268), nearly three years elapsed before his successor Gregory X. was appointed (1st September 1271).

By this time the evil had become a scandal. In order to suppress it, Gregory X. instituted the "Conclave," that is, confinement under lock and key (*cum clavi*). The tenth day after the death of the Pope, the cardinals, who were assembled in the palace where he died, were to be kept under lock and key, to live in a common room, and to have no communication with the outside world until they had elected a new Pope. At the end of three days, if no election had taken place, they could have but one dish served at their meals. Five days afterwards, if there had been no election, they were to be reduced to a ration of bread, wine, and water. The magistrates of the city where the conclave was held had the full power to enforce these regulations. Such in its essential parts was the constitution which Gregory X. promulgated at

[1] Mansi, xxii. 234; Hefele, v. 711; Constitution "Licet de evitanda," in *Corpus juris canonici*, decretal I. vi. cap. 6; Hinschius, i. 264.

the second council of Lyons, in his bull *Ubi periculum* (1274).[1]

The constitution of Gregory X. committed the supervision of the conclave to the magistrates. In 1276, Charles of Anjou abused his powers by his partiality in treating the cardinals at the conclave which followed the death of Innocent V. Adrian V. who was elected, and John XXI. who some weeks later replaced him, having witnessed some of the troublesome consequences following the constitution of Gregory X., suppressed it. They counted on putting something better in its place, but did not have time. They then went back to the decree of Alexander III., and this introduced again the long interregnums. Nicholas III. was elected (25th November 1277) after an interval of six months, Nicholas IV. (22nd February 1288) after an interval of eleven months, Celestine V. (5th July 1294) after an interval of twenty-seven months. This time the fresh scandal opened the eyes of Celestine V. Under the pressure of public opinion he enforced the constitution of Gregory X.[2]

In obedience to foreign influence rather than to the constitution of Gregory X., the cardinals, without any delay, elected Boniface VIII., and then his successor Benedict XI. But eleven months passed before Clement V. was elected (5th June 1305), and after this Pope died (20th April 1314), it took twenty-eight months to appoint John XXII. in his place (7th August 1316). It need not be said that then the regulations of Gregory X. were discarded. The interregnum which followed the death of Clement V. was disgraced by scenes of pillage and arson: and the responsibility rested with a group of Gascon cardinals. To end the disorder, Philip V., king of France, imprisoned the cardinals at Lyons.

The elections following the pontificate of John XXII. were not prolonged. Nevertheless, the constitution of Gregory X. was disliked by the cardinals, who considered it too rigorous. To silence the recriminations directed against it and render it less severe, Clement VI. made several amendments to it

[1] Mansi, xxiv. 81; *Corpus juris*, sextus tit. vi. cap. 3; Hinschius, i. 267.
[2] Hinschius, i. 269.

(6th December 1351); notably, he suppressed the régime of living in common, and the article which reduced the nourishment at the end of eight days to bread, wine, and water.[1] The measures which he took rendered the legislation of Gregory X. more acceptable, and they have been maintained down to the present day. After the decree of Alexander III. it seemed impossible that two popes should be seen disputing the pontifical throne. Yet after the death of Gregory XI. this spectacle was presented for almost forty years. Urban VI., his successor, elected on 8th April 1378, was severe, blunt, fantastic, and irritable up to the verge of insanity. The cardinals who elected him being displeased at his rude treatment of them, at the end of three months resolved to depose him. Not daring, however, to reveal the real motive of their resolution, they gave a false reason. From Anagni, whither they had retired, they issued, on 9th August, a manifesto to the Christian world that the election of 8th April had been held under duress, that it was null, and that the apostolic see was vacant. Six weeks later (20th September) they elected one of their own number, cardinal Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII.

From the point of view of principle the right of Urban was not doubtful, but considerations of self-interest succeeded in making it obscure. In the election of 20th September, the king of France saw the opportunity, which he so greatly desired, of bringing back the papacy to Avignon; the queen of Sicily saw in it the means of avenging herself on Urban VI., who was her enemy. So Clement VII. was supported by France, by Naples, and by the countries devoted to the policies of those two kingdoms. The empire, at least in great part, and England remained attached to Urban less by reasoned conviction than by reluctance to serve French interests. Christendom was divided between two popes, between two obediences. This was the schism, the Great Schism.[2]

[1] Bull *Licet in constitutione*, Raynaldi, 1351, 39; Baluze, *Vitæ paparum*, i. 260, Paris, 1693.

[2] Noël Valois, i. 77, 98, 142, 160, 241.

Clement VII. was established at Avignon; Urban remained at Rome. The two pontiffs excommunicated each other. They also sent troops against each other, and waged a war in which Urban momentarily fell into the power of his enemies; but on the whole this had no result except to ruin the kingdom of Naples. As for the rival obediences, they at first engaged only in arguments and in insults. But the arguments confused the questions while the insults caused irritation, and the schism continued. In the end it was perceived that one of the opposing popes should not be sacrificed for the other, but that both should be provisionally set aside. Two means were presented of accomplishing this: voluntary abdication and deposition. The first was without doubt the more dignified, and seemed to be the simpler: and it was adopted. The two adversaries were asked to resign of their own accord. Both promised to do so; but proof was soon forthcoming that their promises were insincere. The remedy by abdication was illusory. Deposition remained as a last resort. This required a council. The council met at Pisa in 1409. It deposed the Pope of Rome and the Pope of Avignon, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. In place of them was appointed Alexander V., who died at the end of some months, and was succeeded by John XXIII.

The council of Pisa met under the patronage of the king of France who had initiated it, and this gave it great authority. But this was not sufficient. Germany, which had not been taken into consideration, disregarded the decisions of Pisa, and remained faithful to Gregory XII. The latter, feeling that he had support, maintained all his pretensions to the pontifical throne. Benedict XIII., who had just lost France, but who kept Spain and Aragon, did the same. After the council of Pisa there were three popes, and the evil was greater than ever. Everything had to be begun anew.

The new beginning was made at Constance (November 1414–April 1418). This time the measures were better taken. Sigismund, who took the initiative in this great deliberation, had a previous understanding with the king of

France; and the latter, although he was by no means pleased to see the work of his council at Pisa brought to nought, yet for the sake of peace gave full freedom to the emperor. Christendom decided to forsake all its popes, intending to announce, in opposition to them, what was then called "the withdrawal of obedience." John XXIII., who was brought to the council, soon saw the fate that awaited him, and endeavoured to seek safety in flight (20th March 1415). This inglorious behaviour did not save him. Having been arrested by the soldiers of Sigismund, condemned, and deposed by the council, he was imprisoned. Gregory XII., seeing that any resistance was vain, resigned of his own accord (4th July 1415). Benedict XIII. obstinately refused all invitations and all writs which were addressed to him, and in order to escape the soldiers of the emperor he went and shut himself up beyond Barcelona, in the inaccessible fortress of Peniscola. Abandoned by every one, he was no longer dangerous to the public peace; and without fear of an attack on his part, it was possible to appoint a new titular to the pontifical see. The election took place on 11th November 1417, and resulted in favour of Cardinal Otto Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. In addition to the cardinals who, according to the decree of Nicholas II., were alone permitted to designate the Pope, there were on this occasion thirty electors taken from the various nations represented at the council.

The great schism was at an end: it had lasted precisely thirty-nine years (1378–1417). Some years later it might have been supposed that the union which had barely been achieved was again about to be broken. The council of Bâle, which, by the order of Christendom, laboured to reform the Church, encountered the ill-will of Eugenius IV. At first it was content to resist the Pope. In 1438 it suspended and then deposed him (June 1439). In his place it elected Felix V. The council had the sympathies of France, of the empire, and of several lesser powers. Thus the situation seemed to be hopeless: in reality, it was merely serious. Indeed the kingdom of France and the empire which favoured the council of Bâle only half supported it. They accepted

its reforms, but they did not desire its pope: and they thought that Eugenius IV. ought to be humbled but not overthrown. Rejected by these two powers and also by the king of England, the Pope of Bâle, notwithstanding the support afforded him by certain minor states, had no chance for the future. After holding his own for some years, Felix V. at length perceived that his pontificate was illusory, and on 7th April 1449 he made his submission to Nicholas V. Since the time of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., two popes have not disputed the apostolic see. No long interregnums occurred until the council of Trent. The only incidents to which the pontifical elections gave rise were the capitulations and the practice of simony intended to secure the votes of the cardinals.

Capitulations are pontifical rules of administration which the candidates for the papacy are bound to observe. They made their appearance not with Boniface VIII., as is sometimes stated,[1] but a half-century later (1352), at the conclave then meeting to elect a successor to Clement VI. It began by issuing a capitulation guaranteeing to the cardinals an increase of power, of independence, and of revenue. Each member of the assembly swore faithfully to observe this charter in case of his appointment to occupy the pontifical throne. When that had been done the election took place (18th December 1352) and was in favour of Innocent VI., who, having become the head of the Church, hastened to nullify the capitulation just referred to.[2] In 1431 the same scene was re-enacted. Displeased at the abuses committed by Martin V. who had lately died, the cardinals issued a capitulation even more radical than the preceding one. Eugenius IV. while still a cardinal, signed it. After he became Pope he trampled his engagements under foot.[3] Pius II.,[4] Paul II.,[5] Sixtus IV.,[6] Innocent VIII.,[7] Alexander VI.,[8] Julius II.,[9] Leo X.,[10]

[1] H. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.*, p. 84, Münster, 1902.
[2] Raynaldi, 1352, 26; bull *Sollicitandi*, Raynaldi, 1353, 25.
[3] Raynaldi, 1431, 5.
[4] *Id.*, 1458, 5.
[5] *Id.*, 1464, 52.
[6] *Id.*, 1471, 58.
[7] *Id.*, 1484, 28.
[8] *Id.*, 1492, 28.
[9] *Id.*, 1503, 3.
[10] *Id.*, 1513, 13.

before being elected took all the oaths required of them; then they hastened to violate them.[1] To console the cardinals, who were disappointed at this change of front, Paul II. authorized them to wear the silk mitre and the red hat. At the close of the seventeenth century (1692), Innocent XII. by the constitution *Romanum decet* was to annul the capitulations, thus putting an end to the comedy which the popes of the fifteenth century so often produced upon the stage.

When Benedict IX. made arrangements to marry his cousin, he sold the papacy to the priest Gratian, who bought it for ready money and took the name of Gregory VI. (1045). In spite of his title to the property he was deposed by the emperor Henry III. at the council of Sutrum (December 1046). Gregory VI. had purchased the pontifical throne from an unworthy possessor, and had thus done a service to the Church. Furthermore, the advocates of reform were wholly devoted to him, and were distressed to witness his fall. Hildebrand followed him into exile; and so long as he lived, Wazon, bishop of Liège, refused to recognize as legitimate pope his successor Clement II. In the fifteenth century the papacy was again engaged in making bargains. Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., and Julius II. did not ascend the pontifical throne without buying with money the votes of the cardinal electors. These popes, who had not the excuse of Gregory VI., were nevertheless not deposed; but their conduct aroused such a sentiment of reprobation among Christian people, that Julius II., one of those who were at fault, was obliged to take measures to prevent a return of these scandals. In 1505 he issued the bull *Cum tam divino*, which annulled every pontifical election which should be besimirched with simony.[2] Thereafter the conclaves ceased to sell the papacy.

The rules determining eligibility to the pontifical throne remain to be mentioned. By the canon law it was forbidden

[1] See J. Saegmuller, *Die Papstwahl und die Staaten von 1447 bis 1555*, pp. 72–141, Tübingen, 1890.

[2] *Id.*, *ib.* p. 7.

to confer ordination upon laymen, and to permit bishops to pass from one Church to another. These ecclesiastical prescriptions were observed at Rome, even as elsewhere, indeed rather better than in many other Churches. For many centuries, cases like those of Ambrosius and Nectarius passing directly from the laity to the episcopate, like those of Gregory Nazianzen and Meletius occupying successively two episcopal sees, were unknown in the Roman Church. Yet it finally did, as was done elsewhere. In 767, Constantine, a layman, took possession of the Lateran, had himself consecrated bishop, and became Pope Constantine II.[1] A century afterwards, Marinus and Formosus[2] became bishops of Rome, one in 882 the other in 885, both by change of see; for the first had previously been bishop of Cæra, the second bishop of Porto.

These infractions of canonical prescriptions met with terrible punishment. After ruling one year Constantine, as we have seen, was imprisoned, blinded, beaten before the council of 769, and deposed. As for Formosus, he had been dead nine months before his successor Stephen VI. thought of punishing him; but even that did not save him.[3] His body was disinterred, and brought before the council at which Stephen presided. It was placed in a chair as well as might be. The act of accusation was read to it, and it was especially asked: "Why, being bishop of Porto, did you with ambitious designs usurp the see of Rome?" The dead pope was defended by a deacon, who was placed near the body, and charged to answer in his name. The defence was considered insufficient. It was decided that his promotion to the apostolic see had been irregular, and the council proceeded to depose him, stripping him of his pontifical insignia. To complete the ceremony, the body was cast into the Tiber (897).

These horrible reprisals had a very real significance. They condemned the accession of the laity to the episcopate, and also the translation of sees. They were equivalent to legislation. This legislation, however, was formulated in the council of 769. One of the articles then elaborated has

[1] Duchesne, p. 115. [2] *Id.*, p. 285. [3] Hefele, iv. 562.

been already referred to—that which excluded the laity from the electoral assembly. There was another which fixed the conditions of eligibility. This article says in substance: "To occupy the episcopal see of Rome one must be a cardinal priest or a deacon of the Roman Church."

One must be a cardinal priest or deacon of the Roman Church! Then neither laymen nor foreign churchmen in the parochial ministry of Rome, nor bishops of other Churches, can become bishops of Rome. That was the constitution of 769. But Leo V. (903) was not a cardinal priest; Leo VIII., who owed his elevation to Otto I. (963), was not in major orders; John XIX., who occupied the pontifical throne (1024), was a layman; his nephew Benedict IX., who succeeded him (1033), was likewise a layman; and there is every reason to believe that John XI. (931) and John XII. (955) received the papacy before receiving major orders. With reference to the other condition of eligibility, Sergius III. (904) and John X. (914) were respectively bishop of Cæra and archbishop of Ravenna before their elevation to the pontifical throne. A half-century later, among the popes who owed their appointments to the Ottos we notice, John XIII., bishop of Narni (965); Benedict VII., bishop of Sutrum (974); John XIV., bishop of Pavia (983); Sylvester II., archbishop of Reims, then of Ravenna (999). In the middle of the eleventh century, Henry III.'s four popes, Clement II., Damasius II., Leo IX., Victor II., were the German bishops Suidger of Bamberg, Poppo of Brixen, Bruno of Toul, Gebhardt of Eichstädt. The constitution of 769 was practically abandoned.

Such was the case when Nicholas II.—or rather Hildebrand—convoked the council of 1059. The decree which that assembly promulgated, determined, as we have already seen, the college of papal electors. It was also engaged with the question of eligibility to the papacy. It declared: "If there is to be found in the Roman Church a subject fitted to govern it, he should be of the clergy: otherwise application should be made to another church." It therefore permitted that a pope should be taken from beyond

the Roman Church. By the same act a bishop might be invited to change his own, for the apostolic see; and in the decree of 1059 the omissions are as important as the assertions. That which is not forbidden may be regarded as authorized. Finally, according to this principle, permission was given to call a layman to the pontifical throne, provided he caused to be conferred on him all the ordinations required after election. The constitution of 769, already abrogated by custom, was once more abrogated by the decree of 1059.

In fact, after the decree of 1059 no layman was elevated to the pontifical throne; but until the time of Urban VI. several foreign priests and bishops of the college of cardinals are to be found on the list of popes: Urban III. (1185) was archbishop of Milan; Urban IV. (1261), patriarch of Jerusalem; Gregory X. (1271), archdeacon of Liège; Celestine V. (1294), priest and hermit; Clement V., archbishop of Bordeaux; Urban V., abbot of St. Victor of Marseilles; Urban VI. (1378), archbishop of Bari. After the time of Urban VI. all the popes were chosen from the college of cardinals.

CHAPTER V

The Pontifical State

The pontifical state was founded by Pepin the Short at Ponthion (Marne) and at Quierzy (Aisne) early in A.D. 754. Thereafter the Pope occupied juridical—the place of a sovereign at the head of his people. But before possessing this sovereignty *de jure*, he already exercised it *de facto*. The Acts of Ponthion and Quierzy, which have a capital importance in ecclesiastical history, were not, at least as a whole, an innovation: in part they were limited to sanctioning a state of things which was already actual. In other words, the pontifical state was the work of Pepin, but this work was prepared by circumstances. There were two stages of preparation for it: before being the legal, the Pope was the actual sovereign, and before being the actual sovereign he was the proprietor.

The papacy, that is, the Roman Church, was already a proprietor during the era of persecutions. Naturally the edict of Milan greatly advanced its fortunes. Many Christians considered it an honour to make the Church their heir. To be assured of heaven, in the hour of death, they left their property to him who had the keys of heaven,—to the Apostle St. Peter.[1] The "patrimony of St. Peter"—the expression first appears in a letter (549) of Vigilius to Sebastian,[2] but it was doubtless employed long before—increased almost every year. At the end of the fifth century, Pope Gelasius drew up a list of the lands which constituted

[1] Fabre, *De patrimoniis romanæ ecclesiæ usque ad ætatem Carolinorum*, pp. 53–58, Paris, 1892.

[2] Jaffé, 923.

this patrimony: his book is called the "Polypticum." When Gregory the Great ascended the pontifical throne, the Roman Church had great possessions in Sicily, Calabria, Sardinia, Corsica, Southern Gaul, Dalmatia, Istria, the exarchate of Ravenna, Campania, and Central Italy. According to information given by Theophanius, the annual revenues from Sicily alone amounted to nearly eighty thousand dollars.[1] And in one of his letters to the subdeacon Peter, inspector of pontifical property in Sicily, Gregory mentions the fact that the holdings of the Roman Church in that country were worth four hundred thousand dollars.[2]

The vast domains[3] of Sicily, of Africa, of southern Gaul, of Istria, and of Corsica made the Pope a rich landlord, but that was all. They brought him treasure, but no political authority. The Italian possessions present a different spectacle. There the colonists who laboured for the enrichment of St. Peter and of his Vicar had, as a further mission, to defend him in the hour of danger. They were both workmen and soldiers. The Pope had an army which came to his assistance whenever he needed it, and to which, if he wished, he could add the local forces of northern Italy.[4]

In 692 the emperor Justinian II. sent Pope Sergius the Acts of the council *in Trullo*, ordering him to affix his signature. Sergius refused. Then an imperial officer arrived at Rome from Constantinople, and sought to remove the recalcitrant pontiff and bring him before the emperor. But he had not taken into account the colonists of the patrimony of St. Peter. The troops hastened from Ravenna and Pentapolis to defend the Pope. The unfortunate imperial officer escaped death only through the intervention of the Pope, who protected him against the fury of the populace. Nine years

[1] Jean Diacre, *Vita Sancti Gregorii*, ii. 24.

[2] *Ep.* ii. 38 (Ewald). Gregory ordered the sale of everything except four hundred mares, which were to be used in breeding. He adds: "Ex quibus quadringentis singulis conductoribus singulæ condonari debent."

[3] Fabre, pp. 59–93.

[4] See the notes of *Liber Pontificalis* on the popes mentioned here. H. Hubert, "Étude sur la formation des états de l'Église," in *Revue historique*, lxix. (1899) pp. 2–35.

later (end of 701) the exarch, who had not profited by this experience, came to Rome to arrest Pope John VI. with whom he was dissatisfied. But the pontifical army came upon his heels and obliged him to leave forthwith. In 730 the emperor Leo the Isaurian also learned the power of the Pope. He wished to be rid of Gregory II., who was putting obstacles in the way of his iconoclastic plans. On various occasions he bade his officers depose or even kill the uncompromising pontiff; but the forces of Pentapolis, of Venice, of the Roman Campagna, were threatening. At home, Gregory II. escaped all murderous attempts; but the imperial officers were not so fortunate. The exarch Paul and Exhiliratus, duke of Naples, were slain. As for Peter, duke of Rome, he was driven away. The duke of Rome, that is, the officer who represented at Rome the imperial authority, was obliged to yield to the Pope. How should he not have done so? He was only a decorative historical personage. The real ruler of the city and of the Roman duchy, who conducted affairs, who commanded, because he paid, was the Pope. The *Liber Pontificalis* relates that Zacharias having to make a journey, set out from Rome "leaving the government to the duke and patrician Stephen." That phrase sums up the situation. When he had to be absent, the Pope delegated his authority to the duke, but ordinarily it was the Pope who governed the duchy of Rome. At the end of the seventh century this powerful landlord had the political authority: he was the sovereign. Not that he did anything to separate himself from the imperial authority. Far from resisting that authority, he laboured to strengthen it. He resisted the emperor when the latter made an attack on dogma, but supported him when dogma was not in question. He held in his power the people of the duchy of Rome, while he still remained a subject of the emperor. This sovereignty was confirmed at Ponthion and Quierzy by a treaty, under the following circumstances. About 740 the immense wealth which the papacy had at its disposal under Gregory the Great had partly disappeared. In the middle of the seventh century the Slavs had taken possession of the

domains of Dalmatia; subsequently the Arabs had plundered the African estates, and those in southern Gaul. In 733, in order to punish Gregory III. for the resistance which he had offered in the iconoclastic dispute, Leo the Isaurian confiscated all the revenues furnished by Sicily, Calabria, and the duchy of Naples.[1] The patrimony of St. Peter was confined to the Cottian Alps, the exarchate of Ravenna and central Italy, where it was protected by the pontifical forces against the fury of Leo the Isaurian. But if in these territories nothing was to be feared from the emperor, everything was to be feared from the Lombards. Since they had been installed in northern Italy, the Lombards had constantly extended their frontiers. In 743 they forced their way into the exarchate of Ravenna. Pope Zacharias addressed himself to their king Luitprand and caused him to yield. The exarchate was saved. By the same king Luitprand, and by his son Ratchis, the duchy of Rome, too, was more than once endangered; yet here again the diplomacy of Zacharias bore fruit. And so it was until 751. At this date the warlike Aistulf succeeded Ratchis. The era of concession was at an end. Aistulf began by annexing Pentapolis and the exarchate to the Lombard kingdom; and then set out to subject the duchy of Rome to the same fate. If this plan were to be realized, if the duchy of Rome[2] were to pass under the domination of the Lombards, the papacy would lose the last remnants of the patrimony of St. Peter, the last remnants of its financial power.[3] Stephen II., the successor of Zacharias, who was then on the pontifical throne, appreciated the gravity of the situation, and made an effort to relieve it. He applied successively to Aistulf, to the emperor, and to heaven. Unhappily the emperor answered that he could do nothing. Heaven did not answer at all. As for Aistulf, he made promises that he did not keep, and then displayed brutality. Stephen cast his eyes across the Alps towards the country of the Franks, where there reigned a Catholic prince, Pepin the Short. Perhaps Pepin would

[1] Fabre, pp. 61, 75, 87–93.
[2] Hubert, p. 39.
[3] Duchesne, pp. 17, 34; Hauck, ii. 14; Hubert, p. 241.

consent to come to the help of St. Peter. The Pope resolved to go in person to seek the Frankish prince and plead before him the cause of the papacy. To assure the success of this step, he first sounded Pepin by sending him a private message. That occurred in the spring of 753.

Thirteen years before, Gregory III., already at war with the Lombards, had endeavoured to interest Charles Martel in his fate, but obtained nothing except fair words. But between 740 and 753 a considerable result had been achieved. Pepin had excluded the Merovingian dynasty from the throne, and had taken the place himself. To make the change acceptable to the Franks, he asked and obtained the approval of Pope Zacharias. The new Carolingian king felt bound to pay the debt of gratitude contracted to the papacy. He received the request of Stephen II. with deference; other messages were exchanged with equally favourable results. When all the ways were made plain, Stephen left Rome, crossed the St. Bernard, and travelled towards the royal residence at Ponthion.[1] Pepin went to meet him, kneeled before him, and acted as his attendant. This was on 6th January 754. Preceded by a large escort singing psalms, they entered Ponthion on horseback. Pepin walked on foot at the Pope's side. But when they had entered the royal palace the scene changed. Then the Pope and his clergy, robed in sackcloth and sprinkled with ashes, prostrated themselves before the king, besought him to espouse the cause of St. Peter, to oblige the Lombards to restore to the blessed apostle the goods that they had seized, to take under his protection the patrimony of St. Peter, and the Roman Church in general. Pepin agreed to grant the petitions of the pontiff. To testify his gratitude, Stephen awarded to his benefactor the title "Patritius Romanorum," and some weeks later at St. Denis conferred on him the royal unction, or rather renewed the unction which the bishop Boniface had already given him. The pontifical state was organized.[2]

[1] Duchesne, p. 54; Hauck, ii. 18; Hubert, p. 247.

[2] Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vi. 304; Duchesne, p. 64.

It was organized in principle, but actually it did not as yet exist, and could not exist, so long as the Lombard king had not given back what he had won by conquest. Pepin repeatedly urged him to make this restitution, but he persisted in his refusal. War was necessary; but the Frankish warriors could not be led into Italy against their will. Pepin assembled them, explained the situation to them, and asked them to follow him across the Alps. Two national assemblies were held successively, on 1st March 754 at Braisne, on 14th April at Quierzy. There was some opposition, yet Pepin won in the end, and had the promise made at Ponthion ratified by the assembly at Quierzy. War was declared, and it was successful. Aistulf being conquered, promised to restore what he had taken. Pepin believed him, and recrossed the Alps in the autumn of 754. But Aistulf did not act in good faith. After the Franks had departed, instead of making the restitution agreed to, he began his pillage once more: he was even about to lay siege to Rome. Then Pepin received three letters from Stephen, one of which was thought to have been written by St. Peter the Apostle in person, which besought him, and even commanded him on pain of damnation, to come as soon as possible to the help of the Roman people. He obeyed without delay, invaded Lombardy with the Franks, and besieged Pavia. Aistulf, incapable of resistance, promised to give back what he had taken. This time Pepin was not satisfied with words. By his orders Fulrade, abbot of St. Denis, at the head of a small army passed through the conquered country, collected hostages, took the keys of the cities and came to Rome, to lay them on the tomb of St. Peter, together with the act according to which Pepin bestowed these cities upon the Apostle as a gift. Thereafter the pontifical state was a reality (756).

Besides the duchy of Rome,[1] it included the two provinces, the exarchate and Pentapolis in the form that they had after the conquests of Luitprand, who had particularly encroached upon them. This was not all that Stephen demanded. He

[1] Duchesne, p. 74; Hubert, p. 265.

wished to have the exarchate and Pentapolis in their primitive integrity. He invented a combination that might realize his wishes, and he failed. His successor, Paul I., cherished the same dream, without any greater success. But while popes were making efforts to complete the work of Pepin, Didier, the Lombard king, was striving to overthrow it. About the close of 772 he was on the point of attaining this result. Happily for the papacy, the son of Pepin, he whom posterity was to call Charlemagne, entertained his father's sentiments. At the call of Pope Adrian I., Charles crossed the Alps, took Lombardy, which he annexed to the Frankish kingdom, went to Rome, entered St. Peter's and confirmed the gift made by Pepin[1] (April 774). The pontifical state proclaimed by Pepin in 754, and realized by that prince in 756, was twenty years afterwards consolidated by Charlemagne.

The gift of 774 did not fully satisfy the papacy, any more than that of 754 had done. For one thing, Leo, archbishop of Ravenna, who had a great liking for the Frankish court, endowed the church of Ravenna with a small estate which was constituted at the expense of the papal domain; and for another thing, the greatness of the Roman Church deserved something better than the territories ceded by Pepin. Pope Adrian I. besought Charlemagne to strike a blow at the proud archbishop of Ravenna, whose ambition he denounced in vigorous terms. He also begged him to complete the gift of Pepin; and to excite his generosity sent him a copy of the "donation of Constantine," a document forged by his orders, which accorded vast domains to the Pope.[2] For a long time his efforts remained almost barren of results. At length (787) he obtained a part of Lombard Tuscany, and of the duchy of Benevento.[3] It was not all that he desired, but it was at least a partial satisfaction. The pontifical state created by Pepin (754 and 756), and afterwards consolidated

[1] Hauck, ii. 84; Duchesne, p. 146; Hubert, p. 253.

[2] Ch. Bayet, "La fausse donation de Constantin," in *Annuaire de la faculté des lettres de Lyon*, ii. (1884) pp. 17–44; Hubert, p. 267; Hauck, ii. 25, 26, attributes the manufacture of this document to Stephen II.; but the idea of Bayet is better justified.

[3] Duchesne, p. 163.

by Charlemagne (774), received from this prince (787) frontiers which were never to any important extent enlarged in after years.

The popes claimed this state as the patrimony of St. Peter: they acted as if they were the owners, who had been unjustly despoiled, and who asked again to take possession of their property: they besought the Frankish kings to constrain the Lombards to restore it. Restricted to the duchy of Rome, of which they were the real proprietors, and over which they exercised a real sovereignty, their contention can be well understood. But the Exarchate, Pentapolis, Tuscany, and the duchy of Benevento belonged to the emperor of Constantinople, before they fell into the hands of the Lombards. By what right did the papacy lay claim to these lands? How could it demand their "restoration"? We do not know what subtle casuistry was employed in this case to obscure such a clear question. In reality the Exarchate, Pentapolis, Tuscany, and the duchy of Benevento were not restrictions, but gifts. Pepin and Charlemagne "granted" to the Roman Church these lands which they had taken from the Lombards, who had themselves captured them from the emperor of Constantinople. They recognized and supported the sovereignty exercised by the popes over the duchy of Rome; they submitted new territories to that sovereignty. They consolidated the patrimony of St. Peter; they also enlarged it, and at length transformed it into a political power, and made it a state, a pontifical state.

At the head of the pontifical state was the Pope, who administered and governed it, who was its master. But this master wished only the advantages of his sovereignty and not its expense. He was willing to command his subjects and to enjoy the fruits of their labour, but was not ready to be constrained to guarantee their security. This part he left to a protector, who was none other than the king of France. Founder of the pontifical state, Pepin did, moreover, police it. He was obliged to defend the Pope against the Lombards, and, if occasion arose, against the emperor at Constantinople, who at that moment, however, was not to be

feared. That mission was implied in the title "patrician of the Romans," which the Pope conferred upon him at Ponthion.

It was thus that things were bound to happen, and that they did happen so long as Pepin sat on the French throne. But from the day that he was laid in the tomb, the reality did not correspond to the theory, and the programme of Stephen disappeared. Charlemagne, who called himself "defender of the Roman Church," surely deserved that title. He defended it by armed force "against the pagans and the infidels" (the words are his own).[1] But this defender wished to have the right of supervision. He pointed out to Adrian I. the defects of the pontifical administration, and engaged him to remedy them. He gave him advice, and imposed his orders upon him.[2] When Leo III. ascended the pontifical throne, Charlemagne exhorted him to good behaviour. He said to him: "Always follow the canons in your exercise of authority; let your life be a pattern of holiness; and let your mouth never be opened except to give holy exhortations." This admonition was not enough: he ordered Angilbert, his representative, to renew it: "When thou shalt arrive in the presence of the Pope, take heed to warn him . . . of the holy life that he ought to lead, of the kindness with which he should govern the Church, and especially of the fidelity which he should manifest in observing the sacred canons . . . engage him to eradicate simony, which in some quarters stains the holy body of the Church, and to reform the other abuses, of which, as thou knowest, I have often complained."[3]

At the moment when he was employing this language (796) he without doubt knew that evil reports were being circulated concerning the new Pope. Three years later, the scandal broke out. Leo III., accused of different crimes, particularly of adultery, fled from Rome and came to Paderborn to ask the help of Charlemagne against his enemies, who sought to kill him. Charlemagne charged certain bishops to

[1] Letter to Leo III., in Alcuin; M. G., *Ep.* iii. 136.
[2] Cod. Carol. 59, 86; M. G., *Ep.* ii. 584, 622; Hauck, ii. 89.
[3] In Alcuin, 92, 93; M. G., *Ep.* iii. 135, 136.

make an inquiry into the life of the pontiff. Then he went himself to Rome (December 800), called a council at St. Peter's, and with the concurrence of the assembly over which he presided, settled the painful affair, which for several years had been troubling Rome.[1] The guilt of the accused seemed to be pretty well established,[2] but the sanction gave rise to difficulties, before which some drew back. In agreement with the bishops, Charlemagne took a middle course. He proposed to the Pope that the latter should clear himself by oath of the accusation aimed at him (i.e. *purgatio per sacramentum*). Leo grasped eagerly at this plank of safety, and before the whole assembly swore that he was innocent. In this way the affair was arranged. But Charlemagne had judged the Pope.[3] It is not without reason that in the preface to the *Libri Carolini* he represents himself as "holding the rudder of the Church."

Charlemagne intended to hold the rudder; and it may be added that the popes had no idea of disputing his place. Adrian had been happy to inform the powerful king of the Franks that every day in all the churches and chapels of Rome three hundred *Kyrie eleison* were recited for him.[4] He was prompt to execute the orders that were given to him. He protested only when there was a question as to his administration; then he defended and excused himself, and enlightened his judge. He enlightened him, that is to say, he did not dispute his judicial competence, but recognized and accepted it. Adrian was the docile vassal of his powerful friend. Leo III. was not less submissive. Scarcely had he been elected when he sent to Charlemagne the keys of the tomb of St. Peter and the standard of the city of Rome. At the same time he begged him to dispatch a delegate to Rome to receive the oaths of the Roman people. The day of the

[1] Mansi, xiii. 1045; Hefele, p. 739.

[2] Alcuin, 179, 184; M. G., *Ep.* iii. 297, 309, considers that the Pope was guilty.

[3] See the oath of the Pope in M. G., *Ep.* v. 63: ". . . propter quam causam audiendam iste sanctissimus et serenissimus dominus rex Carolus . . . pervenit ad urbem."

[4] Jaffé, 2409.

inauguration of the empire (Christmas, 800), when the ceremony of imperial consecration had been finished, Leo prostrated himself before the august sovereign—He "adored him," says the annalist, and was prodigal of the marks of his subjection.[1]

There is no sky so clear as to remain always without clouds. The officials appointed by the Pope to administer the pontifical state complained that they were molested by the imperial inspectors charged to supervise them. Leo transmitted their grievances to the emperor, who in return transmitted to Leo the complaints of his own officials against the papal government. Plainly the Frankish suzerain would have liked his venerable fief to be more simple, and the latter would have liked greater independence for himself.[2] There was a misunderstanding between Aix-la-Chapelle and Rome, but it continued to be unimportant; it did not degenerate into a conflict. At the death of Charlemagne the situation was modified. In 815, Louis the Debonnair learned that a revolt had broken out in the pontifical state, and that Leo had drowned it in blood, by putting to death several hundred conspirators.[3] He believed that he discerned an abuse of power, and he complained to the Pope. The latter gave explanations with which the pacific emperor declared that he was not satisfied; and the incident was closed. But some years afterwards (823) two dignitaries were put to death at the Lateran, under the eyes of Pope Pascal I., who at that time was on the pontifical throne. Louis the Debonnair did not propose to be paid in words. He sent delegates to Rome to make an inquiry. Pascal prevented the investigation, and the commissioners returned to France without attaining their object. Louis the Debonnair wished to have the last word. By his orders Lothair his son came to Rome (824). He corrected the abuses in the pontifical administration, and then established a constitution by the terms of which a representative of the emperor was to be

[1] Hauck, ii. 96.
[2] Jaffé, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2528, 2529; M. G., *Ep.* v. 88, 89, 91, 92, 101, 103.
[3] Hauck, ii. 476.

permanently near the Pope, and to receive the reports of the pontifical officials. The supremacy of the imperial power was assured.[1]

Some years later the empire entered into the way which was to lead to its fall. Louis the Debonnair was humiliated by his sons; and the outrages of which he was the object aided the theocracy to triumph. Gregory IV., of whom the rebels asked support, addressed haughty words to the emperor. The time had gone by when popes prostrated themselves at the feet of Pepin and of Charlemagne, and addressed to them their humble supplications. Under Gregory IV. the papacy resisted the civil power, braved it, dominated it. Logically, the constitution of 824 should have disappeared. But the irony of fate intervened, so that the popes, at the very time when they were making the law for Christendom, trembled in their own house. In 846 the Saracens invaded the Roman Campagna, devastated all the country, sacked the church of St. Peter, and—horrible to relate—profaned the tomb of the Apostle.[2] When Lothair learned of this catastrophe, he decided to drive the Saracens from Italy, and to enclose the borough of St. Peter. The execution of this plan directly followed his decision. The Saracens were driven—temporarily—from Italy, a great wall was built around St. Peter's and the adjoining houses. Rome was more secure. But this advantage it owed to the sword of the Franks, and to their money. The Pope, who spoke as master of the Church, did not maintain himself in the pontifical state except by the support of the emperor. He knew this, and therefore did not dream of throwing off the protectorate which had been imposed upon him by the constitution of 824. The powerful Pope Nicholas, so conscious of his own authority, kept the officials at Rome, whom the emperor had given him, who supervised his administration. The Saracens, driven from Italy in 847, returned about 870. In 875 they invaded the Roman Campagna. At this time the Pope was John VIII. Breaking with established customs, John wished to do what his royal profession demanded of him

[1] Hauck, ii. 482; Duchesne, p. 199. [2] Duchesne, p. 213.

under such circumstances. He equipped a fleet, took command of it, and went to meet the enemy.[1] He gained a brilliant victory, which he announced to the emperor in these words: "With the help of the Lord, we have taken eighteen vessels from the Saracens, many of whom have been slain." John VIII. was the first in a line of military popes. He created a type which disappeared only with Julius II. Unhappily his triumph was not lasting. The Saracens, who soon recovered from their defeat, became more terrible than ever. A disconsolate witness of their ravages, and powerless to put a stop to them, John called on Charles the Bald for aid. He did not obtain it; on the contrary, he received a visit from certain Italian nobles who took advantage of his embarrassment to attack him. Finding his position untenable, the poor Pope left Rome and came to France (April 878). He hoped to rally to him the Carolingian princes as well as their bishops, and beg them to make a united effort against the enemies of the Roman Church. His expectation was disappointed. The council of Troyes, before which he pleaded his cause, gave him only fair words.[2] Returning to Rome, having obtained nothing, he spent his time in seeking protectors who robbed him; he was tormented with anxiety until the day when assassins ended his life (882).

The fears of John VIII. were only too well founded. The pontifical state was, indeed, hastening to its ruin. But misfortune came from an unexpected quarter, and the Saracens were not concerned in it. In 887 the Carolingian empire fell. At once from all the cities of the patrimony of St. Peter arose dukes, marquises, counts, and barons who parcelled out the domains as best they could, and granted themselves independence. This was the dismemberment of the pontifical state. Rome itself became the prey of powerful families who treated the papacy as a fief, profaned it, cast it into the mire. The Roman clergy made no effort either to recover the donation of Pepin, or to win back independence and dignity for the apostolic see. The popes could hardly think of modifying a régime of which they were the creatures. Yet two

[1] Jaffé, 3008. [2] Mansi, xvii. 348; Migne, cxxvi. 961; Hefele, iv. 527.

attempts were made, with this in view, in the course of the tenth century by the holders of pontifical authority. In 928, John X., who thirteen years before, by gaining a brilliant victory over the Saracens,[1] had deserved well of Italy, endeavoured to free himself from the domination of Marozia, and to be master of Rome. He failed, and paid for his courageous undertaking with his life.[2] Thirty years afterwards, John XII., after an unfortunate expedition against the dukes of Capua and Benevento, re-established the empire, gave it to Otto I., who promised to deliver to the apostolic see all its temporal possessions.[3] But this promise was illusory. Later (1020) the emperor Henry II. renewed it, but without result.[4] In 1045, when Gregory VI. purchased the pontifical throne from Benedict IX., the Pope, according to William of Malmesbury, had no other income than that derived from certain farms situated near Rome, and from the offerings of the faithful;[5] and in 1048 the emperor Henry III. saved Pope Damasius from destitution by giving him an important forest in the valley of Puster; and in addition to this, authorizing him to keep the revenues of his former bishopric of Brixen.[6] Upon the re-establishment of the empire, the papacy gained nothing except a change of masters, and subjection to another protectorate. Indeed from Otto I. to Henry III. the German emperors made the laws for the Roman pontiff, even as they did for the bishops on the banks of the Rhine.

At this time there appeared upon the scene the monk who was wholly to transform the pontifical see and the Church. It was Hildebrand. From the time of Stephen II., or rather from the time of Gregory II., the papacy had called upon the princes to defend its possessions. Hildebrand thought that the Roman Church before counting on princes, should rely upon itself; that in order to have its rights respected, it should be in a position to defend them; and

[1] Jaffé, 3556; Hauck, iii. 208.
[2] Duchesne, p. 324.
[3] Hauck, iii. 229.
[4] *Id.*, *ib.* 525.
[5] *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ii. 201; Migne, clxxix. 1183.
[6] Jaffé, i. 528.

that the Pope, like any other ruler, should be a captain. In the past it had had a John VIII., a John X., and later still a Benedict VIII. (about 1020), engaged in battle with the Saracens, defending the lives of Christians with the sword, But pontiffs took up arms for the maintenance of the pontifical state. Here was something unexampled save in the time of John XII., that is to say, in the worst days of the papacy. Hildebrand introduced this innovation into the Church. In 1045 he applied his method, and followed by a small band of soldiers he laboured in the Roman Campagna in support of Gregory VI.[1] In 1053, Leo IX. made war upon the Normans in Italy.[2] Two years later, Victor II. (1055) led a military expedition into the Roman Campagna;[3] and afterwards it was Nicholas II. (1059) who, to punish the Roman counts, visited Latium with fire and sword.[4] All these pontiffs were merely executors of the orders of Hildebrand, who although only a simple monk was, as Peter Damien said, "master of popes," and governed the Church. At last in 1073 Hildebrand ascended the pontifical throne and became Gregory VII. One of his first cares was to organize battalions against the despoilers of the patrimony of St. Peter. The year following (1074), he made a campaign against the Normans, who were engaging in increasing invasions.[5] But this last expedition failed miserably before there had been any encounter. That of Leo IX. was drowned in blood at the disastrous battle of Civita. As for the military marches across the Roman Campagna, several seem to have failed; the rest were hardly anything more than *razzias* without any lasting effect. After forty years of warlike undertakings, Gregory VII. left the question of the pontifical state just about as he had found it. More fortunate in diplomacy than on the field of battle, he persuaded the countess Mathilda to bequeath her patrimonial estate to the Holy See; but the German emperors opposed the execution of this

[1] Guido Ferrariensis, *De scismate Hildebrandi*, M. G., *Libelli de lite*, i. 554.

[2] Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII. et la réforme de l'Église*, i. 308, Paris, 1889.

[3] *Id.*, ii. 14. [4] *Id.*, *ib.* 84, 132. [5] *Id.*, iii. 16, 96.

legacy. The endowment of the countess Mathilda procured for the apostolic see certain rights, but nothing more.

To witness the realization of these plans, one must await the coming of the twelfth century. About 1137, Innocent II., with the help of the emperor Lothair of Saxony, secured control of Albano, Benevento, and several castles south of Rome. In 1153,[1] Frederick Barbarossa at the diet of Constance signed an agreement by which he engaged himself to recover for the Roman Church the possessions of the blessed Peter which were still in the hands of strangers, and to defend those which were then in the power of the Church —all this to the best of his ability. It was not an empty promise. It was by his favour that Pope Eugenius III. took Terracina, Sezzia, Narni, and Fumona.[2] In 1191, Henry VI., at the time when he received the imperial crown from Celestine III., swore to restore to St. Peter all that had been taken from the dominions of the latter.[3] It is not known exactly what he restored. What is known is, that at the end of the twelfth century, from the time of Eugenius III., the pontifical state did not acquire much, but, on the contrary, lost some of the territory gained by that pope. It ended at the limits of the old duchy of Rome, which had been only partly subjugated. It did not include Romagna (formerly the exarchate of Ravenna), nor the province of Ancona (formerly Pentapolis), nor Umbria (formerly the duchy of Spoleto), nor the property of the countess Mathilda. All its domains were in the hands of the German emperors, who administered them through their subordinates.

Innocent III., who took such a long stride towards the theocracy, also made efforts to develop the pontifical state.[4] Circumstances were more favourable than ever. After the death of Henry VI. (1197), the empire, torn by intestinal strife, was incapable of serious effort. Innocent had his

[1] Baronius, 1137, 6–11.

[2] M. G., *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum* (legum sectio iv.), i. 201; Zeller, iv. 125; Baronius, 1153, 11.

[3] M. G., *Constitutiones*, i. 478 (see also 461); Zeller, iv. 411.

[4] Luchaire, *Innocent III., Rome et l'Italie*, pp. 98–102, 107.

hands free, and did not remain inactive. His soldiers went across the Roman Campagna and restored order in the towns and mutinous castles. Houses were demolished, rebels were hanged, fines were inflicted, towns laid under interdict. That went on for two years; then in 1207, Innocent being master of the old duchy of Rome could visit his subjects as a conqueror, and receive their homage. It seemed as if the conquest of the country administered by the Germans would be still more simple. At a signal from the Pope, the peoples of Umbria, of Ancona, of Romagna, drove out the imperial officials whom they hated, and yielded to the Pope. At this Innocent was deeply pleased, as we know from an expression in his letter to the inhabitants of Jesi (17th March 1199). But he soon perceived that his triumph was premature. The towns which had banished the German officials were equally averse to the papal protectorate. They wished to govern themselves. Disputes arose. Innocent remained master of Umbria, but Ancona and Romagna in the end escaped his authority. As to the possessions of the countess Mathilda, he had doubtless never expected to keep them in his power. He made up for this by having all his rights recognized, those which he did not exercise, as well as those which he exercised, by Otto IV. at Spire (1209), and by Frederick II. at Eger[1] (1213). Sixty years later, Pope Gregory X. caused the recognition of the same rights by the emperor Rudolph of Habsburg at the second council of Lyons[2] (1274), then at Lausanne (1275), so that the Pope was juridically master of several provinces over which he had no effective control.

There was an anomaly here. The popes endeavoured to remove it. In 1276, Innocent V. committed to Charles of Anjou the administration of Tuscany, the country which in other days was subject to the countess Mathilda. He supposed that he was conforming to the agreements of Lyons

[1] Luchaire, *Innocent III., La Papauté et l'Empire*, pp. 204, 295.

[2] Raynald, 1274, 5–12; Hefele, vi. 134; Gregorovius, v. 447: Zeller, vi. 127; concerning Alexander IV., see E. Jordan, *Les Origines de la domination angevine*, p. 310, Paris, 1909.

and of Lausanne. But Rudolph did not so understand it. This weak emperor, who had hitherto endured all kinds of humiliation, now had the courage to resist. In response to the bold action of the Pope, he tightened the cords which bound Romagna to the empire, and he threatened to attack Rome. Nicholas III. (1277–1280) devised an ingenious solution of the difficulty. Being especially desirous of getting rid of Charles of Anjou, who was displeased with him, he began by alarming Rudolph, showing him the old parchments which guaranteed the exarchate and Pentapolis to the papacy. Then, like a generous prince, he proposed to grant to the emperor the administration of Tuscany, provided the latter would leave Romagna to the Holy See. The offer was accepted (30th June 1278). Thereafter Romagna became a part of the patrimony of St. Peter; and after a useless revolt (under Martin IV.) it was resigned to its lot. At Rome, of course, Tuscany had not been lost to sight and a proper opportunity of incorporating it was awaited. Boniface VIII. believed that he was called by Providence to seize the prey which had been so long coveted. He was disappointed; Tuscany escaped his control.[1] Notwithstanding this unimportant check, the papacy might be proud of its work. After a century and a half of effort, it had regained the endowment of Pepin.

It did not long enjoy its conquest. Clement V., the successor of Boniface VIII., established himself at Avignon. The effects of this displacement, which continued until 1377, were soon apparent. In 1314, Cardinal Napoleon Orsini wrote to Philip le Bel, king of France: "During the pontificate of Clement V. the city of Rome is ruined, the patrimony of St. Peter has been pillaged, and is still being pillaged, by those who deserve the name of robbers, rather than of rulers."[2]

[1] G. Levi, "Bonifazio VII. e le sue relazioni col commune di Firenze" (*Archivio della Societa Romana*, v. (1882) 365–474). Boniface demanded the city of Gaèta, to give it afterwards to his nephew; see Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.*, p. xlv, Münster, 1902. Mark also that the nephew of Boniface bought a part of Latium, and that the uncle confirmed these acquisitions by a bull. See Gregorovius, v. 557.

[2] Baluze, *Vitæ paparum avenionensium*, ii. 289, Paris, 1693.

Hence even during the life of Clement V., the pontifical state, taking advantage of the absence of its master, had shaken off the yoke. The work of conquest, slowly pursued during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had come to nought. All had to be begun again; Pope Innocent VI. (1342–1352) resumed it. At his command, Cardinal Albornoz, leading a small army, crossed the pontifical state, subdued all the rebel cities, and set French governors over them.[1] Everything went well so long as Albornoz with his forces was in the country. When he departed, a wind of rebellion swept once more over the whole pontifical territory. Gregory XI. sent Cardinal Robert of Geneva with a band of mercenaries from Brittany, commanding them to act with energy. He was obeyed to the letter. Robert of Geneva drowned the revolt in blood[2] (1377). It is here that mention should be made of the acquisition of Avignon by the papacy. This town belonged to Jeanne queen of Naples. Clement VI. bought it from her in 1348 for 80,000 gold florins.[3]

A year after Robert's cruel act, occurred the great schism. The Pope of Avignon confronted the Pope of Rome. Christianity was divided into two parts (1378). It was a godsend to the cities of the pontifical state. Pretending to doubt as to which Pope was legitimate, they surrendered to neither of the competitors, or, which was practically the same thing, they declared in favour of the more distant pontiff who could not reach them, and from whom they had nothing to fear. Urban VI., the Roman Pope, sent troops to ravage the territory of his rebellious subjects. It was labour lost. The pontifical state was again emancipated; again the papacy had to raise an army and do battle to enter into its own. Cardinal Balthasar Cossa, commanded by Pope Boniface IX. of Rome to suppress the revolt in Romagna, brilliantly fulfilled his

[1] J. Wurm, *Cardinal Albornoz der zweite Begründer des Kirchenstaates*, p. 130, Paderborn, 1892; J. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, pp. 147, 167, 177, Paris, 1912.

[2] Mollat, p. 164.

[3] Christophe, *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le xiv^e siècle*, ii. 467, Paris, 1853.

mission (1414). He ruled this region for the Popes Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Alexander V., as well as afterwards on his own account after he became Pope with the name of John XXIII.[1] But John XXIII. was deposed by the council of Constance (1415). Romagna immediately resumed its autonomy. Nothing remained of that which had been conquered by Balthasar Cossa. When the schism was at length brought to an end (1417), Pope Martin V. was obliged to seek the hospitality of Florence. The pontifical state was closed to him. Fortunately the queen of Naples came to the rescue of the Pope, whom she needed herself. Aided by the Neapolitan forces, Martin got rid of the adventurer Braccio, who wished merely to abolish the temporal power of the Holy See (1424). Four years later, favourable circumstances enabled him to occupy the province of Rimini. Once more the domain of St. Peter was almost restored.[2]

But it was like the stone of Sisyphus. Martin V. died, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV. (1431). Hardly had he taken his seat upon the pontifical throne when he was assailed by complaints and threats. Nearly everywhere his subjects were rebellious.[3] Moreover, Eugenius encroached on the interests of Visconti, duke of Milan, showing little diplomatic talent. For this mistake he paid dearly. Through the influence of Visconti, four adventurers invaded the ecclesiastical state. One of them came as far as Rome. Eugenius was driven from the Eternal City (1434), which he was not to re-enter for ten years. Although a king, he had no kingdom. Nevertheless he placed his expectations on Vitelleschi, and these expectations seemed justified. Vitelleschi, bishop of Recanati, then archbishop of Florence and patriarch of Alexandria, was only an adventurer, like those whom Visconti subsidized. But this adventurer, who had given himself to the Pope, laboured a great deal, and laboured well. In a few years he put an end to the anarchy which was devastating the domain of St. Peter: under his

[1] J. Guiraud, *L'État pontifical après le Grand Schisme*, p. 23, Paris, 1898.
[2] Pastor, i. 166, 173. [3] *Id.*, *ib.* 222–228, 248.

hand of iron the cities which had rebelled were reduced to order. Eugenius had absolute confidence in this minister, who seemed to deserve it. Yet, just as he reached the zenith of his power, Vitelleschi was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, where he died (1440); and the Pope was unaffected by this event, which he seemed to approve.[1] It is not known whether the blow came from him, or whether he was merely a witness of what he could not prevent. Whatever the case may have been, in 1440, Eugenius was in a more critical situation than ever. Among his enemies, two were especially formidable: Sforza, and Alfonso of Aragon. The former threatened the pontifical state; the latter supported the council of Bâle and favoured the schism. But the Pope, who at the beginning of his reign knew nothing of diplomacy, at length gained a knowledge of it. Thanks to skilful concessions, he won over Alfonso and sent him against Sforza (1443). Directly after making this arrangement, he was able to return to Rome. This was his first advantage. But the defeat of Sforza was not achieved until several years afterwards. At length it occurred (1447), and at the end of sixteen years of conflict, Eugenius IV. left the temporal power very nearly at the point which it had reached under Martin V.

Nicholas V. and Calixtus III., the successors of Eugenius, lived on relatively peaceable terms with their subjects. Nicholas even had the pleasure of seeing Bologna of its own accord resume its place under the pontifical crosier, although not unconditionally[2] (1447). Calixtus formed the senseless plan—the execution of which was happily prevented by his death—of including the kingdom of Naples in the immediate possessions of the papacy, and of committing its administration to one of his nephews.[3] But the spirit of rebellion was only waiting for an occasion to manifest itself. Pius II. learned this to his cost. Scarcely had he ascended the pontifical throne when a goodly number of governors or

[1] Christophe, *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le xv^me^ siècle*, i. 328, Paris, 1863.

[2] Pastor, i. 317.

[3] *Id.*, *ib.* 600.

pontifical vicars rebelled. Piccinino, the chief of this band, retreated before the troops of the king of Naples; the rest of the rebels were bought over for money. It was pains taken in vain. After some years the insurgents, supported by the House of Anjou, once more took up arms and even at Rome defied the Pope, who gained in the end only an incomplete advantage.[1] Incomplete is, indeed, the word for it, since Paul II. and Sixtus IV. were confronted with a revolt which this time, instead of depending on the House of Anjou, was supported by Venice and Florence.[2] Yet heretofore the king of Naples, faithful to his obligations to the Holy See, had always without hesitation taken up the defence of the popes. Under Innocent VIII. he placed himself on the side of the insurgents, who became the more insolent. The Pope talked of leaving Italy, and of taking refuge in France. This threat made no change in the situation of the Holy See.[3] In 1495, Alexander VI. perceived it. At that time Charles VIII., king of France, came to Rome, demanded the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and gave it to be understood that he was ready to dethrone the unworthy pontiff who ruled the Church. Immediately most of the Roman barons and governors of the pontifical state surrendered to him. To these subjects of the Pope every enemy of their master was their friend.[4]

If Alexander VI. had been only a pope, he would have acted as his predecessors did. He would have left the pontifical state in the same disorder in which he found it. But he was also a father, having sons upon whom he wished to heap honours and wealth. Paternal love gave him the idea of defending his rights as a sovereign, and gave him the force to do it. Under pretence of punishing his officials who had betrayed him, and who in any case did not pay their tribute, he deposed them, and appointed his sons in their stead. Of course, war alone could assure the execution of his tyrannical plan; therefore war was declared against the pontifical vicars. The eldest of Alexander's sons, Juan, duke

[1] Pastor, ii. 87–90.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* 427–502.
[3] *Id.*, iii. 190–215.
[4] *Id.*, *ib.* 322, 348.

of Gandia, began hostilities (1495). He failed, and was assassinated by unknown persons, who threw his body into the Tiber. The incapable Juan was succeeded by his brother Cæsar. This man, who is to be counted among the great criminals of the human race, was also a crafty diplomatist and a brave soldier. Thanks to his bold efforts and to his strategies, which excited the admiration of Machiavelli, Cæsar captured successively Romagna and other parts of the domain of St. Peter. Bologna alone escaped him. He even intended to annex Florence, but circumstances prevented him from executing this plan.[1] With the help of his son Cæsar Borgia, Alexander VI. suppressed his proud vicars, those rebel officials who had for so long defied the Holy See. He gave the spoils to his sons. Cæsar, the contriver of the conquest, had, as was fitting, the greater share. Juan, who in 1501 was still in the cradle, received several duchies. Roderigo, the son of Lucretia, was not forgotten. The pontifical state—with the exception of Bologna and Perugia—became the property of the Borgias and of their descendants.[2] The domain of St. Peter was alienated, and ceased to exist. Its place was taken by lay duchies. Alexander VI. demolished the work slowly elaborated and jealously defended by his predecessors. He betrayed the Holy See.

Yet by the irony of fate it happened that this traitor was one of the most active agents in restoring the pontifical state. It need not be said that this happened in spite of him; for he had taken every measure to prevent that result.

This leads us to the mention of Julius II. At the time when this Pope took in hand the government of the Church, all the cities which had submitted to Borgia were endeavouring to shake off the yoke which Alexander VI. had imposed upon them; and Venice took advantage of the movement for emancipation to make the conquest of Romagna. Another pope would have yielded; not so Julius II., who had no ecclesiastical spirit, but, to make up for it, had a genius for war. With an audacity which increased in the face of danger, he made himself the intrepid champion of the rights of the Holy

[1] Pastor, iii. 370–375, 451, 458, 486, 494. [2] *Id., ib.* 475.

See. In the very beginning (1506) he obliged Venice to restore some of the towns which it had taken from Romagna. Then he presented himself at the head of an army before Perugia and Bologna, which he forced to surrender (1506). Finally (1509), thanks to the victory of Agnadel, he summoned the Venetians to give up their spoils and to evacuate Romagna. For a short time he lost Bologna (1508), and at the beginning of 1512 he found himself on the verge of ruin. But, saved by the Swiss, he triumphed over all his foes; he recovered Bologna and Romagna, and extended his sway over Parma, Placentia, and Reggio[1] (1512). It is to Julius II. that the pontifical state owed its final form. But it should not be forgotten that the suppression of the pontifical vicars by Alexander VI. greatly facilitated the work of Julius II., his successor, in restoring the pontifical state. Alexander VI., without intending it, prepared the way for this restitution.

APPENDIX I

The Administration of Rome

Under the Byzantine rule, Rome was administered by an imperial officer, who was called the duke of Rome, and who was dependent on the exarch of Ravenna. This régime, established in A.D. 533, existed *de jure* until the disappearance of the exarchate of Ravenna (751); but actually a long time before this date, the duke of Rome was replaced by the Pope, who became *de facto* the administrator of Rome.[2]

Under the Carolingians[3] the Pope retained the place which he had acquired at the end of the Byzantine régime. He had control of the administration of Rome, and exercised it through his own officials. This administration, however, was supervised by the imperial *missi*. The Carolingian princes believed that they had received this right of supervision when they received the patriciate. It is this which

[1] Pastor, iii. 583, 591, 602, 610, 665, 702, 713.

[2] L. Halphen, *Étude sur l'administration de Rome au Moyen Age*, p. 1, Paris, 1907.

[3] *Id.*, *ib.* p. 2; Duchesne, p. 164.

explains their exercise of it before the constitution of the empire. In 800, Charlemagne came to Rome to judge Leo III.

From the fall of the Carolingian empire (887, or more exactly 896) to the accession of the Germanic empire (962), Rome was governed successively by the dukes of Spoleto, the king of Provence, Berenger, and the House of Theophylactus.[1] During this entire period the Pope was only the servant of masters who had raised him to the pontifical throne. From the advent of the Germanic empire (962) to Gregory VII. (1059), the administration of Rome was in the Pope's own hands, but was guarded and controlled by the German emperor. That was intended by the constitution of Otto. As we know, however, this constitution, hated by the Romans, was, until the year 1046, violated by them as often as possible.[2] In fact, during this period there were national popes alternating with imperial popes. The latter alone were subject to the emperor's supervision; the others were under the orders of the faction which elected them.

Gregory VII. undertook to free the papacy from the yoke of the empire as well as from the yoke of the Italian nobility. His programme was to put Rome under the exclusive authority of the Holy See. But the Germanic empire fought with all its might to maintain the constitution of Otto, and did not admit its defeat until the concordat of Worms (1122). It was in 1059 that Hildebrand carried out his programme, and so it was at that date that the conflict began. Thus the situation was as follows: from the year 1059 to 1122, Rome, drawn asunder by the German and the pontifical claims, fell a prey to anarchy; but from the year 1122 the Pope was the undisputed master of Rome.

This situation lasted only twenty years.[3] In 1143 a conflict arose between Innocent II. and the Roman people on the subject of Tivoli, which the people wished to destroy, which the Pope wished to spare. Dissatisfied with the mildness of the pontiff, the people rebelled, took possession of the Capitol, and installed a senate there. That was the constitution of 1143, by which the city of Rome was made a municipality independent of the papacy. For two years the papacy opposed this constitution. In 1145, Eugenius III. consented to recognize the senate, on condition that they would grant him the investiture. During the years following, several attempts at

[1] Duchesne, p. 288.
[2] See the chapter on "The Pontifical Election."
[3] Halphen, p. 54.

rebellion were made, one of which, led by Arnold, was particularly serious. The Romans had the idea of reviving the ancient Roman republic, and of confining the papacy within a purely spiritual domain. The Pope was saved by Frederick Barbarossa, who arrested Arnold and hung him (1155). At length, in 1188, Clement III. and the Roman republic signed an agreement on the basis of the treaty of 1145. The administration of Rome was entrusted to the senate, which derived its authority from the Pope.[1]

The constitution of 1188, which gave the people the election of senators and reserved to the Pope only the investiture, seemed too liberal to Innocent III. In 1198 this pontiff controlled the Roman municipality. The latter made an attempt at resistance, which lasted six years. Being definitely conquered it received (1204) a constitution, according to which the administration of Rome was committed to a single senator or podestat, who was appointed directly or indirectly by the Pope. Innocent III. from the beginning of his reign rid himself of the prefect whom the emperor Henry VI. had given to Rome to govern in his name, as the *missus* did in the Carolingian period.[2] The constitution of Innocent III. was soon trampled under foot, and the Roman senators were independent of the papacy. To remedy this, Urban IV. committed the senatorship to Charles of Anjou on condition that the latter should obey the Pope.[3] Charles accepted the proposed condition (1264), but he soon assumed an authority which made him unbearable to the popes. To be rid of him, Nicholas III. promulgated the following constitution (1278): "The senator charged with the government of Rome shall be obliged to receive investiture from the Pope, and shall be elected by the people; in no case shall a foreigner be eligible, and the choice of the people must fall upon a Roman."[4] Disregarding this, Martin IV. reappointed Charles of Anjou as Roman senator (1281), but the hostility of the Romans obliged him to revoke the measure (1282) and return to the national system of Nicholas III.

The constitution of 1278 was enforced during the sojourn of the papacy at Avignon. Rome, however, which was then a prey to misery and robbery, hoped to find in independence a remedy for its misfortunes. Cola di Rienzi, an adventurer,

[1] Halphen, p. 56.
[2] Luchaire, *Innocent III., Rome et l'Italie*, pp. 98–112, 120, 141, 143.
[3] E. Jordan, *Les Origines de la domination angevine en Italie*, Paris, 1909, pp. 420, 459.
[4] Raynald, 1278, 69.

exploited this state of opinion, had himself elected tribune of the people, and governor of the Eternal City (1347). But his frail fortune collapsed at the end of a few months. Deserted by every one, he was given up to Clement VI., who imprisoned him at Avignon. Seven years later (1354) Rienzi came once to Rome, but this time in the service of Pope Innocent VI., who conferred upon him the title of senator, and forced him to support the pontifical authority, which was threatened by a new rebellion. He died as a victim in a popular uprising.[1]

During the schism, the Roman popes—those of the lineage of Urban VI.—governed Rome until the close of the council of Pisa (1409), except in the time of revolution. Then Rome fell into the power of Louis II., prince of Anjou, a partizan of Alexander V., and so became obedient to that Pope, and afterwards to his successor, John XXIII. This system lasted until 1413. At that time Rome was conquered by Ladislas, king of Naples, who removed John XXIII. and kept Rome for himself. Ladislas died in 1414. Rome endeavoured to obtain independence, but became the prey of the adventurer Braccio. Finally, about 1417, the soldiers of Jeanne II., queen of Naples, obliged it to submit to the authority of Pope Martin V. Under Eugenius IV., Rome still sought to win its freedom and to become a republic (1434). But at the end of some years it submitted once more to the pontifical yoke. Yet the republican idea was not stifled. In 1440, Valla published his book on "The Donation of Constantine," in which the temporal power of the popes was presented as the cause of the corruption of the Church, and of all the woes of Italy.[2] Probably moved by this virulent indictment, Stephen Porcaro, upon the death of Eugenius IV. (1457), endeavoured to establish the republic, and declaimed against the "domination of the priests." He stopped temporarily at this point, but seven years later paid for his rash undertaking with his head (9th January 1453).[3]

Thereafter Rome rendered docile obedience to the popes, and if conspiracy occurred, it was not inspired by the republican idea.

[1] G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, pp. 171–178.
[2] Pastor, i. 16. [3] *Id.*, *ib.* 274, 424.

APPENDIX II

Residence of Popes away from Rome

The Gothic kings sent officially the popes John I. (A.D. 525) and Agapitus (536) to Constantinople in order to defend before the emperor the interests of the Gothic nation.[1] Under the Byzantine supremacy several popes were constrained to take the same journey by orders coming from the imperial court. This was the case with Vigilius, who lived ten years at Constantinople[2] (545–555); with Martin I., who left Constantinople only to die in the Chersonesus (653); with Constantine I., who was able to return to Rome after a forced stay of two years in the imperial city (709–711). The emperor tried to bring the popes Sergius and John VI. to him, but the army defeated his plan. In 730, Leo the Isaurian, who wished to remove Pope Gregory III., drew back because of the hostile attitude of the people. During the last days of the Byzantine supremacy, Zacharias left Rome on several occasions to visit the Lombard kings at Pavia, whose interests he successfully defended.[3]

The successor of Zacharias, Stephen II., also went to Pavia (753). He went by order of the court of Constantinople, with the mission to defend the rights of the emperor. But Pavia was only a stopping-place, and the journey of Stephen II. ended at Ponthion, where were laid the foundations of the pontifical state. In 799, Leo III., whose life "was no longer safe at Rome," took refuge at Paderborn with Charlemagne, who defended him and yet acted as his judge in a council at St. Peter's. In 816, Stephen IV. went to Reims to confer with Louis the Debonnair. In 878, John VIII., driven from Rome, visited Troyes, where he asked the Frankish bishops to take charge of his cause. At times the popes travelled in different directions as protectors, invited by the Frankish princes, who endeavoured to make use of their political influence. It was thus that, in 833, Gregory IV., summoned by the sons of Louis the Debonnair, who had rebelled against their father, met them

[1] Lives of John I. and Agapit in *Liber Pontificalis*; *Annales Maximiani*, 88; Liberatus, *Breviarium*, 21.

[2] L. Duchesne, "Vigile et Pélage" in *Revue des Questions historiques*, xxxvi. 369–440 (1884).

[3] Lives of Martin, Constantin, Sergius, John VI., Zacharias, in *Liber Pontificalis*.

on the field of falsehood. So it was again when, at the invitation of Charles the Fat, Pope Adrian III. came (885) to the diet of Worms in which death prevented him from taking part. The interview which Pope Adrian II. had with Lothair at Mount Cassin (869) took place likewise at the request of that prince. The maritime expedition of John VIII. against the Saracens (875), in which the Pope gained the brilliant victory of Tircé, must be placed in a special category.

From the fall of the Carolingian empire to the accession of Otto, when there was a desire to get rid of the Pope, time was not given him for flight. He was slain, or sent to prison to await death.[1] Stephen VI. was strangled (897), John X. was smothered (928), Leo V. and Christopher died in prison (904). In 915 occurred the expedition of John against the Saracens; in a letter to the archbishop of Cologne the Pope boasts of having twice charged the enemy.

Under the Ottos (962–1002) we observe the succession of national and of imperial popes who fled one after the other unless they were killed, mutilated, or exiled.[2] John XII. withdrew to Tivoli at the time when Otto I. deposed him (963). His successor, Benedict V., was sent into exile at Hamburg, where he died (965); Boniface VII., banished by Otto II. in 974, fled to Constantinople and did not return until after the death of his imperial enemy (984); John XVI. was captured by Otto III., who had his nose and ears cut off, his eyes put out, and his tongue torn out. It was now the turn of the imperial popes. Leo VIII. was driven away by John XII. (964); John XIII. was imprisoned by the Romans (965); Benedict VI. was strangled by order of Boniface VII. (974); John XIV. also was condemned to death by the same Pope; Gregory V. was banished from Rome for more than a year (996).

From the end of the reign of the Ottos until that of Henry III. the only thing to be mentioned here is that Benedict IX., who had been driven by the Romans from the Holy See, sold the pontificate[3] (1033–1045). Nor is there more to be said of the popes of Henry III., except that Leo IX., unfortunate in his expedition against the Normans, was for nine years their prisoner at Benevento[4] (1053). For more than half a century the popes lived for the most part in peace; and Leo IX., who is

[1] L. Duchesne, *Les Premiers Temps de l'état pontifical*, pp. 311–327.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* pp. 339–369.
[3] Hauck, ii. 569.
[4] Sigebert of Gemblours, *Chronica ad annum*, 1050; M. G., *Scriptores*, vi. 359; Bonizo, "Liber ad amicum v.," in the *Libelli de lite*, i. 589.

to be met with everywhere in France, in Germany, and in Italy, left Rome only for apostolic, political, or military reasons.

From the time of Gregory VII. the situation of the popes at Rome was for a long time precarious. This arose from difficulties caused by changes of which Gregory was the author. One of these difficulties was connected with the quarrel concerning investitures. In 1084, Gregory VII., in order to defend himself against Henry IV., called to his aid the Norman, Robert Guiscard.[1] At Rome the latter committed such excesses that Gregory, hated by the Romans, who held him responsible for their misfortunes, was obliged to follow his protector, and died at Salerno (1085). Urban II., elected in 1088, became master of the Lateran only in 1094, and of the castle of St. Angelo in 1098. Pascal II. came into France in 1106 and tried in vain to effect a settlement with the representatives of Henry V. concerning investitures. He returned to Rome in 1109, and was driven away in 1116. He came back again shortly before his death. His successor, Gelasius II., was banished from Rome, the first time by Henry V., the second time by the faction of the Frangipani. He died at Cluny after a pontificate of one year, most of which was spent away from Rome. Calixtus II. spent the first year of his pontificate in France, where he presided at the council of Reims (1119).

Another source of difficulties was the rivalries caused by the electoral reform of 1059, until this reform was completed by the decree of 1179. By the authority of this, Alexander II. (1061–1073), Innocent II. (1130–1143), Alexander III. (1159–1181), were away from Rome for some years, where a victorious rival was in power, sustained by either the Roman people or the emperor.

The manifestation at Rome of the republican idea about the middle of the twelfth century was a fresh cause of embarrassment to the papacy. From 1143 down to the constitution of 1188 the popes did not stay at Rome, except at intervals. In fact, it happened that two of them, Urban III. and Gregory VIII., never set foot there. Lucius II. was killed by a stone while he was besieging the senators imprisoned in the Capitol (1145). After 1188 there was no further question of having a republic, but the Romans found the pontifical yoke too heavy, and they made this known. In 1203 the powerful Innocent III. was forced to flee before his mutinous subjects. His successor, Honorius III., was banished (1220), and returned

[1] Delarc, *St. Grégoire VII.*, iii. 606, Paris, 1889.

to Rome only because of the support of Frederick II. Gregory IX. was several times expelled, but he also was brought back, once at least, by Frederick. Alexander IV. ascertained that there were sentiments of independence about him which obliged him after a short stay to leave Rome. His successors, Urban IV. and Clement IV., never entered.[1]

Finally, mention should be made of the quarrel with Frederick II. It was to escape this terrible emperor that Pope Innocent IV. came to Lyons, where he fixed his see for more than six years[2] (1244–1251), after having wandered for two years in northern Italy. He was driven from there in March 1254, and after various journeys went to Naples, where he died. At the end of the thirteenth century the popes were little in residence at Rome, which, however, was not closed against them.

Thus preparation was made for the long absence of the popes at Avignon, beginning with Clement V. (1305), and ending with Gregory XI. (27th January 1377). Already, in 1367, Urban V. had returned to Rome, but had resumed the way to Avignon. Gregory XI. would have imitated him, if death had not prevented him.

During the great schism, the French pope, Clement VII., resided at Avignon until his death (1394). His successor, Benedict XIII., dwelt in that city until 1403. At that date, he fled secretly in order to escape the marshal Boucicaut who for more than four years had besieged him. After divers wanderings he settled at the castle of Peniscola in Spain, where he died in 1424, convinced until the very last that he was the only legitimate pope. The following is what occurred in the line of the Roman popes. Urban VI., who had begun a senseless war against the kingdom of Naples, was for seven months besieged in the castle of Nocera by Charles de Durazzo (1385). Having successfully escaped from his enemies, he fled to Genoa, then to Lucques. He returned to Rome in 1388.[3] His successor, Boniface IX., was banished by the Romans (1392), who shortly afterwards begged him to return to them.[4] Innocent VII. escaped death only by a hasty flight (1405). Gregory XII. left Rome in 1408 to regulate the question of the schism, and did not return. One of the Pisa popes, John XXIII., came to Rome, whence he was soon banished by Ladislas (1413).

[1] Luchaire, *Innocent III., Rome et l'Italie*, p. 60; Zeller, v. 195, 282, 469, 474.
[2] E. Berger, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV.*, II. xvi–xxiii, Paris, 1884.
[3] Noël Valois, ii. 114, 131, 145. [4] Raynald, 1392, 6; 1393, 5.

In 1417, the great schism came to an end, and Martin V. was recognized by the whole Church. The new pope was established first at Mantua, then at Florence. But learning that he was ridiculed by children, in their songs, he left the latter city, and fixed his see at Rome (30th September 1420). He died there (1431), and his successor, Eugene IV., spent the first three years of his reign there. He was driven away by the revolution in 1434, and took refuge at Florence, where he remained for ten years. In 1443 he came back to Rome, where his successors thereafter victoriously defied their enemies.

CHAPTER VI

The Papacy and the Empire

On Christmas Day, A.D. 800, Charlemagne, king of the Franks, went to Rome.[1] He went to judge and to rescue Pope Leo III., who was accused of grave offences against ecclesiastical discipline. On this occasion, kneeling before the altar in the basilica of St. Peter, he attended mass. After the gospel, the Pope left his seat, advanced towards him, and placed a crown of gold upon his head. Then the Romans who were present exclaimed in transports of joy: "To Charles Augustus crowned by God, to the great and pacific emperor of the Romans, long life and victory!" The pontiff then prostrated himself before the august sovereign and "adored" him. Thus was created the Holy Roman Empire. This huge colossus, the history of which partly coincides with that of the Church, was the work of the papacy. Let us add that it was its greatest work.

In proclaiming Charlemagne emperor, Leo III., it need not be said, did not foresee the consequences of his act; he did not suspect that one day, the empire having become German would be the scourge of Italy and the enemy of the papacy. Yet, on the contrary, no one will believe that he acted without consideration, without premeditation, without a previous understanding with Charlemagne. He had an end in view; what was that end? If we are to believe the Frankish chroniclers, Leo III. did not raise a new empire in place of the old; he simply gave the latter a new head in the person of

[1] Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vi. 310, Paris, 1892; Hauck, ii. 85, 108; Leclercq, "Charlemagne," in *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturgie*, iii. 785 (copious bibliography).

the king of the Franks, and proceeded lawfully to make this appointment, seeing that the imperial throne, at the time occupied by a woman—the empress Irene—was actually vacant. He granted the imperial crown, which had fallen into escheat, to a Frankish prince; by the same act he transferred the seat of the empire to Aix-la-Chapelle from Constantinople, and did nothing more. The empire which Charlemagne governed was not an empire of the Franks; it was a Roman empire, the destinies of which were committed to the Franks, and the seat of which had therefore been transferred to the banks of the Rhine.

This explanation is only a fiction, and its artificial character is quite manifest, for in 800 the empire of Constantinople, far from falling into escheat, still preserved all its institutions. Yet the fiction was not altogether untrue. What was true was that the empire of Constantinople, which for many years had been incapable of defending Rome, after the year 800 ceased to exist for the latter. It is furthermore true that the new empire had as its mission to defend Rome, pontifical Rome, and to this it owes the title of Roman empire. This reveals to us the object aimed at by the Pope when he crowned Charlemagne. What Leo III. then wished was to finish the work begun by Stephen II., to sever the last bond which still attached Rome to Constantinople, and to give the protector of the papacy the reward which was his due.

After the conquest of Italy by Justinian, that is to say, after 535, the popes were the subjects of the emperor of Constantinople. They respected their "lord," even as they appealed to him. They carried out his orders, except when the integrity of dogma seemed to be at stake. In return, they demanded of the emperor safety for themselves and for the vast domain of which they were the owners. Yet after several generations these domains were pillaged by the Lombards; and the emperor, who, moreover, had made many conquests in Sicily and southern Italy to the detriment of the papacy, declared that he was powerless to repress the barbarians. Having nothing to expect from the region of the Bosphorus, the popes Gregory III. and Stephen II. addressed themselves to

the Frankish princes, and implored their help. Gregory obtained only fair words from Charles Martel; Stephen, who was more fortunate, received effective support. Thereafter the papacy had a powerful and generous protector beyond the Alps, who in the person of Pepin consolidated and extended the pontifical domains; who in the person of Charlemagne overthrew the Lombard domination. Was it now to be detached from Constantinople? Stephen II., either because he feared the unforeseen turns of fortune or for some other reason, shrank from making this grave decision, and was content to confer the patriciate on the Frankish prince. Pepin was the equal of the highest court officials at Constantinople, the equal of the exarchs who until 751 ruled at Ravenna; but he was only an official, a subaltern of the emperor, and the latter kept his rights over Rome,—rights which were merely theoretical, since Rome for many years had been practically independent. The plan of Stephen honoured Pepin and preserved the authority of the Emperor; it was ingenious. But after the death of Pepin grave events were to occur. Charlemagne abolished the power of the Lombards, and at the same time made himself master of Rome. At Rome he rescued the Pope from an inextricable situation. The services he had rendered deserved a reward. What was this to be? The force at his command required new honours. What were they to be? These were two problems which had one and the same solution: the imperial crown. As long as he was a patrician, Charlemagne was only an exarch. Thereafter he was to be no longer Roman patrician; he was to be emperor. The man at Constantinople failed in his mission as defender of the Latin Church. He was of no further service to the papacy. His prerogatives were to pass to the Frankish prince, who had acquired the right to enjoy them. Such is the meaning of the ceremony in the year 800.

In receiving the imperial crown, Charlemagne extended his dominion over the whole of central Europe. The empire which he founded seemed called to a brilliant destiny. Actually it did not last long, In 887, at the diet of Tribur, it fell. It may even be said that it fell in 814, the date of

its powerful founder's death. Two principal causes co-operated to cause its decadence: the weakness of Louis the Debonnair, who permitted his sons to humiliate and even depose him; and the law of divided inheritance, which dismembered the monarchy of the Franks. Louis the Debonnair (814–840), who had the imperial authority, did not know how to use it. His successors, Lothair (840–855), Louis (855–875), Charles the Bald (875–877), Louis the Stammerer (877–879), Charles the Fat (881–887), shared, at least until 884, the paternal heritage with brothers, nephews, and uncles, who were usually jealous of them, and sought to injure them. They were all only phantom emperors, and the Carolingian empire itself was only a fiction. Fictions can satisfy the mind, but they do not suffice to put armies on the march. In conflict with the Saracens, John VIII. called on Charles the Bald for help. The latter, whose good intentions were perfect, made an effort which had no useful result (877). The year following the same Pope appealed to Louis the Stammerer and the Frankish bishops. He besought them to protect him against certain Italian counts who were threatening him. He went to France to plead his cause in person. His efforts were vain (878). The machine contrived by Leo III. was still there, but it would not work. It should have aided the papacy when the opportunity was presented; it gave the papacy nothing but occasional chagrins.

Moreover, the right of the strongest was little by little its work. Charlemagne ruled the Church, treated the Pope as his grand chaplain, and the Pope acquiesced. When the empire became weak the papacy became haughty. In 833, Gregory IV. wrote to the German bishops saying that the spiritual power is superior to the temporal,[1] a theory which Adrian I. and Leo III. would not have dared to formulate, but which did not seem strange at a time when the unfortunate emperor Louis the Debonnair was engaged in a grievous conflict with his sons. In 844, Pope Sergius II. caused himself to be consecrated without asking the authorization of

[1] M. G., *Epist.* v. 228: "... majus esse regimen animarum quod est pontificale quam imperiale quod est temporale."

the emperor Lothair.[1] The latter at this encroachment upon his rights—rights which the constitution of 824 had formally recognized—sent his son Louis with an army to Rome in order to prevent a repetition of such an abuse in the future. Sergius forbade the army to enter the city. He received Louis in the vestibule of St. Peter's, the inner door of which was closed. Then he said to him: "This door will not be opened to you until you come with an upright intention, and for the good of the state." The son of the emperor did not enter St. Peter's until he had given the guarantee required. Yet the papacy did not succeed in escaping the control of the emperor of the Franks, who had a permanent representative at Rome. It took its revenge in another way.

Leo III. had placed the imperial crown upon the head of Charlemagne at St. Peter's; his successors, for their part, wished to perform this ceremony which enhanced their prestige. In 816, Stephen IV. went to Reims to crown Louis the Debonnair. In 823, Pascal I. took advantage of Lothair's presence to crown him. In 850, Leo IV. crowned Louis II. Of course, these popes forgot to end the rite as Leo III. had done, who prostrated himself at the feet of Charlemagne and "adored" him. Apart from this detail, the papacy again did for each emperor what it had done for the first. Let us note that before his death Charlemagne had himself crowned his son Louis the Debonnair; and the latter, in 817, crowned Lothair. Stephen IV. and Pascal I. both found themselves confronted with an accomplished fact, and they could only give their benediction. They gave it with alacrity; their successors imitated them: and because it was repeated, the pontifical act of consecration was considered at Rome as a sort of sacrament conferring imperial authority. Leo IV. (about 848) spoke of the "consecration" given by his predecessor Pascal to Lothair.[2] Nicholas I. was more explicit. He declared without circumlocution that the emperor Louis II. received his sword from the vicar of St. Peter, and that his empire came to him from the apostolic see, by virtue of the

[1] Hauck, ii. 512.

[2] M. G., *Epistolæ*, v. 605.

benediction and the holy unction.[1] Plainly he who granted imperial authority could *a fortiori* grant royal authority. Therefore the official biographer of Sergius II. informs us that he made Louis II. king of the Lombards (844).[2] This theocratic doctrine won acceptance even in the empire itself. The emperor Louis II. being treated as a usurper by his colleague at Constantinople, asserted that he was the lawful possessor of the imperial dignity, since he had it from the Roman pontiff, who had conferred it upon him with the holy unction.[3] Without doubt this language in the mouth of the Carolingian was not disinterested; but it is curious to find politics supporting the pontifical pretensions.

It was in 871 that the emperor Louis II. acknowledged that he derived his power from the pontifical consecration. Four years later he died, leaving no children (875). His two uncles, Charles the Bald and Louis Germanicus, made a contest for the title; but Charles speedily came triumphantly out of the competition and received the imperial dignity. To whom did he owe this victory? To Pope John VIII., who preferred the king of the Franks to the king of the Germans, and who bade Charles go to Rome to seek the crown.[4] The popes Leo III., Stephen IV., Pascal I., had blessed the Carolingian emperor; Leo IV. and Nicholas I. claimed the right to confer the imperial investiture. John VIII. disposed of the empire as he pleased: he was its master. In 800 the Pope "adored" Charlemagne; in 876 the council of Pavia declared to Charles the Bald: "Since the divine benevolence through the merit of the Holy Apostles, and through their vicar John, sovereign pontiff, universal pope, and our spiritual father, has raised you to empire, according to the decision of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously as our protector."[5] That is the path which for three-quarters of a century was followed

[1] *Ep.* 79; Migne, cxix. 914.

[2] Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Sergii*, 13; Hauck, ii. 513.

[3] Baronius, *Anno 871*, 59; A. Lapôtre, *Le Pape Jean VIII.*, p. 241, Paris, 1895.

[4] Lapôtre, p. 246; J. Calmette, *La Diplomatie carolingienne du traité de Verdun à la mort de Charles le Chauve*, pp. 149–150, Paris, 1901.

[5] Mansi, xvii. 303; Hefele, iv. 513.

by the papacy; it was its triumph. But disappointment followed it. In 887, Charles the Fat was deposed; the empire, or what was flattered with that name, ceased to exist.

It was dead, but its memory still haunted and possessed every imagination: it was to rise again. Already Stephen v. and Formosus (891–896) endeavoured to restore it to life. Their premature undertaking failed; but two generations later, John XII. made a fresh attempt.[1] He offered the imperial crown to Otto I., king of Germania, who accepted it, and swore the following oath: "If by God's help I enter Rome, I swear to exalt with all my power the Church and thee John XII. its Head. . . . From him to whom I may commit the kingdom of Italy, I will require an oath to defend with all his power the state of the Church, the lands of St. Peter."[2] This time the undertaking was successful; the empire was re-established.

It was re-established, but it was no longer the property of the Carolingian House; it was no longer Frankish. It was delivered to Germany, and became Germanic. It was thereafter to be called the Holy Germanic Empire; and this monarchy, which pretended to be a reproduction of the empire of Charlemagne, was really only a reduced form of the latter. It was for this reason that in the course of the ninth century, nationalities began to appear; and this movement, which may be remarked for the first time in the treaty of Verdun (843), was afterwards only accentuated. France had its autonomy, Italy claimed its own. The Teutonic monarch was never, except very transiently, to extend his dominion beyond the Vosges; and when he persisted in sending his forces across the Alps, the end was to be only useless massacre. However much he might desire it, he was never to include the Roman Church under his sway. It was especially for this reason that he was not to be the equal of Charlemagne. This is not all; for in 962 the papacy,[3] although for a long

[1] Hauck, iii. 226; Zeller, *Histoire d'Allemagne*, ii. 337, Paris, 1892.
[2] M. G., *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum*, i. 21.
[3] Hauck, ii. 231, 239.

time it had fallen into the mire, had a prestige which it did not have at the beginning of the ninth century. It was not in vain that it had given the imperial crown to emperors, nor was it in vain that Nicholas I. had ruled weak and isolated princes, had humbled proud metropolitans, and had proclaimed theocratic maxims. In 962, to become emperor, one had to be crowned and consecrated by the Pope; and the pontiff who conferred the imperial dignity was besides the head of the episcopate. Otto and his successors might still be able to bestow the pontifical throne on their creatures, and in this indirect way have power over the Church, but they were no longer to govern it as Charlemagne had done. Even when nominated by them, the Pope, once installed at the Lateran, was to be a power with which they must reckon. What would be the result if destiny should raise to the pontifical throne an autocrat who decided to practise the principles laid down by Nicholas? Would not terrible calamities have to be feared? Unhappily this question was soon to be answered experimentally.

For a century, except during the reign of Conrad I., the Pope was nominated by the emperor; and he endeavoured to be agreeable to his benefactor, who for his part displayed his amiability. When the emperor undertook some reform, the Pope supported him. Thus it was that Benedict VIII. placed himself at the service of Henry II., who, observing that the marriages of priests were disastrous to the possessions of the Church, wished to suppress them. Emperor and Pope were satisfied with each other, and thought that, on the whole, all was well. Moreover, this feeling was general. Hardly any malcontents were to be found except at Rome, where the imperial Pope was held in horror, and at Cluny, where lamentations were uttered over the marriage of priests, over the simony which sullied the ordinations as well as the elections, over the slavery to which the Church was reduced by being compelled to endure the yoke of lay investitures. But the Romans, who in 1033 had been authorized to elect their Pope themselves, were so unfortunate in their action (their choice fell upon the infamous Benedict IX.) that they finally gave

Henry III. full powers to appoint the Vicar of St. Peter. As for the monks of Cluny, their virtues were admired, but that was all. Outside of the cloister there were few who admitted, or even understood, their claims.

Yet from the year 1050 there was one in the habitual company of the Pope who was inspired by the spirit of Cluny. That man was Hildebrand.[1] It is easy to know why. Born about 1020 in a small town in Tuscany, Hildebrand had passed his youth in the monastery of Santa Maria on the Aventine, of which his uncle was the abbot. There he made the acquaintance of the famous abbot of Cluny, Odilon, who whenever he visited Rome stopped at Santa Maria. Later, when Hildebrand followed Pope Gregory into Germany, who had been deposed and sent into exile by Henry III., he came into contact with sons or friends of Cluny. Although dwelling in the world, he was a monk; and while he had not lived at Cluny, at least for any length of time, he had the ideas of Cluny. He wished to put an end to the marriage of priests, and to simony; he wished the suppression of lay investitures, and a return to episcopal elections. Moreover, it was not only Cluny which inspired him; he was also heir of the doctrines of Nicholas. He shared the theocratic ideal of that pontiff. Like him, he was convinced that the Apostle Peter has authority over all the kingdoms of the earth, and that all princes should submit to St. Peter, and to his vicar the Pope. In a word, this little frail monk had a complete programme of government. Furthermore, he had a method, the military method, with the brutality and savagery which goes with it. For several years he had given proof of this. In 1045 he had been seen passing through the Campagna at the head of a troop of soldiers and restoring to order the barons who had rebelled against the Pope. Here, moreover, is a fact characteristic of him. The superior of the monastery of Tremiti having a grievance against four of his monks, caused the eyes of three of them to be put out, and the tongue of the fourth to

[1] Delarc, *St. Grégoire VII. et la réforme de l'Église au xi^me siècle*, I. xxxv, 6–9, 38–43, 393, Paris, 1889; W. Martens, *Gregor VII. sein Leben und Wirken*, i. 7–16, ii. 251, Leipzig, 1894; *Analecta Bollandiana*, xiv. (1895) 214–223.

be torn away. He was then ordered to Mount Cassin, and was deposed on account of his cruelty. But Hildebrand took up the defence of the accused, who, according to him, had done his duty. He set him at the head of another monastery, and finally gave him a bishopric.[1]

In 1059, Hildebrand, who had hitherto occupied only a subordinate place at the Lateran, was put at the head of the pontifical administration. Immediately employing his favourite method, he hired three hundred Normans, and with them ravaged Latium.[2] Some weeks later he caused to be published the famous decree of Nicholas II., which removed the pontifical election from lay influences. By the same act was abrogated the decree of the Roman council of 1046, which conferred upon the emperor the right of appointing the Pope. It was the first satisfaction rendered to the claims of Cluny.

During the troubled pontificate of Alexander II., Hildebrand was prevented by circumstances from executing his plan; but in 1073 he was called to ascend the throne of St. Peter. Then being master of his actions, Gregory VII.—that was the name which he was thereafter to bear—resumed the execution of his programme, and laboured to suppress the three abuses which stained the Church: the marriage of priests, simony, and lay investitures. There were three reforms to be carried out; the last was a particularly delicate matter, as it involved an attack on the princes, and especially on the emperor. Gregory postponed the last of these, and at the council of March 1074 he confined himself to condemning the marriage of priests, and simony. The circumstances—particularly so far as Germany was concerned—were very favourable. In fact, Henry IV. was engaged in a dangerous conflict with the Saxons, who wished at any price to separate themselves from his throne. In the month of September 1073 he wrote an obsequious letter to

[1] Leo de Marsi, *Chronica Montis Cassini*, iii. 25; M. G., *Scriptores*, vii. 715; Guido Ferrariensis, *De scismate Hildebrandi*, M. G., *Libelli de lite*, i. 554; Delarc, I. xxxix, 15.

[2] Delarc, ii. 83.

Gregory, intended to gain the pontifical sympathies. In reply to this, Gregory imposed his arbitration on the Saxons and on the king,[1]—an arbitration which from the force of circumstances served the interests of Henry. Besides this, the latter, always in difficulty with the Saxons, and therefore always weak, gave a free hand to the Roman legates who were charged with promulgating the pontifical decrees in Germany. He bore hard even upon his archbishops, and forced them, at least in appearance, to bend to the Roman conditions.[2] Emboldened by this official success, Gregory went a step farther, and in the council of 24th February 1075 he forbade lay investitures.[3] Perceiving, however, that some caution was necessary, he did not announce this new decision to the public. He made it known to Henry by means of a confidential message, and he promised to mark well the observations which might be made to him on the subject of the investitures.

When he received this message, Henry was preparing to march against the Saxons. This was not the moment for him to dissipate his efforts; he remained silent. But some months later he won from his enemies the brilliant victory of Hohenburg on the banks of the Unstrut (2nd June 1075). Now that he had the power, what was he about to do? Plainly fearing the consequences of this military success, Gregory heaped compliments and flatteries upon the conqueror. Vain diplomacy! Soon he learned that the king, without respecting the decree of the Roman council, had conferred the investiture upon three bishops, and that he was renewing or preserving relations with men who had been excommunicated. He then sent him the letter of 8th December 1075,—a terrible letter, which gave promise of a still more terrible oral message.[4] Henry, because of his offences, deserved excommunication and deposition. He was

[1] Reg. i. 39; Delarc, iii. 75, pretends that Gregory limited himself to *proposing* arbitration.

[2] Delarc, iii. 78–80; Hauck, iii. 771.

[3] Mansi, x. 443; Hefele, v. 42–50; Delarc, iii. 131; Hauck, iii. 776–782.

[4] Reg. iii. 10; Delarc, iii. 180; Mirbt, p. 172; Hauck, iii. 787.

to be inexorably punished unless he repented; therefore let him return without delay to better sentiments, let him give pledges of his repentance by appearing before the council to be held at Rome in February.

The letter of 8th December 1075 was, as its author intended it to be, an ultimatum; in fact, it opened hostilities. To the threats directed at him, Henry replied by a declaration of war to which the Pope opposed a vigorous offensive. At intervals of several weeks, blows were delivered from Worms and from Rome which were intended to be decisive. At Worms, the emperor, surrounded by his bishops and in agreement with them, proclaimed the decadence of the Pope, of "Friar Hildebrand," as the prelates said[1] (24th January 1076). At Rome, in the council of 14th February, Gregory in the form of a solemn prosopopeia issued a sentence deposing the king: "Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, lend me, I pray thee, a favouring ear. . . . It is because I am thy representative that thy grace has descended upon me, and this grace is the power granted by God to bind and loose in Heaven and in earth. Strong in this faith, for the honour and defence of thy Church, on behalf of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by virtue of thy power and authority I deprive the son of the emperor Henry [Henry III.], who has opposed thy Church with unheard of insolence, of the government of the whole kingdom of the Teutons and of Italy; I release all Christians from the oath which they have made to him or that they shall make to him. I forbid every one to obey him as king."[2]

Directly after the assembly at Worms,[3] being not sure of Germany sufficiently to leave it and to lead an army to Rome, Henry sent the Romans a proclamation in which he vehemently adjured them to banish the monk Hildebrand from their city. For his part, Gregory warned the Germans that if Henry did not repent they must give him a successor. Each of the two adversaries was thus preoccupied with

[1] Mansi, xx. 463; Hefele, v. 64; Hauck, iii. 788; Martens, i. 91.
[2] Mansi, xx. 467; Hefele, v. 71; Delarc, iii. 206; Martens, i. 97.
[3] Delarc, iii. 199.

executing his sentence. But the appeal of Henry violated the juridical axiom, according to which the Pope could be judged by no one.[1] It found no echo at Rome; on the contrary, the pontifical letter was welcomed joyfully by the Saxons and by the great feudal lords of the empire, to whom it furnished a pretext for satisfying their grudges or their ambitions. The assembly of Tribur, which met on 16th October 1076, ordered the king to betake himself to Augsburg on 2nd February of the following year to be judged by the Pope in the presence of all the dignitaries of the empire; it also gave notice that if, on the anniversary of his excommunication, he had not become reconciled to the Church, he would be irrevocably deposed.[2] Some wished to go farther, and proceed directly to the deposition of the culprit. It was the pontifical legates present at the assembly who prevented this radical solution. It need not be said that their tactics were wholly intended to reserve to the Pope the direction of events, to make him arbiter of the situation. It will be seen that they had temporary success.

When the news of the decision reached at Tribur became known, Henry was dismayed. To resist would have been madness. He took this into account. He knew that the enmity of the Saxons was not of the sort which can be disarmed, that he was lost if he appeared before them at the assembly of Augsburg, and that *a fortiori* he was lost if he let the anniversary of his excommunication pass without being reconciled to the Church. His sole resource, therefore, was to make Gregory yield, and yield before the appointed date of 2nd February, above all, before the 22nd. It was a precarious and uncertain resource in dealing with a man like the fierce Hildebrand. Yet at all hazards Henry tempted fortune, and set out for Rome to meet the Pope. The latter, who was already travelling towards Augsburg, was at this moment in the territory of the countess Mathilda, in the fortified castle of Canossa (the northern limit of Tuscany).

[1] A principle which, nevertheless, was admitted only with restrictions; see Mirbt, pp. 566–572.

[2] Delarc, iii. 247; Hauck, iii. 797.

It was there that the mournful drama was unrolled which will be for ever remembered in history.[1] Having been introduced into the enclosure of the fortress clad in the woollen robe of the penitent, fasting and barefooted, Henry stood for three days in the snow at the door of the castle, asking the favour of being admitted to the presence of the pontiff (25th to 27th January 1077). For three days Gregory was inexorable. At length, yielding to the prayers of the countess Mathilda, who pleaded the cause of the penitent, orders were reluctantly given to open the doors of the castle. When he arrived at the threshold of the church, Henry prostrated himself before the pontiff, confessed his faults, received absolution, and was admitted to the Communion. He was saved (28th January 1077).

He was saved, but not for very long. Furious at the Pope who wished to rob them of their prey, the Saxons were the more eager to continue their campaign. With their assistance the assembly of Forcheim (13th March 1077) deposed Henry, and placed in his stead Rudolph of Swabia, who thirteen days afterwards was consecrated at Mayence. But Henry found several bishops arrayed on his side; he could still fight, and he fought. And now Gregory, unable to direct events, watched them. For three years he affected to remain neutral: in reality he was waiting to see what armed force would do. On 27th January 1080, Rudolph won a victory at Mühlhausen; then believing that Henry was irremediably lost, Gregory for the second time pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication and deposition[2] (Roman council of March 1080). After this, Rudolph was emperor.

He was a temporary emperor. In the month of October in the very same year, 1080, Rudolph fought on the banks of the Elster a battle which cost him his life. His death threw the Saxons into disorder. Henry was now free to act. He took advantage of this by bringing to Rome, Guibert the anti-Pope, who in the month of June had been elected at the council of Brixen by the German bishops devoted to his

[1] Delarc, iii. 257–275; Martens, i. 116.
[2] Mansi, xx. 531; Hefele, v. 141.

cause.[1] Gregory, having foreseen that this would happen, had taken action. Without delay he reconciled the terrible Norman duke Robert Guiscard to the Roman Church, against whom he had formerly hurled excommunication. In return for this favour he obliged him to promise under oath that he would render succour and assistance. But Robert was accustomed to treat oaths with indifference. He left the Pope to fate; and Henry's small army upon arriving at Rome encountered no obstacle but the walls of the city, which it is true barred his passage. They hindered him for three years, that is, so long as the Romans remained faithful to Gregory. But in the spring of 1084 the followers of the Pope, influenced by German money, betrayed the cause which it was their mission to defend. The gates were opened, and Henry entered Rome, installed his Pope at the Lateran, three days later caused him to be crowned at St. Peter's, and finally received from him the imperial crown. He was master of the whole city of Rome except the castle of St. Angelo. But that checked his triumph. Imprisoned in the fortress, Gregory was impregnable: moreover, he made a hasty appeal to Robert Guiscard.[2] The latter, who knew that he was himself threatened by Henry, advanced with a powerful army, put the German emperor to flight, and punished unfaithful Rome by giving it over to fearful pillage. The Pope was free; yet execrated by the Romans, who held him responsible for the excesses committed by the Normans, he was reduced to following his defenders. He took refuge at Salerno, where shortly afterwards he died (1085). Notwithstanding the help given him by the terrible Robert Guiscard, he left Rome in the hands of the anti-Pope. Thus died the conqueror of Canossa, having himself been conquered.

The conflict was, however, not ended. Upon his return to Germany, Henry encountered more formidable opposition than ever before. His sons Conrad and Henry, each in turn, betrayed him and went over to the enemy. The unfortunate emperor, fearing to prolong any longer this unequal conflict, being conquered and humiliated, was obliged to abdicate

[1] Hefele, v. 147; Hauck, iii. 822. [2] Delarc, iii. 602.

(1105). In committing to the young Henry the imperial insignia, the legate made this insolent declaration: "If thou dost not govern justly and conduct thyself as a true protector of the Church of God, it will be done unto thee even as was done unto thy father." The papacy was now the protector of the empire, and when he ascended the throne, Henry was the ward of the Pope.

This ward was not slow to emancipate himself—that is a spectacle which is to occur again. Henry V. had scarcely come into power when he unmasked, and on his own account assumed, his father's pretensions. At the conference of Châlons-sur-Marne his envoys demanded the investitures of Pascal II.[1] (1107). Being unable to obtain anything from the Pope, they informed him that their master would go to Rome himself, to settle the question with the sword. Henry went to Rome and haughtily demanded of Pascal the imperial crown. The latter, in order to reconcile the contradictory claims of Gregory VII. and the German monarch, could think of nothing better than to despoil the churches of their feudal property. It was a radical remedy, which suppressed investitures by taking away the reason for their existence. But it was a chimerical remedy, for the rich prelates of Germany decided not to accept an arrangement which would ruin them. Pascal became quickly aware of this. At the end of the year 1110 he submitted his proposal to Henry, who declared that he was ready to accept it. Following this agreement, the grounds of which were secret, the ceremony of the imperial coronation began at St. Peter's on 12th February 1111.[2] It began, but was not completed. At the very moment when the terms of the agreement were made known to the assembly, the German bishops, vassals of Henry, and the lay lords, vassals of the bishops, broke out into vociferations and insults in opposition to Pascal. At first the latter attempted to calm the storm. He might have succeeded if he had been aided by the monarch. But Henry had accepted

[1] Suger, *De Vita Ludovici grossi regis*, M. G., *Scriptores*, VI. 242; Zeller, III. 443.

[2] Hefele, V. 303; Zeller, III. 457–470.

the pontifical plan only because he knew that it could not be executed. He did nothing to quell the tumult which he had foreseen and discounted. Pascal at length understood the crafty manœuvre of which he was the victim, and refused to proceed to the coronation. But Henry intended to be the master. By his orders the recalcitrant pontiff was arrested, with sixteen of his cardinals, and imprisoned in the castle of Sabina. Pascal was a prisoner. For two months the German despot who held him in his power tried in vain to extort the investitures from him. The inflexible pontiff made no concession. But eight weeks of captivity sufficed to break the force of his resistance. On 11th April the surrender occurred. Pascal recognized the right of Henry v. to grant the investitures. Two days afterwards (13th April 1111), he set the imperial crown upon his head.[1] This time the emperor had avenged Canossa, and the papacy was brought back to the point where Hildebrand had found it.

It was this which compromised the success of Henry. He wished again to forge the chain of the tradition which had been violently broken by Gregory VII., and to exercise the rights which the German emperors had exercised until the middle of the eleventh century. He did not perceive that since that time the ideas of Cluny had gradually become predominant in the Church. He soon became aware of this. The capitulation of Pascal II. created a scandal in Italy and in France. It raised protestations which were sometimes moderate, sometimes threatening. Being called to order, the poor Pope made a retraction, and annulled the concession which he had made to the emperor. The latter returned in anger to Rome, whence Pascal had hastily fled. The conflict began once more. But their minds were wearied, and instinctively they sought a ground of agreement. After some attempts this was found. The two belligerents made mutual concessions. The Pope left the investitures to the emperor, who for his part relinquished the right of re-appointing bishops. On the basis of this transaction the agreement was signed at Worms (1122). After a half-

[1] Hauck, iii. 896.

century of conflicts the two greatest Christian powers were at length reconciled.[1]

Henry v. died childless (1125), and his successor was Lothair of Saxony. This prince mistrusted the electors who had raised him to power. To assure himself against a reverse of fortune, he asked Honorius II. to "confirm" his election.[2] Honorius hastened to grant this favour, which made the empire dependent on the Holy See. Lothair was therefore king of Germany by the grace of the Pope. He knew it, and acted accordingly. When Innocent II. went to Liège (1131), he set out on foot to meet him; in one hand he held the bridle of the Pope's horse, in the other a staff with which he kept back the crowd. In this manner he led the Pope to the door of the church, and there held the stirrup in aiding him to dismount.[3] He afterwards conducted him to Rome, and received the imperial crown from the pontiff. Until the last, Lothair of Saxony was the humble servant of the Pope, whose support was necessary to maintain him on the throne. His successor, Conrad III., spent the first years of his reign opposing a dangerous rival; then he went on a crusade and had no time to engage in conflict with the papacy.

The situation changed with Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190); but the opening of the new reign was most reassuring. When Frederick received the royal unction at Aix-la-Chapelle from the archbishop of Cologne, he promised to the Pope his respect and affection, and to his holy mother the Church his protection.[4] At the diet of Constance (March 1153) he made an engagement to bring back the rebellious Romans to the authority of the Pope. He kept his word, and it was, in fact, by his orders that the anti-clerical Arnold of Brescia was delivered to the Pope, who put him to death (18th June 1155). How was such a protector of the Holy See to become its adversary?

[1] U. Robert, *Histoire du Pape Calixte II.*, p. 145, Paris, 1891; M. G., *Constit. et acta pub. imp.* i. 159–161.

[2] Hauck, iv. 114, who refutes Knöpfler (in Hefele, v. 389).

[3] *Id.*, *ib.* 139; Hefele, v. 412.

[4] Hauck, iv. 185; Zeller, iv. 120.

Near at hand, it is not so easy to answer this question. Frederick wished to be, and was, the protector of the Holy See; yet only after the manner of his predecessors, of the princes whose heir he was. But this Teuton had around him jurists who initiated him into the Roman law. Having learned in their school, he knew that the authority deposited within him came from Otto and from Charlemagne, who received it from Justinian and Constantine. He claimed to have inherited it from the ancient Roman emperors, and he demanded universal hegemony. After Gregory VII., however, the Holy See was haunted by the same idea. Hence a conflict was inevitable.[1] Already during the first years of the reign of Adrian IV. war almost broke out on two separate occasions; first, in 1155. Adrian had gone to visit Frederick, who was encamped at the gates of Rome. When about to dismount, he waited for the German monarch to hold his stirrup. The latter did nothing of the sort. To punish him for this lack of respect, the Pope refused to give him the kiss of peace, and at once departed. The second time was at the diet of Besançon in 1157.[2] Roland, the pontifical legate, had just delivered a letter in which the Pope recalled the "beneficia" granted by the Holy See to the emperor, and the German prelate charged with interpreting the Latin text translated "beneficia" into the term fief. This caused Frederick some dissatisfaction, which degenerated into anger when the legate replied: "From whom then does the Emperor receive the empire, if not from his sovereign lord the Pope?" Roland was shamefully banished, and Frederick caused a manifesto to be published in all his states, declaring that he held the empire from God alone, and not from the Pope. These two differences, however, had no sequel. In the first case, as Adrian was able to prove that Lothair of Saxony had once held the stirrup for Innocent II., Frederick consented to perform the same ceremony. In the second case, Adrian, alarmed at the threatening attitude of Frederick, yielded, and

[1] Hefele, v. 538–550.

[2] J. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitæ*, ii. 357, Leipzig, 1862; Hauck, iv. 211; Zeller, iv. 153.

declared that he had never regarded the empire as a fief of the papacy.[1]

At the end of 1158, after the diet of Roncaglia, where Frederick formulated his imperial claims, relations between the empire and the papacy were once more strained. But this time Adrian was not alone: he had with him all those towns of northern Italy which Frederick professed to control, and which for their part desired independence. Relying on the Lombard league, he held himself in readiness for the contest. His death, which occurred meanwhile, postponed hostilities.[2]

It was only a postponement. Adrian died (September 1159), and Frederick pretended to do what the Ottos had done, what Henry III. also did, to dispose of the pontifical see at his good pleasure. To Alexander III., elected by a majority of the cardinals, he opposed his own Pope Victor IV., and had him proclaimed by the council of Paris.[3] A chimerical undertaking! Alexander had on his side France and England, whom the arrogant attitude of the German emperor had offended. He had on his side especially the towns of the Lombard league, which hated Frederick. He excommunicated the emperor. The latter pursued him, and installed his own protégé at Rome. After being a long time victorious, Frederick was at length conquered at Legnano by the Lombard league (1176). He then submitted to Alexander.[4] At Venice, under the porch of St. Mark's, he performed this important act (24th July 1177). When he came into the presence of the pontiff, the emperor spread his cloak upon the pavement, kneeled upon it, and kissed Alexander's feet. The Pope made him rise, and gave him the kiss of peace. Two other meetings took place: one on 25th July, the day following; the other on 7th August. Frederick solemnly renounced his anti-Pope, recognized Alexander as the lawful pontiff, held the stirrup when the

[1] Jaffé, 10386.

[2] Hauck, iv. 226; the celebrated letter (Jaffé, 10575), attributing threatening language to Adrian, is apocryphal.

[3] Hefele, v. 583.

[4] *Id.*, *ib.* 705; Hauck, iv. 290.

latter mounted, and walked for some distance holding the bridle. The man who had once treated the successor as his chaplain, was now his humble servant. After the lapse of a century the peace of Venice was a second edition of Canossa. Decidedly the papacy was triumphing over the empire.

Twenty years afterwards its triumph was greater still, when Henry VI., son of Barbarossa, died. Henry left a son, still in his minority, who was later to be Frederick II. But the ecclesiastical and lay lords remembered that the crown of Germania was bestowed by election, and they decided to appoint a king without taking hereditary considerations into account. Unfortunately there was a division among them. Two parties were formed, two kings were elected, and war was declared. Germany fell a prey to brigands who pillaged it. The Pope had it in his power to put an end immediately to this lamentable situation. As a matter of fact, if the Germans could elect two kings, it was the Pope alone who could appoint the emperor, since he alone could dispose of the imperial crown. The two antagonists were so sure of his right, that both appealed to the Pope. Thus he had only to tell one or the other of them to come to Rome to be crowned, and order would be established in Germany. The choice was marked out for him. Of the two rivals, Otto of Brunswick represented only a small number of electors; but Philip of Swabia had been elected by the majority, and he was the more powerful of the two. He it was to whom the Pope, had he cared for the welfare of Germany, should have granted the imperial crown.

But Innocent III., who then occupied the pontifical throne, saw in this only an excellent occasion to increase the preponderance of the papacy. By a carefully calculated silence, he allowed both parties to weaken themselves, to wear themselves out, so that he might hold Germany more surely in his power.[1] After three years (1201), thinking, no doubt, that anarchy had sufficiently done its work, he was roused

[1] A. Luchaire, *Innocent III., La Papauté et l'Empire*, pp. 30, 45, 55, Paris, 1906.

from his silence and spoke.[1] He disregarded the young Frederick, to whom, however, he was greatly attached, whose guardian he was, but who as king of Sicily would have been a menace to the papacy, if to the imperial had been added the royal crown. He likewise discarded Philip, and his choice fell upon Otto, who had been elected by the minority. The majority protested against this scandal, and the Pope was accused of suppressing the right of election, of treating Germany as a conquered country. Innocent explained to these objectors that their complaint was unfounded. He preserved the rights of the electors, the more so because they had been "granted by the papacy." But on their side the electors should recognize the Pope's right to examine the one who had been elected. "Is it not we," he asked, "who are charged with anointing the elect, with consecrating and crowning him. But a general absolute rule prescribes that the examination of the person pertains to him who is to consecrate him. See how this is: if the princes agree to elect one who has committed sacrilege, who has been excommunicated, a tyrant, a madman, a heretic or a pagan, should we be obliged to anoint, to consecrate, and to crown such a candidate?"[2] To sum up the matter, the Pope when he sees fit is to appoint the king of Germany. With this reservation the German electors have the right—a right which emanates from the apostolic see—to choose their own king. It is simply a question of convention.

The most clever strategy is of no avail, unless it is served by circumstances. The strategy of Innocent was not so served. The pontifical protégé Otto was defeated by his rival (battle of Wassenburg, 1206). The Pope then decided to discard a tool which was of no use to him, and while beguiling Otto with fair words, he dealt secretly with the conqueror. But at the moment when an arrangement was

[1] Luchaire, p. 76. About November 1200, Innocent prepared the "Deliberatio domini papæ super facto imperii de tribus electis" (Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Frederici secundi*, i. 70, Paris, 1852; Luchaire, p. 67). The first of January he announced to the Germans his intervention, which took place in the spring of 1201.

[2] Decretal *Venerabilem*; see Hefele, v. 788; Luchaire, p. 96.

about to be reached, Philip was assassinated (1208). This unforeseen event changed completely the pontifical policy. To all who cared to hear him, Innocent declared that he had never ceased to be the patron of Otto, and he granted the latter the imperial crown at St. Peter's (1209). Of course, he demanded safeguards before conferring this honour. He required the imperial candidate to take a vigorous oath in detail, which delivered him into the hands of the papacy. Otto promised whatever was required of him (promise of Spire, 1209).[1]

But scarcely had he been made emperor when, without respecting his oath, he emancipated himself and behaved like his predecessors, whose tradition he intended to follow. He had to pay dearly for this attempt at independence. First he was excommunicated, a little while afterwards deposed, and, lastly, replaced by the young Frederick, the son of Henry VI. At one time the Pope had resolutely kept this child from occupying the imperial throne. In 1211 he ordered the Germans to elect him king. They fumed at this change in the pontifical diplomacy. Nevertheless they obeyed, and at the diet of Nürnberg, Frederick was elected (1211). He was then sixteen years of age. Delighted with his good fortune, he went to Rome, knelt before the Pope, and offered him his feudal homage. Then in the following year he signed the constitution of Eger, which gave all the desired guarantees to the pontifical theocracy.[2] Finally, he promised to surrender Sicily so soon as he should be crowned emperor (1216). Innocent applauded this decision; he had at length, as he supposed, found a servant, supple and docile, who would aid him in governing the world. It was an illusion which he had the happiness to cherish to the very last; for he died soon enough not to witness the overthrow of his calculations, soon enough to remain ignorant that he had himself raised up one of the most formidable enemies of the papacy (1216).

For some years this enemy dissembled. In 1220 he

[1] Luchaire, pp. 204, 238; Hefele, v. 813.
[2] Luchaire, pp. 272, 295; Hefele, v. 816; Hauck, iv. 739.

brought back Honorius III. from banishment, and from this Pope received the imperial crown. At the close of the ceremony he signed the "constitutive Catholic law," which more fully than ever put the emperor into the power of the Church. In return for these concessions, it is true, he was authorized to keep in his hand the government of Sicily.[1]

In 1227 the fiery Gregory IX. succeeded the mild Honorius. It was then that hostilities began. They were manifested on two separate occasions. The first time was in 1227, on the subject of the crusade. During the pontificate of Honorius, Frederick was urgently and repeatedly invited to set out for Jerusalem, and had made fair promises, the fulfilment of which he had always postponed. The indulgent Honorius scolded and threatened, but to end the matter, accepted the explanations and excuses which were offered to him. Thus Frederick remained in his beloved Sicily, beneath the blue Italian sky. In 1227 the situation changed. Gregory was an arbitrary old man who intended to be obeyed, and who, above all, was not satisfied with mere words. On men of this temper the small game of dilatory schemes makes no impression. Frederick knew this, and took ship at Brindisi on 8th September. Scarcely had he sailed when he became ill, and returned (11th September). His expedition lasted just three days. Upon getting the news of this, Gregory was furious. Without admitting any explanation, he excommunicated the emperor, and in a virulent letter made this excommunication known to Christendom. Then to repair his shattered prestige, Frederick left for Jerusalem in earnest, where he made his entry in March 1229. Moreover, he had previously, by way of revenge, banished the Pope from Rome. The latter had monks at his bidding; he sent them in companies to Germany and to Sicily to excite an uprising in these countries against their sovereign. Meanwhile he ordered the crusading army to refuse obedience to the excommunicated emperor. For a moment it might have been supposed that this duel would have a tragic result; but no, in the

[1] Zeller, v. 195; Hauck, iv. 762.

summer of 1229, Frederick returned to Sicily. The revolutionary bands recruited by the monks fled at his approach: and the country was speedily pacified. In Germany the revolt was drowned in blood. Gregory, being incapable of continuing the conflict, made proposals for peace, which Frederick promptly accepted. The reconciliation was completed by the treaty of San Germano (1230).[1]

But the peace of San Germano was only an armistice, an interval between two battles. War was resumed several years later, and this time it was a duel to death.[2] The cause of it was Lombardy. Frederick wished to deprive the Lombard cities of their municipal liberties, to bring them under his sway—in other words, to realize the plans of his grandfather Barbarossa, and to avenge that emperor for the defeat which he had suffered. As a matter of principle, Gregory detested the municipal liberties, but he foresaw that the German colossus after swallowing up the Lombard cities, would also swallow up the papacy. Sacrificing his principles to his interest, he posed as the defender of Lombard liberties. When protests were useless, he resorted to deeds. On 20th March 1239 he excommunicated Frederick, and released his subjects from their oath of fidelity. Then by every means in his power he sought to bring about a revolution in Germany; but he failed, while Frederick invaded the pontifical states and became more and more threatening. Despairing of his cause, Gregory called a council at Rome, and ordered all the bishops to attend it. The German episcopate, which was devoted to the emperor, did not respond to the pontifical appeal. The prelates of other countries obeyed. From France, England, and Spain they gathered at Genoa; there they embarked upon twenty-seven vessels and went to Rome by sea (25th April 1241). But the crafty Frederick, who expected nothing good from the council of Rome, contrived a radical means of embarrassing it. By his order the episcopal fleet was stopped near

[1] Zeller, v. 225–250; Hefele, v. 957–975.

[2] Huillard-Bréholles, v. 237, 1020, 1112; Hefele, v. 1002, 1059, 1076, 1081; Zeller, v. 324, 343, 355.

Cape Meloria (south-east of the island of Elba). One ship was sunk; four succeeded in escaping; twenty-two were captured. By this act, more than one hundred bishops fell into the hands of Frederick, who imprisoned them. Moreover, Gregory died shortly afterwards (August 1241).

Gregory died, but the papacy did not die. The council, which could not be held in 1241, assembled in 1245; not at Rome, however, which was still in the power of the emperor, and from which the Pope had been banished, but at Lyons, an independent city, where, in case of attack, the Church could count on the help of St. Louis, king of France. At that time Innocent IV. was on the papal throne. Convoked by him, bishops came from all over Christendom—Germany and Italy sent only a few prelates. Moreover, a representative of Frederick, Thaddeus of Suessa, made his appearance there, charged with the defence of his master. He defended him ably, but in vain. In the session of 17th July the Pope excommunicated Frederick, took away his empire and the kingdom of Sicily, authorized the German electors to put another king in his place in Germany, and announced that he would himself provide for the throne of Sicily of which he was the suzerain.[1]

This second deposition, ratified by the bishops from all Christendom, was more serious than that of 1227. Frederick appreciated this; he made an immediate appeal to public opinion. In a circular addressed to the princes he accused the Pope of exceeding his rights, and then declared to them that all the kings were bound together. "A beginning is made with us," he said to them, "but it will end with you. . . . Therefore defend your rights with ours." While uttering recriminations, he negotiated. He resorted to the mediation of St. Louis, and asked that pious king to defend him against the Pope, and to obtain the revocation of the sentence pronounced at Lyons.

Vain efforts! St. Louis met the Pope at Cluny, and there pleaded the cause of Frederick, with no effect. The other princes made no move. Innocent, on the contrary,

[1] Huillard-Bréholles, vi. 319; Hefele, v. 1124.

redoubled his activity. He sent his monks to cause an uprising in the region of Naples. He distributed indulgences among the common people in Germany, money for the princes, both lay and ecclesiastical, and privileges for the cities. As for the Lombards, they profited by this conflict, and took advantage of it to shake off the imperial yoke. Germany and Italy were subjected to fire and sword. A great conflagration laid waste these unhappy countries. Frederick, who tried to extinguish it, only increased it. He died at the moment when he was preparing to enter Lombardy (1250).[1] After this Germany remained a prey to anarchy, without finding a ruler. Meanwhile the empire had ceased to exist. It was not to be revived until 1273, when Rudolph of Habsburg, who was elected at Frankfort, respectfully caused his election to be confirmed by Pope Gregory X. at the second council of Lyons[2] (1274).

It should be said rather, that with Frederick II. the empire died for ever. Innocent IV. succeeded in killing it. What Rudolph established was not the ancient empire, with its pretension to universal hegemony. It was a kingdom resembling the kingdoms of France and England. The Holy Germanic Roman Empire was nothing more than a fiction; but the popes used this fiction to their own advantage. They still bestowed the crown which they called "imperial"; and from this they deduced useful consequences. In 1303, Boniface VIII. obliged Albert to admit that the prince electors derived their right from the Pope. In 1314, Clement V. declared that while the imperial throne was vacant, the administration of the empire was in the hands of the Pope, and by virtue of this principle, he appointed a vicar to govern Lombardy. Three years later (1317), John XXII. renewed the declaration and the action of Clement. By this indirect method imperial Italy found itself temporarily annexed to the pontifical domain.

Are the conflicts of the past to be repeated? Alas! they reappeared, less disastrous, it is true, but more odious than before. The following are the facts.

[1] Hefele, v. 1132–1141; Hauck, iv. 843. [2] Zeller, vi. 127.

In 1323, Charles le Bel, king of France, coveted the imperial crown. He made known his desire to John XXII., who like all the popes of Avignon was devoted to the interests of France, and agreed to grant him satisfaction. Yet this was not easy. For nearly eight years (1314–1322) two candidates, Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria, had disputed the throne of Germany; but the decisive battle of Mühldorf destroyed the pretensions of Frederick, and put an end to the civil war. From 1314–1322 the throne of the empire was vacant, but after the victory of Mühldorf this was no longer the case, at least it had a titular, Louis of Bavaria. This prince was now king of Germany. He was recognized as such by the whole kingdom. It was to him, therefore, that the imperial crown was rightly due, to him that it should have been given. Had the Pope believed that there were reasons for refusing it to him, he should have informed the electors as promptly as possible. It was not that time was wanting for him to form an opinion; for since 1316 he had occupied the apostolic see. By letting the conflict of the two competitors drag on, and by leaving the matter to be decided by force,—what was at that time called "the judgment of God,"—he gave up the right of intervention, a right real or pretended. To keep from the throne him whom "the judgment of God" favoured, would be to plunge Germany, which had at length been pacified, into a new revolution, and to bring down upon his head the malediction of history.

John XXII. did not allow these considerations to stand in his way. In October 1323 he ordered Louis of Bavaria to abdicate before three months had passed, and to revoke, as far as possible, the administrative measures which he had undertaken; all this on pain of excommunication. All persons who obeyed him were to incur the same punishment of excommunication; the cities which remained faithful to him, were to incur the interdict. Naturally this Draconian decision was accompanied by juridical reasons intended to make it legitimate. The following is the substance of them: the administration of the empire belongs to the Pope, so

long as the throne is vacant; but the throne is vacant so long as the Pope has not confirmed the vote of the electors. Now, Louis of Bavaria had assumed the administration of the empire without waiting for the election to be confirmed by the apostolic see; therefore he had encroached upon the right of the Pope, and was guilty of sacrilegious usurpation.[1]

Louis of Bavaria having been attacked, defended himself. He protested a first time at Nürnberg (18th December 1323), a second time at the diet of Sachsenhausen (22nd May 1324). He declared that the right to administer the empire was conferred by election, and election only. He branded as an usurpation and innovation the jurisprudence which subordinated the validity of the election to the pontifical confirmation,—but he did not know that this jurisprudence had been introduced by Innocent III. He accused John XXII. of conspiring to destroy the empire, and of being the scourge of Germany. He appealed from the Pope to the council; and then he went to Rome, deposed John XXII., who was in residence at Avignon, and invited the monk Peter of Corbara to take the place, with the name of Nicholas V.[2] (1328). In return he was abundantly excommunicated, and repeatedly deposed by John XXII. The war between the priesthood and the empire was rekindled as in the days of Gregory VII., Pascal II., Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV.

The papacy brought on this war, and the papacy prolonged it. Louis soon gave up his warlike plans. He had as allies, it is true, the Franciscans, who, being in conflict with John XXII. on the subject of the poverty of Christ, eagerly arrayed themselves on his side, and put their powerful influence at his service. But Italy, which more and more refused to become German, rose against him and against his anti-Pope. Besides, he had to consider the fact that John XXII., supported by France and dwelling in France, was beyond attack. Furthermore, he had not consistency of character. In short, being discouraged, he abandoned his anti-Pope,

[1] Raynald, 1323, 20; Zeller, vi. 293; Hefele, vi. 587.

[2] Hefele, vi. 588–597; E. Baluze, *Vitæ paparum avenionensium*, ii. 478, Paris, 1693.

humbled himself before John XXII., and asked to be relieved of the excommunication. John, whose wrath was implacable, refused any agreement. Indeed, he set to work to prosecute his enemies until the bitter end; but death arrested him (1334). Louis humbled himself once more before Benedict XII., who with tears in his eyes acknowledged that the king of France had forbidden him, at the risk of incurring severe penalties, to reconcile the emperor to the Church.[1]

Now the proof of this was produced. The papacy introduced anarchy into Germany to subserve the interests of France. Was Germany to submit to this unworthy treatment? No, at the diet of Rens (15th July 1338) the electors declared that the right to administer the empire was granted by election, that it was not derived in any way from the apostolic see; and at the diet of Frankfort (5th August 1338), Louis gave the declaration of Rens the dignity of a Pragmatic Sanction.[2] The papacy betrayed the empire, which was now nothing more than the Germanic nation. To protect its existence, which was being threatened, the empire escaped the yoke of the papacy. Thereafter the prince upon whom the suffrages of the electors were bestowed would not need to go to Rome to be crowned. Election conferred on him all rights, including the imperial dignity. The Pragmatic Sanction of Frankfort, which was a response to the papal policy, took the imperial crown away from the papacy and brought to an end an order of things dating from the time of Charlemagne. By often inflicting a blow upon Germany, the papacy in the end wounded itself.

Compared with this important event, the fate of Louis of Bavaria has no special interest for us. His case may be explained in a few words. By unskilful policy Louis offended the electors, who deserted him; and Pope Clement VI. cleverly taking advantage of this circumstance, which was so favourable to the Holy See, issued once more the major excommunication against Louis, declared that he had lost the

[1] Matthias of Neubourg in J. Böhmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, iv. 222, Stüttgart, 1868.

[2] Hefele, vi. 640; Zeller, vi. 315.

empire, and urged the electors to choose another sovereign.[1] The electors appointed Charles IV., who had previously given the Holy See all necessary guarantees[2] (1346). Louis was making ready to oppose his rival when death came to relieve him from the pain of defeat, and to save Germany from a fresh intestinal conflict (1347). Thus the same electors who in 1338 had shaken off the yoke of the papacy, eight years later consented to be its instruments; and the emperor who had removed the constitution from the influence of the popes was deposed by one of them. Politics, with their coalitions and intrigues, are not strangers to such inconsistencies; and it was not only during the life of Louis of Bavaria that the decision of Frankfort was ineffective. In 1355, Charles IV. went to Rome to receive the imperial crown. A half-century later (1400), when the electors deposed Wenceslas and elected Robert, they acted only by the authority of Boniface IX. In 1418, at the council of Constance, Sigismund kneeling before Martin V. begged him to confirm his election, and to recognize him as king of the Romans. In 1433 this same monarch received the imperial crown from Eugenius IV.; and in 1452, Frederick III. was crowned by Pope Nicholas V.[3]

All these facts prove that even after the diets of Rens and Frankfort, electors and emperors were not always to act without the Pope; but they acted without him as often as they could. This same Charles IV., who in 1355 went to Rome to be crowned, took care in his famous "golden bull" to isolate the election of the emperor from pontifical intervention.[4] The right was gradually and definitely established, and became actual. After Sigismund no emperor was preoccupied with having his election confirmed by the Pope, and after Frederick III. no one went to Rome to seek the imperial crown; for Charles V. was crowned at Bologna. The *Holy Roman Germanic Empire* had ceased to be holy and Roman; it was only Germanic.

[1] Raynald, 1343, 42; Matthias of Neubourg in Böhmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, iv. 222, 228; Hefele, vi. 664.

[2] Raynald, 1346, 49. [3] Zeller, vi. 366, vii. 123; Pastor, i. 221, 379.

[4] M. Goldast, *Constitutiones imperatorum*, i. 352; Zeller, vi. 381–385.

CHAPTER VII

The Political Advance of the Papacy

From St. Leo to Nicholas I., the popes were subjected to the civil power, which gave them their orders and supervised their administration. Nicholas undertook to put the empire of the Franks under a theocratic régime, to transform the Carolingian princes into lieutenants of the bishop of Rome; but his plan, betrayed by unfavourable circumstances, was not carried out. Two centuries later Gregory VII., in extending it, renewed the attempt of Nicholas and achieved a partial success. The political situation of the papacy from the time of St. Leo to the end of the Middle Ages includes, therefore, three periods separated by the pontificates of Nicholas I. and of Gregory VII., with the following characteristics: subordination to the civil power; an abortive attempt at theocratic government; incomplete theocratic hegemony.

The régime of subordination, which was prolonged until the middle of the ninth century, while it lasted, underwent the vicissitudes of politics. The Western Empire broke up A.D. 476 and gave place to the military sway of Odeacer, which at the end of seventeen years was conquered by Theodoric, the leader of the Goths. The Gothic kingdom itself fell at the end of forty years owing to the attacks of Belisarius, who conquered Italy in the name of the emperor of Constantinople. Two centuries later (754) the Lombards, who since 568 had been settled in the north of the peninsula, set out to take Rome; but they were arrested by Pepin, king of the Franks (756), only to be crushed at length by Charlemagne (774). The popes were thus obedient successively to the emperors of the West, to Odeacer, to the

Gothic kings, to the sovereigns of Byzantium, and to the Frankish princes. Under the Gothic rule it happened that they even had two masters: the Gothic king established at Ravenna, and the Byzantine monarch, who regarded the former as his lieutenant. They, in return, did not have to render account to the phantoms of emperors who from 455—the date of the death of Valentinian III.—until 476 occupied the throne, and their real subjection did not begin until the fall of the Western Empire.

This subjection was manifested in several ways. At first the prince had the right to supervise, or even to decide, the pontifical elections. Odeacer, Theodoric, Theodat, Justinian, placed their creatures, that is to say, the men who would best serve their policies, or who, like Silverius, paid them most, in the apostolic see. From the end of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century the pontifical elections were ratified by the emperor of Constantinople or by his representative the exarch of Ravenna. The Pope-elect of the Latin Church did not acquire the right to govern it until he had been approved by the higher authority. And this régime, which was abolished (769), was again put into operation under the Carolingians by the constitution of Lothair (824).

Appointed by the prince, or with his approval, the Pope received his orders from the prince and carried them out. That was another result of his situation. In 525, the Gothic king Theodoric commanded Pope John I. to go to Constantinople to plead the cause of the Arians who had been persecuted by the emperor. John obeyed this strange command. Eleven years afterwards (536), Theodat ordered Agapitus to go to the court of Byzantium to negotiate a peace. Agapitus obeyed.[1] Almost two centuries later (709), Pope Constantine made the same journey by order of Justinian II.[2] In 593 the emperor Maurice forbade public officials as well as soldiers in active service to adopt the monastic life, and charged Pope Gregory V. to publish this order in the West.

[1] Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Joannis I.*, *Vita Agapiti*; Liberatus, *Breviarium*, 21.

[2] Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Constantini.*

Gregory deplored the imperial edict, which, according to him, endangered the salvation of souls; but as a loyal subject he first carried out his master's orders, and it was only after obeying them that he protested. These protests, however, were respectful: "I who address my lords (the emperor and his son), what am I but an earth worm? . . . To show my submission to your orders, I have published this law in various parts of the world; but I have also told my serene lords that this law is not conformed to the will of Almighty God. I have obeyed the emperor, and yet I have taken up the defence of the interests of God. I have therefore fulfilled all my obligations."[1] Later the emperor commanded Gregory to deal kindly with the patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster, and to give an honourable welcome to Maximus of Salona who was shortly to arrive at Rome. These orders were difficult to execute, for John the patriarch was proud, and claimed for himself jurisdiction over the whole Church; and Maximus of Salona was an unworthy bishop, belonging to the patriarchate of Rome, who consequently owed submission to the Pope, and yet who had rebelled against the latter. Nevertheless Gregory carried out the order. He wrote to Maurice: "In obedience to the commandment of my lords, I have written an affectionate letter to my colleague at Constantinople, and have given him notice humbly to renounce his vain pretensions." To the empress he wrote: "In obedience to the commandments of my lords, I willingly forgot the irregularities of the election of Maximus."[2] In 781, Charlemagne ordered Adrian I. to confer the episcopate upon one of his protégés whom he sent to him. The Pope replied to the powerful prince of the Franks: "We have directly executed the commands of your will as we are in the habit of doing."[3]

Submission implies deference. The popes gave pledges of their respect to the princes whose subjects they were; and

[1] Jaffé, 1266.

[2] *Id.*, 1360, 1352 (see 1359, where Gregory complains, because the emperor has called him mad).

[3] *Id.*, 2434.

that was yet another manifestation of their submission. In 476, Pope Simplicius presented to the emperor Basilicus, who had just overthrown Zeno, his "willing homage."[1] The year following, Zeno drove out Basilicus and once more ascended the imperial throne.[2] Simplicius presented to the conqueror "the homage which was due to him." In 483, Felix III. in a tearful letter cast himself in spirit "at the feet" of the same emperor,[3] and St. Gregory sent to Maurice his wishes that the latter might have a long life[4]—wishes which, however, were not sincere; for upon receiving the news that Maurice and his five sons had been murdered, Gregory was filled with joy, and blessed Phocas[5] the murderer. When Theodoric entered Rome (500), Pope Symmachus walked before him in the procession to the gates of the city.[6] A century and a half later (662), Pope Vitalian, learning that the emperor Constantius II. wished to visit the Eternal City, went to meet him six miles beyond the walls. In 774, Adrian surrounded by his clergy awaited Charlemagne at the door of St. Peter's.[7] On Christmas Day, 800, when the imperial coronation ceremony was ended, Leo III. prostrated himself before the first emperor of the Franks and "adored him."[8]

Thus at the beginning of the ninth century the papacy was again the servant of the civil power. It may be said that it now possessed a rich treasure of prerogatives, and it is important to take cognizance of these prerogatives, varying as to date as well as with respect to origin, since they prepared the evolution which we shall soon have to notice.

The oldest of all, that which was the germ of the others, was the majesty, a supreme transcendent majesty, due really to political circumstances, which was artifically attached to the tomb of St. Peter. As Rome was the mistress of the world, the Church of Rome, of course, considered itself the

[1] Thiel, i. 186. [2] *Id., ib.* 186; Jaffé, 576. [3] Thiel. i. 223.
[4] Jaffé, 1343, 1360, 1476. [5] *Id.*, 1899.
[6] Pfeilschifter, *Der Ostgothenkönig Theodorich der Grosse*, p. 60, Münster, 1896.
[7] Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Vitaliani, Vita Adriani.*
[8] *Annales Laurissenses et Eginhardi*, 801, Migne, civ. 459, "Post laudes ab apostolico more antiquorum principum adoratus est."

queen of other Churches, and the Christians of Rome made their overwhelming superiority felt by the Christians of the rest of the world, who humbly recognized it (see the letter of Clement to the Corinthians). Thus it was at the end of the first century, that is to say when the communities were still under a democratic régime modified by inspired oracles. So soon as the monarchical episcopate appeared, the custom had taken root. The Roman bishops followed the tradition, and made a display of their pre-eminence (Victor, Calixtus, Stephen, etc.). The other bishops submitted, and willingly exalted the episcopal see of the imperial city—except to resist when they believed that they were confronted with tyrannical measures suggested by pride (Polycrates, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Firmilian, Dionysius of Alexandria).

In the middle of the second century, however, Ephesus arrayed its forces against Rome, pretending that it possessed the tomb of the Apostle John, and on this account it exercised a considerable influence throughout Asia Minor. In this encroaching influence of Ephesus, Rome saw a danger to its own prestige; and to the apostolic glory of its rival it opposed apostolic glories which were superior to the former. About 170 the Church of Rome compared itself to a tree planted by Peter and Paul: it narrated, as something beyond all doubt, how these two Apostles had been associated in founding and in instructing it, and had suffered martyrdom at the same time. It showed their tombs, even as Ephesus showed the tomb of St. John. Hereafter its supremacy in apostolicity was assured. Yet Rome did not rest satisfied with its first success. The Gospel of St. Matthew puts into the mouth of Christ the famous text: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church"; "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt lose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The bishops of Rome appropriated to themselves the "Tu es Petrus"; they made of it *spolia optima*. And to prove to the whole world that this incomparable treasure belonged to them alone, they identified them-

selves with Peter. The Church of Rome became the Church of St. Peter. The episcopal see of Rome became the see of St. Peter; the bishop of Rome, the successor of Peter, who was regarded as speaking and acting through his vicars. Immediately Paul, if not evicted, was almost forgotten. This rhetoric began with Calixtus (about 220); in the fifth century, Innocent I. and St. Leo used pompous formulas to which nothing essential was subsequently added. They had indeed no success in the East, but in the West they met with a sympathetic welcome. There the combination of the *Tu es Petrus* with the Roman Church gave rise to the devotion of St. Peter,—a devotion which, as we shall presently see, was the point of departure for new conquests.

In 369, Valentinian I., in favour of the bishop of Rome and at his request, passed a measure which Gratian confirmed in 378,[1] and which Valentinian III. in 445, at the bidding of St. Leo, reiterated by a rescript of which the following are the essential outlines: "The excellence of St. Peter, chief of the corps of bishops, the majesty of the city of Rome, and the legislation of the holy council [of Nicæa, in reality, Sardica] conferred primacy on the Apostolic See. Consequently any undertaking opposed to the decisions of that see is unlawful, and as such is forbidden. . . . All the orders, past and future, of the Apostolic See shall have for the bishops of Gaul and for all other bishops the force of law."

Hence the papacy from the end of the fourth century had obtained the power to legislate for the bishops of the Occident. In the order of time, that was the second prerogative which the popes themselves demanded as something due to "the excellence of St. Peter" which had its immediate source in the imperial decrees, but which in the last analysis was derived from the city of Rome, since the excellence of St. Peter is only a dissimulation of that majesty. After 476, even after 455, the date of the death of Valentinian III., the emperors ceased to assure the execution of their edicts, and it should not be forgotten that after 430 the empire of the

[1] *Constitutio Valentiniani III.*, among the letters of St. Leo, *Ep.* xi., Migne, liv. 537.

West, after repeated amputations, was reduced to Italy and Gaul. The legislation inaugurated by Valentinian I. and confirmed by Gratian and Valentinian III., had been only a precarious work. Yet it had a considerable psychological bearing. The popes at once assumed the spirit of their new office, which they never again lost. The exercise of government for eighty years (369–455) created in them a need of governing, of administration. They had the souls of prefects. In 452, when Attila presented himself at the gates of Rome, Pope Leo, escorted by two officials, went to meet the barbarian and negotiate for the latter's retreat. Three years later (455), when Genseric arrived, Leo parleyed with him.[1] Popes Felix III. and Gelasius resisted the emperor of Constantinople, and while they declared themselves to be his docile subjects in the material sphere, they claimed the right to command in the spiritual sphere. Gelasius said, in substance, to the emperor: "Two powers lead the world, that of the pontiffs and that of kings. The spiritual power is the more important of the two. . . . The bishops are subject to you in civil matters; in spiritual matters you ought to submit to the bishops, and especially to the bishop of Rome."[2]

To return to the devotion of St. Peter. It was a result of this principle that the leader of the Apostles, having received from Christ the keys of heaven, could open or close to whom he would the gates of the abode of the blessed, and hence it was of the greatest importance to obtain his favour. This useful devotion at an early day spread throughout Italy and into neighbouring countries. On the eve of the seventh century the Roman monk Augustine went to England. Among the Anglo-Saxons, even as among the Latins, this devotion guaranteed salvation to those who practised it. The object of it was therefore everywhere the same, but its forms differed according to the country. The Latins believed that the best means of pleasing St. Peter was

[1] Jaffé, 68, 72.

[2] Thiel, i. 349; Jaffé, 632; see also Thiel, p. 247, and Jaffé, 601 (letter of Felix III. to Zeno).

to enrich his vicar, and they loaded wealth upon him.[1] The Anglo-Saxons thought that St. Peter should, above all things, value docility, so they adopted Roman rules and Roman usages. Thus the Pope had the Anglo-Saxon Church in his power; while in the basin of the Mediterranean he held vast estates which made him a wealthy landlord, and which towards the end of the seventh century assured him independence of the emperor of Constantinople. He was in a certain sense king in the spiritual and in the temporal realm. His temporal sovereignty —a sovereignty *de facto*, but without any juridical character— was, it is true, considerably curtailed by the Lombards in the eighth century; but in this period his spiritual authority over the Church, established by Augustine of Canterbury, was more flourishing than ever. Every day the Anglo-Saxons gave fresh proofs of their filial submission to St. Peter and his vicar. One of them, the monk Boniface, even entertained the plan of subjecting the Frankish Church to Rome, to infuse the Roman spirit into the episcopate of that country. It will be seen hereafter that this did not succeed.

Here it is appropriate to quote from a dialogue which took place between Pepin the Short and Pope Zacharias when the Frankish duke undertook to dethrone the Merovingian king Childeric (751):[2] "Is it not better to give the title of king to him who in reality rules the kingdom, rather than to leave it to him who has only the title without the authority?—He deserves to be called king who has the authority." This dialogue, in which the Pope is content to respond to a consultation, was in itself considered only a commonplace event. But the Frankish annalists transformed it. They related that Zacharias by an act of authority had dethroned Childeric and had put Pepin in his place. And perhaps Pepin suggested, in any case he surveyed with a complacent eye, this version, which served his interests, since it gave a sacred character to his usurpation. Moreover, he

[1] See chapter "The Pontifical State."

[2] *Annales Laurissenses et Eginhardi*, p. 749; Migne, civ. 373; Fustel de Coulanges, *Hist. des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vi. 198. On the date, see Hauck, ii. 14.

paid generously for the service which the papacy rendered him, by constituting the pontifical state (754). After the consultation of Zacharias, the popes were temporal sovereigns, endowed with juridical titles; and in certain extreme cases their right was recognized even to dispose of thrones. They did not remain the less submissive to Charlemagne, who treated them as his grand almoners, and who throughout his reign was the veritable head of the Church, of which, to use his own expression, he "held the rudder."[1]

A new condition of things arose during the disastrous reign of Louis the Debonnair, who in the year 822, in the assembly of Attigny, publicly asked pardon for all his sins, and showed always an inconsequent mind. In the presence of this scrupulous and irresolute prince, ambitious men could dare to do anything. They did not fail to do so. In 833 the Frankish bishops assembled at Compiègne judged the unfortunate monarch, condemned him to leave the throne, to do public penance, and to pass the rest of his life in a monastery. And the execution of this odious sentence began some weeks later at St. Médard of Soissons.[2] It was, it is true, shortly afterwards annulled because of popular indignation. The papacy, for its part, knew how to take advantage of circumstances so favourable to its interests. To show his importance, Stephen IV. went (816) to crown Louis the Debonnair, who had received the imperial crown from his father, Charlemagne.[3] In 823, Pascal repeated this ceremony for Lothair; and in 848, Leo IV. was not afraid to say that Lothair had been "consecrated" by Pascal.[4] Moreover, when the sons of Louis the Debonnair rebelled against their father, they called upon Gregory for help; they

[1] *Libri Carolini*, præfatio, Migne, xcviii. 1002: "Ecclesia mater nostra . . . cujus quoniam in sinu regni gubernacula Domino tribuenti suscepimus . . . nobis quibus . . . ad regendum commissa est."

[2] *Relatio Episcoporum de exauct. Hludovici*, in Baronius, 833, 9, and in Mansi, xiv. 647; Agobardi Cartula, Migne, civ. 319; see also M. G., *Leges*, i. 366.

[3] Astronome, *Vita Ludovici*, Migne, civ. 940; *Annales Eginhardi*, p. 823.

[4] M. G., *Epistolæ*, v. 605.

obliged him, so to speak, to play a political rôle. They even endeavoured to obtain from him a decree of excommunication against the unfortunate emperor,—a decree to which Gregory would not give his consent, or at least, one which he could not issue. In the middle of the ninth century the Church asserted the right to govern the Frankish kingdom, which accepted this protectorate. Theocracy was in the air. The only question was who would retain the hegemony: would it be the episcopate, or would it be the papacy? This question was settled when Nicholas I. broke the power of the metropolitans. This warlike Pope, not fearing the rivalry of the episcopate, was able to publish his theocratic programme. What was this programme?

It is not to be sought in the letters of the pontiff to the emperor of Constantinople. In so far as he was concerned, Nicholas I. left to that prince full liberty in the political realm, and confined himself to demanding respect for his own independence in the religious realm. He said: "Jesus Christ separated the two powers (the spiritual and the temporal). The emperors need the pontiffs for eternal life, and the pontiffs need the imperial law for temporal affairs, but for these alone."[1] He made petitions, he did not issue orders to the emperor. And to the Roman pontiffs he applied the text of the Psalms, which speaks of princes "established over the whole earth." He limited its significance by remarking that the biblical passage indicates the Church: "We are appointed princes over the whole earth, that is say, over the whole Church."[2] He claimed supremacy over the whole Church in things religious. He did not go beyond the language of Pope Gelasius. But the correspondence with the Frankish princes changed the scene. Let us first consider the affair of Lothair II. This young man, unable to control his desires, conceived the idea of repudiating Theutberge, his lawful wife, in order to marry Waldrade. Three councils were assembled at his request at Aix-la-Chapelle (9th January 860, 15th February 860, 29th April 862), and approved. A fourth council which

[1] *Ep.* 86, Migne, cxix. 960.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 949; Hauck, ii. 541, exaggerates the meaning of the passage.

met at Metz, presided over by the pontifical legates (June 863), showed the same leniency.[1] Lothair was sure of success. But Nicholas I. intervened. This formidable pope instituted an inquiry into the whole affair. He perceived that the bishops of Lorraine were only playing a part, and that at Metz his own legates had been corrupted. He forthwith annulled the proceedings and deposed the two archbishops, Gunther of Cologne and Theutgaud of Trèves, on whom rested the responsibility for the decisions of the councils.[2] These first measures were decreed in the Lateran council (October, 863). They were followed by others.[3] In April 865, Arsenius the pontifical legate left Rome carrying certain instructions. He went to find Lothair—that was one of his missions—and ordered him, upon pain of excommunication, to follow the right way. Lothair obeyed: Theutberge became his wife once more; as for Waldrade, she was surrendered to the legate, who brought her to Rome. She fled, it is true, and returned to Lothair. But Nicholas was watching. He excommunicated Waldrade (February 866), and threatened Lothair with the same punishment. The blow would have been fatal to this unhappy prince; for his uncles Charles the Bald and Louis Germanicus were only waiting for an excuse to take possession of Lorraine. Nicholas appreciated the situation; moreover, he hesitated at a sanction which would carry catastrophe with it. But he showed at least to Lothair the danger to which he was exposed, and gave him sound advice; he acted as his master.[4]

He made himself equally the master of Charles the Bald and Louis Germanicus, yet not always. At times he confined himself to giving advice and addressing petitions to them;—for example, a letter asking them not to make war on the emperor Louis II., their nephew.[5] But in certain cases he did not fear to speak to them imperatively. He

[1] Hefele, iv. 224, 266.

[2] Mansi, xv. 651; Hefele, iv. 272; *Ep.* 56, Migne, cxix. 868.

[3] *Ep.* 93, Migne, p. 973; R. Parisot, *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, pp. 286, 292, Paris, 1899.

[4] *Ep.* 83, p. 924; *Ep.* 149, p. 1149; Parisot, p. 263.

[5] *Ep.* 78, p. 911.

ordered them to endeavour to convert their nephew Lothair II. Upon pain of excommunication he forbade Louis Germanicus to preserve relations with the archbishops Gunther and Theutgaud.[1] He commanded Charles the Bald to send Rothade to Rome.[2] But it was especially with respect to the empire that he claimed authority. He declared explicitly that the emperor Louis II. held his sword from the vicar of Rome, and that the unction received from the Pope had conferred upon him the empire.[3] To sum up the matter, Nicholas claimed the right to supervise the policy of the Carolingian princes, and even their private behaviour. He pretended to the control of the Frankish empire, and to give his orders to its leaders,—orders the sanction of which was not deposition but excommunication, or rather the threat of excommunication. Such was the programme of this great Pope. What was its result to be?

In conformity to the wishes of the Pope, Charles the Bald and Louis Germanicus refrained from making war upon their nephew Louis II. Moreover, they urged Lothair to banish Waldrade, and to take back Theutberge. But Lothair, who gave abundant promises of submission, never submitted sincerely. He used artifices, gained time, prolonged negotiations until the death of Nicholas I., and he died at the very moment when the conciliatory Adrian II. was perhaps about to authorize his marriage to Waldrade.[4] The emperor Louis II. showed greater energy. As soon as he learned that Gunther and Theutgaud were deposed, he went to Rome to insist that the Pope should withdraw the sentence.[5] Nicholas, who did not wish to yield, had no resource other than to take refuge at St. Peter's. He was about to be captured and deposed when the superstitious emperor, believing himself to be pursued by the wrath of God, suddenly paused. After the death of Nicholas, his successor, Adrian II., wished to follow the path that had been marked out for him. Learning that Charles the Bald had taken advantage of the death of

[1] *Ep.* 83, p. 924; *Ep.* 61, p. 874.
[2] *Ep.* 36, p. 636.
[3] *Ep.* 79, p. 914.
[4] Parisot, p. 313.
[5] *Annales Bertiniani ad annum*, 864; Parisot, p. 242; Hefele, iv. 276.

Nicholas to possess Lorraine (869), he wrote him a withering letter, threatening him with excommunication and with hell if he did not yield the succession of Lothair to the emperor Louis II.[1] But the only result of these threats was a haughty letter from Hincmar informing him that "kingdoms are acquired by battles and victories, not by the excommunications of popes and bishops"; and, besides, explained to him that "his predecessors had concerned themselves with the government of the Church, not with that of the state."[2] Less than twenty years afterwards (887) the empire of the Franks disappeared at the diet of Tribur. Then for nearly a century the papacy became the sport of Roman factions, and was not delivered from this shameful subjection, except to fall into the hands of the German emperors. Therefore let us conclude that Nicholas could not cause the acceptance of his pretensions; he failed.

His failure, however, was not complete. At first he won over the episcopate victories which reacted in favour of the political situation of the papacy.[3] After his time the popes were the heads of the Church, and were treated as such even by the most arbitrary of the German emperors. Nicholas succeeded besides in acclimatizing his conception of imperial power. In 871, Louis II. declared that he held the imperial dignity legitimately, since he had received it from the Roman pontiff;[4] and in 962, when Otto revived the empire, he appealed to the papacy, and was consecrated by John XII. Yet he kept the Pope dependent on him, and for nearly a century his successors imitated him. The emperor gave orders to the Pope; the Pope made the emperor. This was a contradiction which was one day to disappear.

Nicholas, notwithstanding his defeat, was thus one of the creators of the political power of the papacy. Before him and after him another agency was effective in realizing this object, with which we are already familiar. It was the

[1] Jaffé, 2920; Parisot, p. 354.
[2] *Ep.* 27, Migne, cxxvi. 174; see pp. 179–182.
[3] See chapter "The Religious Advance of the Papacy."
[4] Baronius, 871, 59.

devotion of St. Peter. This devotion, which at other times heaped gifts upon the illustrious apostle, assumed a special form in the middle of the sixth, but especially in the ninth century. Monasteries, to defend themselves against the rapacity of brigands, bishops, nobles, and kings, committed themselves to St. Peter, and sought his protection.[1] By means of his vicar the Pope, who had the power to excommunicate the delinquents, St. Peter conscientiously fulfilled his mission. He kept a faithful watch over the property confided to his care, and preserved it from pillage. Moreover, the number of monasteries committed to him constantly increased. Kings followed their example, and to escape a threatening danger, committed their kingdoms to the prince of the Apostles, or else asked him to bless their undertakings, as William the Conqueror did before he landed in England. Of course, these clients of St. Peter paid a fee to his vicar, and were much attached to him. Yet this was not always so. Kings have singularly short memories; no sooner were they out of danger than they forgot the services which Rome had done them. But the monasteries, which had always need of the protection of St. Peter, remained faithful to him. Consequently, by assuring itself of St. Peter's protection, the papacy acquired rich revenues as well as considerable influence — an influence to which Cluny gave a tremendous impetus. The abbey of Cluny placed its vast dependencies under the protection of St. Peter: it contracted a debt of gratitude to St. Peter. It paid this debt generously. The monks of Cluny were ardent defenders of the prerogatives of the Holy See. They created a force which for more than a century the popes did not think of employing to their own advantage, but which one energetic man knew how to make use of.

This energetic man appeared in the middle of the eleventh century, and his name was Hildebrand. After 1073 he bore the name of Gregory VII. In a letter of 1081 to Hermann of Metz, Gregory VII. exposed his social philosophy. He claimed for the papacy the right to depose

[1] See chapter "The Pontifical Exchequer."

kings. He founded this right on the words of Christ to Peter: *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in cœlis.* Furthermore, he founded it on tradition, especially on the act of Pope Zacharias.[1] He added: "Is it possible that a dignity (the civil power), invented by men of his age, especially by men who do not know God, should not submit to that dignity which the Providence of Almighty God has established for his honour, and which he has mercifully granted to the world? Who can doubt that the bishops of Christ are the fathers and the masters of kings, the princes of all the faithful? Is it not a proof of miserable madness, if the son seeks to govern the father? . . . No layman has a power equal to that which is conferred on the exorciser, since he is appointed 'spiritual emperor' [form of the liturgy], to cast out devils: *a fortiori*, they have this power over those who are subject to devils, who are members of the devil [kings]. Now, if such is the power of the exorciser, that of the bishops is superior to this. . . . Hence a very little knowledge is sufficient to make it plain that bishops are the superiors of kings. If kings, because of their sins, can be judged by bishops, *a fortiori* kings can be judged by the Roman pontiff."

It can be affirmed without fear of error that these ideas expressed by Gregory VII. in the evening of his life, were entertained by the monk Hildebrand at the beginning of his career. A disciple, if not a child of Cluny, he had from his youth upward received the inspiration of this mighty abbey. He applied himself to affairs with a clearly elaborated plan of a theocratic society. All his life was to be spent in carrying out this plan, in causing the theocratic ideal to descend into the realm of reality. But what means will he employ in imposing his commanding maxims upon kings who are not prepared for them?

He was to employ those which were suggested by circumstances. In 1056 the German throne was occupied by a child. Hildebrand took advantage of the weakness of the young Henry IV., and caused Nicholas II. to promulgate

[1] *Ep.* viii. 21; Jaffé, 5201.

the decree of 1059, which removed the pontifical election from the influence of the German court.[1] This was his first victory. Fifteen years later, Henry IV. was no longer a child who could be treated as such, but he was opposed by the Saxons, who were eager for his overthrow. It was a good thing for Gregory, who, supported by the Saxons, spoke as a master to the unfortunate prince, gave him his orders, and in the letter of 8th December 1075 uttered threats:[2] "Remember what happened to Saul!" Prophetic threats! Henry, who was deposed (1076), regained his throne only at the price of the humiliation at Canossa. And for having endeavoured to emancipate himself, he was again deposed (1080). Gregory bestowed the empire on the duke Rudolph, who promised him obedience. That might be called the stringent method.

Equally stringent was that which he employed in the case of Philip I., king of France. Hardly had Hildebrand ascended the apostolic throne when he manifested his dissatisfaction with this prince, who, according to him, was oppressing the Church of France. He informed the French bishops that if their king did not mend his ways, he would make every effort to dethrone him.[3] And this is one means that he counted on employing: to cast his interdict over the whole of France, in the hope that the French, desirous of escaping this evil, would rise against Philip.

But William the Conqueror, a powerful and formidable prince, was treated with greater consideration. Gregory lavished flatteries upon him:[4] "I love thee more than other kings"; "Thou art the pearl of princes." He also boasted of his own services: "I have aided thee to obtain the kingdom (an allusion to the standard of St. Peter, sent to William as a talisman at the time of the conquest of England); certain of my brethren on account of this have even murmured against me, and have accused me of approving massacres." He asked as a reward that William should declare himself to be a

[1] See chapter "The Pontifical Election."
[2] See chapter "The Papacy and the Empire."
[3] *Ep.* ii. 5; Jaffé, 4878. See also i. 35 (4807).
[4] *Ep.* i. 70, vii. 25 (Jaffé, 4850, 5168).

vassal of the Holy See, that England and Normandy should be fiefs of St. Peter.

As for the other kingdoms, Gregory claimed them in the name of historic rights founded on the "donation of Constantine," or on later gifts. The "donation of Constantine" was manufactured by one of the popes of the eighth century, probably Adrian I. It was a valuable title to property, but it could offend susceptibilities, provoke disputes, and for this reason it was not to be shown to every one. Gregory took good care not to show it to William the Conqueror. He hardly dared to mention it to the king of France. He relegated it to the second place when he addressed the German emperors.[1] He had more freedom in facing those whom he did not fear. "We shall not allow the rights of St. Peter to lapse," he wrote to the rulers of Sardinia. To the French nobles who prepared to make the conquest of Spain, he said: "You are not ignorant that for a long time past the kingdom of Spain has belonged to St. Peter, and even to-day, although it is invaded by pagans, the right has not been suppressed, and it belongs to no mortal but to the apostolic see alone.[2] Solomon, king of Hungary, who had become dependent on Germany, received the following admonition: "Thou hast offended the blessed Peter. Thou canst learn, indeed, from the great men of thy country that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Holy Roman Church; that king Stephen in other days piously granted it, with all his rights and powers to the blessed Peter." [3]

Another vassal of the Holy See, Robert Guiscard, who in 1059 put himself under subjection to St. Peter, afterwards violated his engagements. To punish him, Gregory wished to take his duchy from him and give it to the king of Denmark. He wrote to Svend Erithson: "Inform us if we can rely on thee, in case the Holy Roman Church should have need of soldiers. . . . Not far from us, on the border of the sea, is a very rich province in the power of vile heretics (the Normans): we should be happy were one of thy sons to take possession

[1] Jaffé, 5206 (oath imposed on the king of Germania).
[2] *Id.*, 4817 (see also 4800), 4778, 5041. [3] *Id.*, 4886.

of it, become duke or prince, and at the same time a defender of the Christians." [1]

The plan was the more promising in that Svend Erithson had already promised Alexander II. to grant Denmark as a fief to St. Peter. Moreover, the son of the king of Russia in friendly rivalry with the king of Denmark had lately gone on a pilgrimage to Rome, and had become a vassal of St. Peter.[2] Threats, flatteries, entreaties, legates instructed to cause disturbances, parchments partially or totally falsified,—all served Gregory's purpose; all means were fair to him in realizing his theocratic pretensions.

But the facts did not answer his expectations. Philip I., king of France, who did not intend that any one should "dim the lustre of his crown," forbade his bishops to obey the injunctions of Rome. The French bishops arrayed themselves on the side of their king, and at the council of Poitiers (1078) they insulted the pontifical legate.[3] Gregory abandoned the dethronement of Philip.

He was not more fortunate with the king of England.[4] Being invited to put himself under the yoke of the papacy, William returned an absolute refusal: "I have not wished, and I do not wish to swear fealty, because I have not promised to do so, and because I do not find that any of my predecessors have done so to yours."

At this haughty answer, Gregory was overcome with anger, and exclaimed that William was worse than the pagan kings: he prepared to make him feel "the wrath of St. Peter." But some months of reflection inspired him with calmer feelings. "Treat him with deference," said he to his legate, "for he is still better than all the other kings." [5]

There was yet another disappointment. Gregory, who had besought the king of Denmark to drive Robert Guiscard and his "vile heretics" into the sea, received no reply. He

[1] Jaffé, 4928. [2] *Id.*, 4955, 4956.

[3] Letter of the legate Hugo to Gregory VII., Migne, clvii. 509; Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII. et la réforme de l'Église au xi^me^ siècle*, iii. 356, Paris, 1889.

[4] Migne, cxlviii. 748; W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, i. 309, Oxford, 1884; Delarc, iii. 373.

[5] *Ep.* viii. 1, ix. 5; Jaffé, 5135, 5208.

soon took notice of the fact that the Danes were bad clients of St. Peter, and did not afford him any aid. Then he fully excommunicated the formidable Robert Guiscard, and with the help of diplomatic manœuvres endeavoured to cause an uprising against him on the part of the Norman barons settled in Italy.[1] But these expedients had no effect. In spite of the obstacles put in his way, Robert gradually extended his power. Fortunately, Gregory was never at the end of his resources. Being unable to crush Robert Guiscard, he relieved him of the excommunication, showed him some kindness, and employed him in his service. In 1080 the powerful duke became a willing vassal of St. Peter.[2] He was not a very docile vassal, and being more preoccupied with his own interests than with those of his suzerain, on several occasions he turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of Gregory. Yet in 1084, when Henry was master of Rome, Robert hastened with his army against him. He drove out the German emperor, inflicted fearful punishment upon the Romans, freed Gregory, and granted an asylum in his states to the aged pontiff who had been obliged to leave Rome, which hated him.

It need not be said that Hungary, Spain, and Russia were not more docile than Denmark, Germany, and France. In almost all his theocratic undertakings, Gregory failed. It may even be said that he won only a single victory,—that of Canossa,—which in itself was without value, and which owed its importance wholly to the mental disposition which it imparted to Gregory's successors. The scene at Canossa, indeed, infused into the papacy a spirit of pride and domination. From the time when one of them saw the king of Germany at his feet, the bishops of Rome believed that they were masters of the German empire. Armed with this Gregorian method, that is, excommunication and deposition, they pretended to legislate for those who wore the imperial crown. They suffered temporary checks, the most troublesome of which was the capitulation of Pascal II. (1111); but, on the whole, success crowned their efforts.[3] Henry V., who

[1] Delarc, iii. 436, 518.

[2] *Id.*, *ib.* 523.

[3] See chapter "The Papacy and the Empire."

conquered Rome, was obliged to capitulate at Worms (1122); Lothair II. was the lackey of Innocent II. (1131); Frederick Barbarossa renewed at Venice the scene at Canossa; Otto IV. was deposed by Innocent III.; at the council of Lyons (1245), Innocent IV. inflicted the same fate on Frederick II. All these pontiffs who consolidated and developed the suzerainty of the papacy over Germany were disciples of Gregory VII., heirs of his theocratic pretensions and of his method of action. And the credit for the victories which they won was due to the master by whom they were inspired.

Gregory being suzerain of Germany, suzerain of Naples and of Sicily, which had been granted to him as fiefs of St. Peter by Robert Guiscard, did not let his ambition stop there. He believed that as vicar of St. Peter he was called to legislate for the whole world. His successors cherished this dream. They, too, professed to have received from St. Peter, and consequently from Christ, the empire of the world. This political programme was announced with the utmost calmness by Innocent III.: "The government, not only of the Church universal, but of the whole world, fell to Peter. This is proved by the conduct of Peter, who at the approach of the Lord cast himself into the sea. . . . The sea, according to the Psalmist, signifies the world. . . . That Peter ventured into the sea, thus symbolizes the power that he received over the whole world. . . . Peter walked upon the waves of the sea, as a proof that all peoples are submitted to his authority."[1] Furthermore besides the rights which emanated from St. Peter, the papacy had at its disposal the "donation of Constantine"; and it profited by it, as was shown when Adrian IV., in 1155, on account of that "donation," authorized Henry II., king of England, to make the conquest of Ireland.[2] Yet notwithstanding the patronage of St. Peter and of Constantine, the political dominion of the Holy See at

[1] *Ep.* ii. 209; Migne, ccxiv. 759.

[2] Bull *Laudabiliter* (Jaffé, 10056), the authenticity of which, although frequently attacked, should be regarded as certain. See Thurston, "The English Pope and the Irish Bull," in the *Month*, cvii. (1905) 415, 483.

the end of the twelfth century hardly went beyond the point to which Gregory VII. had brought it. At the most, some very small states, in order to protect their independence against dangerous neighbours, declared themselves fiefs of St. Peter. Such a state was Portugal, whose first king, Alfonso Henriquez, acknowledged himself to be a vassal of Innocent II. in 1143, and renewed his oath under Alexander III. in 1179.[1] Such also was Aragon, whose king, Sancho (1089), professed to have received his realm from St. Peter.[2] But the great nations did not follow such examples. In 1189, however, pontifical diplomacy made an attempt which, had it been successful, would have brought France under the theocratic yoke. The legate of Clement III. ordered Philip Augustus to make an alliance with the king of England, under penalty of seeing the whole of France placed under an interdict. But from Philip he received this haughty reply: "The Roman Church has no right to censure the kingdom of France when the king subdues his rebel vassals and avenges the affronts inflicted on his crown."[3] Some years before (1155), Henry II. of England, in conflict with his rebellious sons, called Alexander III. to his aid, and wrote him a humble letter which had no practical effect.[4] France and England remained politically independent of Rome.

Innocent III. sought to bring this situation to an end, and to extend the empire of the papacy. The archbishopric of Canterbury furnished an opportunity.[5] In 1206, Innocent III., contrary to custom, appointed Stephen Langton to this see. King John Lackland, thinking that his rights had been encroached upon, refused to accept the pontifical candidate. The Pope insisted upon the appointment, but the king was obstinate. War was declared, and Innocent III. was vigor-

[1] Fabre, pp. 126, 127; A. Luchaire, *Les Royautés Vassales du Saint-Siège*, p. 6, Paris, 1908.

[2] Jaffé, 5399.

[3] Roger de Hoveden, *Chronica* (edited by Stubbs), ii. 363, London, 1869.

[4] Baronius, 1173, 10: "Vestræ jurisdictionis est regnum Angliæ, et quantum ad feudarii regis obligationem vobis dumtaxat obnoxius teneor et astringor." See Luchaire, p. 146.

[5] Matth. Pâris, *Historia major*, 1205; Luard, ii. 492, 496.

ously hostile. He began by putting the whole of England under an interdict (March 1208). Fourteen months later King John was excommunicated (1209). He was then deprived of his throne, and his subjects were released from their oath of fidelity (May 1212).[1] The sentence was formidable, but how could it be executed? How could the king of England be forced to abdicate? Innocent looked towards the king of France. In January 1213 he ordered his legate Pandolph to visit Philip Augustus and authorize him to take possession of England. Philip was pleased with the mission entrusted him, and, losing no time, he prepared to land an army on the farther shore of the Channel.[2] He believed that he already held the pontifical gift, when an unexpected manœuvre deprived him of it. In May 1213, John Lackland, during a solemn ceremony, gave the legate Rudolph a diploma in which it was stated: "We grant to God, to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, to our Mother the Holy Roman Church, to our lord Innocent and to his Catholic successors . . . our kingdoms of England and Ireland, with all their rights and dependencies, in order to receive them anew, as a vassal of God and of the Roman Church. In testimony whereof, we take the oath of vassalage before Pandolph . . . and our heirs will be always obliged to take the same oath. And as a sign of our being vassals, we and our successors will pay annually to the Holy See, besides the denarius of St. Peter, seven hundred marks for England and three hundred marks for Ireland, derived from the royal revenues."[3] Then he committed his crown and sceptre to Rudolph, who returned it to him after keeping it for five days as a sign of suzerainty.

John, it need not be said, did not come upon this plan of his own accord. He adopted it at the suggestion of the pontifical legate. It was not long before he reaped advantage from it. Indeed, Innocent, who had hitherto hated the king of England, had only fondness for him after becoming his suzerain, with the prospect of receiving every year a tribute of one thousand marks. He at once

[1] Matth. Pâris, ii. 527, 536.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* 536, 537.
[3] *Id.*, *ib.* 546.

informed the king of France that there was no reason for attacking England, that on the contrary, it would be an offence against the apostolic see, and therefore worthy of blame. Philip was greatly displeased at the action of the pontiff, and made an angry reply: "Is it not at the Pope's command that I have made all these preparations, which have cost me sixty thousand franks?"[1] He made ready to advance at all hazards; but the defection of one of his great vassals, the count of Flanders, who was won over by the Roman legate, stood in the way. Thus, in spite of himself, Philip obeyed the orders of the pontiff. In this dispute Innocent had the last word.

Two years later he was not so fortunate. On 15th June 1215, John Lackland, subdued by the English barons who had revolted, granted them the Magna Charta which limited the royal authority.[2] Then after making this forced concession, he complained to his suzerain the Pope of the affront to which he had been subjected. In the revolt of the barons, Innocent saw an attack upon his own suzerainty. "The English barons," he exclaimed, "think they can take from his throne a king who is about to go on a crusade, and who is under the protection of the Apostolic See. Such an injustice will not remain unpunished by St. Peter." And by a bull, dated 24th August 1215, he abolished the Magna Charta, all the articles of which he declared to be "now and for ever null and void."[3] The barons rejected the pontifical bull, continued the dispute with John, and called to their aid the French prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus. Innocent then excommunicated the barons and Prince Louis. But in London this measure was ridiculed. It was said: "Why does the Pope interfere in temporal affairs? God appointed him to have authority only in things spiritual. Is the insatiable cupidity of the Romans to be extended even to other things?" and religious services continued as if nothing

[1] Matth. Pâris, ii. 547. [2] *Id.*, *ib.* 589.

[3] *Id.*, *ib.* 616; Potthast, 4990; Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, i. 6, Oxford; Luchaire, "Innocent III. et le quatrièmeconcile de Latran," *Rev. historique*, xcvii. (1908), 243.

had happened (December 1215). Seeing that the first excommunication was useless, the Pope issued a second which contained names.[1] He sent Galon his legate to France with power to deal with Philip Augustus and make him oppose the expedition of Prince Louis to England, which was "the property of the Roman Church." But the second excommunication made no more impression on the barons than the first. As for Galon the legate, he received this reply from Philip (at the assembly of Melun, April 1216): "England has never been the patrimony of St. Peter . . . besides, no king can make his own kingdom tributary to another without the consent of his barons, who are charged with its defence. And if the Pope intends to make such a mistake, he is setting a dangerous example to all kings."[2] Innocent died on 16th July 1216 after vainly excommunicating Prince Louis, who at this date was master of England. Three months later, John Lackland died. The barons then, delivered from their hated king, drove Prince Louis from England and rallied to Henry III., the son of John, who was innocent of his father's misdeeds. But in doing this they were obeying a patriotic sentiment, and not the orders of the papacy. Furthermore, they obliged Henry III. to accept, with some modifications, the Magna Charta, all the articles of which had been annulled by Rome. It was in spite of them that England had become a fief of the Holy See.

Innocent III. had hardly ascended the apostolic throne when he had to take action in France in the affair of the queen Ingelburge, whom Philip Augustus wished to put away in favour of Agnes of Méranie. After vainly appealing to the king (17th May 1198),[3] he resolved to display his authority, and placed France under an interdict (5th February 1199). The punishment was severe; yet it fell only upon the clergy and the faithful whose customs it interfered with: it did not directly affect the king, who, pitying his subjects, at the end of seven months (7th September 1199), made a semblance of satisfaction. Upon this occasion Innocent did not

[1] Matth. Pâris, ii. 627, 642, 648.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* 651.
[3] *Ep.* i. 171; Potthast, 199.

depart from the spiritual domain: he did not encroach upon the political authority of Philip. Moreover, in a famous letter, *Per venerabilem*, written to the count of Montpellier, he made the following declaration:[1] "The king of France is our subject in things spiritual (*in spiritualibus*), while thou (the count of Montpellier) art our spiritual as well as our temporal subject. . . . The king of France does not recognize any superior in the temporal sphere (*superiorem in temporalibus minime cognoscat*)." In theory, Innocent adhered to this position. He never attempted to treat France as a vassal country, or the king of France as his lieutenant. Practically, however, he tried to interfere with the political affairs of Philip, although he confined himself to the spiritual domain. He solved this difficult problem in the following manner.

In 1203, Philip Augustus, thinking that John Lackland had been guilty of felony, resolved to deprive him of the fief of Normandy. John appealed to the Pope. The latter urged the king of France to make peace with his enemy or to refer the settlement of the dispute to the apostolic see. Philip answered contemptuously that he was not accountable to the Pope in matters concerning his own fiefs and vassals, and that transactions between kings were no concern of the Pope. Innocent replied in the famous letter *Novit*,[2] in which after explaining that the king of England had accused the king of France of offending him, added: "We do not pretend to judge concerning the fief, for this judgment belongs to the king of France. . . . But we wish to pass sentence on the offence. Beyond a doubt it is in our province to suppress the offence. And this suppression we can and we ought to exercise in opposition to any man, no matter who he may be. . . . Indeed, we are bound to reprove every Christian whatever offence he may have committed; and if he disregards our reproof, we are bound to inflict ecclesiastical penalties upon him."

It was thus that Innocent, who admitted that he had

[1] *Ep.* v. 128, Migne, ccxiv. 1130; *Corpus juris decret.* iv. 17, 13.
[2] *Ep.* vii. 42, Migne, ccxv. 325; *Corpus juris decret.* ii. 1, 13.

no jurisdiction over the "fiefs"—that is to say, over the temporal affairs—of the king of France, endeavoured to subject royal disputes to his control, because of the offence involved; as was afterwards said *ratione peccati.* It was a principle pregnant with results, which practically authorized the papacy to examine into all decisions of the civil power, in view of the fact that in every dispute one of the parties accused the other of committing an injustice. In fact, John Lackland accused Philip Augustus of perjury. Armed with this formidable decretal, Innocent threatened France with an interdict unless Philip should submit the litigation to the apostolic tribunal, and he directed his legate to carry out this order (1204). Philip remained inflexible. Faithful to his mission, the legate assembled the French bishops at Meaux and announced to them that he was about to issue his interdict. But the bishops appealed to the Pope, and sent delegates to Rome to support their appeal. In the presence of these delegates, Innocent pronounced judgment on the conflict which divided the kings of France and England, and decided in favour of Philip. The king of France did not recognize this *ratione peccati,* by virtue of which the Pope assumed to revise the policy of kings; he did not yield because of the threatened interdict. But the bishops yielded, and, thanks to their capitulation, Innocent exercised the right which he demanded. The conflict of 1203, without being a defeat for the French kingdom, was a triumph for the papacy. After the decretal *Novit,* the king of France had a good right to proclaim his independence of the apostolic see, but the Pope for his part was in a position to deny this independence.

Let us now notice the lesser states, and consider their attitude. In Portugal the king Sancho, who for a time sought emancipation, ended by yielding, by admitting that he was a vassal of St. Peter (1211).[1] His successor, Alfonso II., emphasized this submission, and gave fresh pledges of vassalage (1212).[2] The king of Aragon, Peter II., went to Rome to receive his crown from the Pope (1204), and swore the

[1] Mansi, xxii. 746; Hefele, v. 1231. [2] Fabre, pp. 21–23.

following oath: "I will always be the obedient feudatory of my lord Pope Innocent, and of his Catholic successors, as well as of the Roman Catholic Church,"[1] Emeri, king of Hungary, and his brother and successor Andrew II., obeyed Innocent, who addressed them as their master, and haughtily declared that the crown of Hungary was dependent on the apostolic see. Bosnia, under the sway of the king of Hungary, who himself only carried out the orders of the Pope, was admitted to the Roman Church, to which it had hitherto been an alien (1203). Servia, which had formerly been a satellite of Constantinople, entered into the orbit of Rome. It, too, wished to be a fief of St. Peter; and Innocent III. wrote to Prince Vouk: "We send you enclosed the text of an oath of allegiance which you should swear to our legates, and which binds you to us and to our successors."[2] Galicia also separated itself from Constantinople, being forced to do so by the Hungarian army; and its king gave the oath of obedience to Rome (1214).[3] The Bulgarian prince Johannitza, who wished to be freed from the Greek yoke, asked of the Pope the right to wear a royal crown. Innocent, after asking and obtaining pledges of submission, founded the kingdom of Bulgaria.[4] He wrote (1204): "We appoint thee king of the peoples of Bulgaria and Wallachia. We grant thee the right to coin money in thy name. We will send to thee our legate, the royal sceptre, and the crown which will be placed on thy head by my own hands." To this list of vassal kingdoms must be added the empire of Constantinople, which became Latin in consequence of the fourth crusade. The conquerors of 1204, it is true, endeavoured to complete their conquest without help from the Pope. But they were not slow to perceive that they could do nothing without Rome. And in 1205, Henry of Flanders, the second emperor, threw himself into the arms of Innocent III. "All our acts, all our conquests," he said, "are accomplished in the name of St. Peter."[5]

[1] Raynald, 1204, 71; Fabre, p. 126; Luchaire, p. 55.
[2] Luchaire, pp. 68, 86, 90.
[3] *Id.*, p. 121.
[4] *Id.*, pp. 94, 105.
[5] Luchaire, *Innocent III., La Question de l'Orient*, pp. 174, 183.

As has been seen, Innocent III. had as his vassals the majority of the princes of Christendom. Besides, the expedient of the *ratione peccati* permitted him to bring France under his temporal jurisdiction, although he had not dared to inscribe its name on the list of the fiefs of St. Peter. Suzerain *de jure* of almost all Christian nations, thanks to the *ratione peccati*, he was universal suzerain. Under him the political power of the papacy acquired an extent which it had never had before.

It was a passing extension. The structure raised by Innocent soon crumbled away. In 1261 the Latin empire of Constantinople fell. Bulgaria quarrelled with Rome in 1232; forty years later the separation was complete. Servia, directly after the death of Innocent III., returned into the orbit of Constantinople. Bosnia afterwards followed this example. These were defeats for the Roman theocracy. But the most serious blow was that inflicted by France at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The following are the facts. In 1294, Philip le Bel, without giving notice to the Pope, demanded a subsidy from his clergy. Boniface VIII. then issued the bull *Clericis laïcos*, which under pain of excommunication forbade princes to levy taxes on ecclesiastical property without the authorization of the apostolic see, and which under the same penalty prohibited ecclesiastics to pay any taxes which were not authorized by Rome[1] (24th February 1296). To the pontifical bull, Philip le Bel replied by forbidding his subjects to bring money to Rome.[2] Confronted with this attack on the part of the king, Boniface at first drew back[3] (bull *Ineffabilis*, September 1296; bulls *Romana mater* and *Etsi de statu*, 1297); then taking courage, he resumed the offensive, and renewed his prohibitions (bulls *Salvator Mundi* and *Ausculta fili*, 5th December 1301), which reached a climax in the bull *Unam sanctam*, 18th November 1302.[4] He applied himself especially to

[1] Dupuy, *Histoire du différend entre le Pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, roy de France*, p. 14, Paris, 1655.

[2] *Id.*, *ib.* p. 13.

[3] *Id.*, *ib.* p. 15.

[4] *Id.*, *ib.* p. 54; Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.*, p. 157.

avert the discussion, and claimed the right to keep the political authority of the king of France dependent on himself. This pretension, the only thing in all this conflict which interests us here, assumed two forms. In the bull *Ineffabilis*, Boniface employed the expedient invented by Innocent III. He did not dare to appoint himself suzerain of the king of France; he did not arrogate to himself the right to direct French policy; he claimed only the right to supervise it, in order to prevent sins from being committed. He re-edited the *Ratione peccati*. After 1301 his tactics were more open and his attitude was more authoritative. In the bull *Ausculta fili* it is said: "The Vicar of Jesus Christ is placed above kings and kingdoms, to uproot, destroy, ruin, scatter, build up, and plant. Therefore, my dear son, be not persuaded by any one that you have no superior on earth, and that you are not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Whoever has that idea is mad." And the bull *Unam sanctam* contains the following assertions: ". . . the Church has two swords at its command, the spiritual and the temporal. . . . Each of these is in the power of the Church, but the former should be drawn by the Church and by the hand of the Pontiff, the latter by the hand of kings and soldiers, but on behalf of the Church, at the command and with the authorization of the Pontiff. One of these swords must be subordinate to the other, that is to say, the temporal power must be subordinate to the spiritual power. . . . It belongs to the spiritual power to establish the temporal power and to judge it if it goes astray. . . . It is necessary for salvation for every human creature to submit to the Roman Pontiff."

Here Boniface no longer takes pains to restrict himself to the *Ratione peccati*, to his right to intervene in the policy of kings. He treats all princes, the king of France included, as lieutenants who have received the sword from him, and who should use it only according to his orders. He declares that terrestrial powers have been "founded" by the spiritual power; he attributes to himself the empire of the world.

But his repulse was complete. When he had received

the *Ausculta fili*, Philip le Bel convoked the States-General (April 1302). He informed them of the intentions of Boniface, and asked their advice as to keeping watch for "the preservation of the ancient liberty of France." His wishes were granted. The nobles and the *tiers état* declared themselves ready to die rather than to support the undertakings of the Pope; and in letters which they sent to the cardinals —they did not deign to write to Boniface—they said: "The kings of France, as is everywhere known, have never been subject except to God alone."[1] To the bull *Unam sanctam* Philip replied by the assembly of the Louvre (March 1303), and by the new States-General (June 1303). The States interposed an appeal from the Pope to a general council where Boniface should be constrained to appear, in order to be judged. Immediately the emissaries of Philip, Nogaret and Colonna, repaired to Anagni to arrest the Pope and bring him to the council. The result is known. At the last moment, saved by the populace of Anagni, Boniface was buffeted, but was not arrested. His two successors, however, Benedict XI. and Clement V., in order to appease Philip, consented to make humiliating concessions. The letter *Meruit* of Clement (1306) relieved France from the dependent position in which the bull *Unam sanctam* placed the other states in relation to the Holy See.[2] The bull *Ex parte* of the same Pope revoked and annulled various institutions of Boniface VIII., as attacks on the "liberties" of the kingdom of France.[3] On this account the bull *Ausculta fili* was suppressed. Philip le Bel came out a victor from that terrible duel with Boniface in which he had been engaged. He made this pontiff and his successors understand that he was in no humour to permit himself to be treated as a fief of the papacy. The lesson had its effect. For more than two centuries Pope Julius II. alone dared to place France under an interdict, and to depose its king, Louis XII. (1512). This double measure, however, had no practical effect; and when,

[1] Dupuy, *Différend*, p. 60.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* pp. 101, 109, 112, 288, 598; *Extravag-comm.* v. 7.
[3] Raynald, 1311, 26 (especially 31).

in 1516, Leo X. in his bull *Pastor æternus* republished the bull *Unam sanctam* which placed kingdoms under the Roman pontificate, he took care to renew the dispensation granted to France by the letter *Meruit* of Clement V.[1] To sum up the matter, the papacy was obliged to respect the "liberties" of France and of its king.

There were other deceptions which the papacy had to endure. This is the place to speak of Sicily and of Naples. Sicily had been given as fief to St. Peter by Robert Guiscard (1059); after that the popes were its sovereigns, and could dispose of it as they pleased. Popes Urban IV. and Clement IV. assigned it to Charles of Anjou, a brother of St. Louis.[2] But Charles made himself hateful to his new subjects. At the end of nineteen years, Sicily rebelled against its master, killed all the French (Silician Vespers, 30th March 1282), and surrendered to Peter III. of Aragon, who quickly made his entry into the island (August 1282). Peter was a vassal of the Holy See, for his grandfather had given Aragon as a fief to St. Peter. The sanctions, therefore, followed their normal course. Pope Martin IV. excommunicated Peter, then he proclaimed a crusade against him, promising remission of sins to all those who would endeavour to wrest Sicily from his control. Finally, he deposed him, and invited Philip the Bold, king of France, to make the conquest of Aragon for his son Charles of Valois[3] (March 1283). In conformity to the Pope's wishes, war was waged simultaneously in Sicily—where Charles II., the son of Charles of Anjou, was endeavouring to hold his own—and in Aragon, which Philip the Bold invaded with a large army. Unfortunately the repulse was decisive. Philip the Bold died before he had taken possession of Aragon. In Sicily, Charles II. was made prisoner. Theoretically, Sicily belonged to the House of Anjou, and Aragon to Charles of Valois; but actually, when Peter III. of Aragon died (1285), one of his sons, Alfonso, ruled in Aragon, the other, James, in Sicily. Charles II. of Anjou was

[1] Hardouin, ix. 1830: "... sine tamen præjudicio declarationis sanctæ memoriæ Clementis papæ V. quæ incipit *Meruit*."

[2] Raynald, 1263, 78; 1264, 9.

[3] *Id.*, 1291, 53.

languishing in prison; the pontifical pretensions were defeated.

For several years the popes made a courageous effort against misfortune. In 1291 we find Nicholas IV. still calling upon James to abandon Sicily, and at the same time forbidding him to succeed his brother Alfonso in Aragon, who had just died. Yet this opposition could not be indefinitely prolonged, and the papacy was bound, sooner or later, to yield to the inevitable. In fact, a Pope arose who understood that it was necessary to capitulate; and this conciliatory Pope was Boniface VIII. Boniface tore up the bulls which had been issued by his predecessors.[1] Indeed, he made two attempts to perform that painful operation. In 1296 he authorized James to reign in Aragon, but he was uncompromising with regard to Sicily. Six years later he made the most extreme concessions, and surrendered Sicily to Frederick the brother of James.

The kingdom of Naples, which had also been granted by Robert Guiscard as fief to St. Peter, caused the same kind of difficulty to the papacy—not once, but six times. In 1128, Roger of Sicily took possession of that country. Honorius II. at once excommunicated the invader (council of Troyes), and in order to give effective sanction to the sentence, advanced to meet him at the head of an army. But being too weak to pursue the powerful Norman duke, he was obliged to leave to him the provinces of southern Italy—Apulia and Calabria.[2] Eleven years later (1139), Innocent II. again excommunicated Roger, and like Honorius II. resorted to armed force. He was not more fortunate than his predecessor. Taken in ambush by the Normans, he was made a prisoner, and to regain his liberty was forced to recognize as lawful the conquests of Roger.[3] Towards the end of the fourteenth century, Urban VI., displeased with Charles of Duras, excommunicated him (1385). Notwithstanding this condemna-

[1] Raynald, 1297, 18; 1302, 2; 1303, 24.

[2] Mansi, xxi. 358; Hefele, v. 400; F. Chalandon, *Hist. de la domination normande en Italie et Sicile*, i. 190, Paris, 1907.

[3] Chalandon, ii. 86–91.

sion, Charles continued to rule at Naples. When he died the crown passed to his son Ladislas, whose successor was his sister, Jeanne II. When she died, Jeanne II. left the kingdom of Naples to René of Anjou ; and Pope Eugenius IV., in his capacity as suzerain, confirmed the deed (1435). But he had not taken into account Alfonso of Aragon, king of Sicily, who proceeded to annex Naples to his kingdom. To oppose him Eugenius made use of all the arms at his command. After eight years of futile efforts he yielded to overwhelming force, and recognized Alfonso as king of Naples (1443). This same Alfonso left the kingdom of Naples to his natural son Ferdinand (1458). Pope Calixtus III. ordered Ferdinand to refuse the throne, excommunicated him, and made his people rebel against him. Ferdinand held his own. It was the papacy which yielded. Pius II. gave up the useless struggle, and sent a cardinal to crown him whom his own predecessor had excommunicated and deposed. In 1485, Ferdinand was again excommunicated and deposed by Innocent VIII. As in previous cases, this had no effect.[1]

Until the sixteenth century the attitude of England was more consoling to Rome. It was not that the English nation willingly accepted the humiliating situation in which it had been placed by John Lackland. On the contrary, it had difficulty in remaining the fief of the Holy See. It made this very evident at the council of Lyons (1245). There, in fact, the English, while complaining of the Roman exactions, protested against the Act of 1213 which had placed them, without their consent, under the pontifical suzerainty.[2] But kings often agreed to the pretensions of the papacy so as to gain its support either against foreign princes or against their own subjects. In 1237, King Henry III., to whom Rome had rendered personal services, summoned the pontifical legate and made him legislate. At the end of the year 1305,

[1] Pastor, i. 248, 569, 600, ii. 20, iii. 190.

[2] Matth. Pâris, 1245, iv. 440 : "per curiam romanam extortum est tributum injuriose in quod nunquam patres nobilium regni vel ipsi consenserunt nec consentiunt, nec in futurum consentient." It is generally believed that this phrase refers to the donation of John Lackland.

Edward I., who swore before the English nation to respect the Magna Charta, caused Clement V. to free him from that troublesome engagement. His son Edward II. paid tribute to John XXII. (1317). Of course, this obedience had its limits. Boniface VIII. had some experience of this when he wished to prevent Edward I. from taking possession of Scotland; for the Pope pretended that this country was a fief of the Holy See. To the pontifical thesis, Edward opposed his own, which he thought more plausible.[1] But the few differences which arose did not diminish the cordiality of their relations. The tragic sequel of this ancient friendship is well known. On 17th December 1538, Paul II. issued a bull, prepared and communicated to the Christian princes since 1535, according to the terms of which Henry VIII. was deposed, and Christian princes were required (*requirimus*) to take up arms against him and his adherents.[2] Never was an attempt more ineffective. Henry VIII. remained master of his subjects, and the Christian princes, instead of making war upon him, sought alliance with him.

Germany was above all others the country of theocracy. Its rulers were nominated, crowned, and deposed by the papacy. But Germany itself became gradually emancipated. The Pragmatic Sanction of Frankfort (1338) and the Golden Bull (1356) removed the imperial election, at least theoretically, from Roman influence. And these two constitutions little by little made their way into the realm of reality. After the time of Sigismund (1418), the emperors did not ask the Roman pontiff to confirm their elections. Indeed, they soon ceased to receive the imperial crown from him.

While the princes were endeavouring to emancipate themselves from the protectorate of Rome, the theologians were disputing. Some protested against the pontifical pretensions, and opposed them; others sought to justify them. The chief of the former school was Hincmar, whose haughty reply to

[1] Haller, pp. 380, 400.

[2] Raynald, 1299, 14. Besides, the English parliament on several occasions repudiated the authority of the Pope. See Stubbs, i. 561, ii. 158, 433; Haller, p. 429.

Adrian II. we have already noticed.[1] After Hincmar occur Sigebert of Gembloux, Wenrich of Trèves, Peter Crassus, Guy of Ferrari, Benzo, and others who were contemporaries and adversaries of Gregory VII.;[2] Pierre Dubois who was the adviser of Philip le Bel, Occam, and Marsilius of Padua, who wrote during the period of the Avignon popes. The book of Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte* (about 1305), contains radical ideas. The author thought that the papacy should be deprived of all temporal power, and confined to the spiritual realm. And seeing that the Roman pontiffs would not readily agree to this evolution, he concluded that the king of France should take the matter in hand, and should therefore confiscate the patrimony of St. Peter and exclude the Romans from the apostolic see.[3] Occam also would limit the ecclesiastical power to the spiritual domain; and he admitted the right of the Church to be free from the papacy. Marsilius of Padua had the same ideas.[4] In opposition to these theologians who were friendly to the civil power, was arrayed what may be called the Gregorian school, because it was inspired by the ideas of Gregory VII. Its principal representatives were: in the eleventh century, the author of the *Dictatus papæ* (Cardinal Deusdedit), Anselm of Lucques, Bernold, and Bonizo; in the twelfth century, Ives of Chartres, Hugo of St. Victor, John of Salisbury, St. Bernard, Gervais of Tilbury; in the thirteenth century, Alexander of Hales, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventura, Robert Grosseteste, Hostiensis (Henry of Suze); in the fourteenth century, Gilles of Rome, James of Viterbo, Henry of Cremona, Tolomée of Lucques, Augustine Trionfo, Alvarez Pelayo. The *Dictatus papæ*[5] teaches that the Pope has the right to wear the

[1] See above, p. 228.

[2] E. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik in Zeitalter Gregors VII.*, pp. 12, 18, etc.

[3] Edited by Langlois, Paris, 1891: "Et quoniam papa romanus abusus est potestate et hoc fecit in quantum Romanus, expedit . . . tantum honorem per tales exerceri qui summum honorem christianissimi principis rapere non nitantur" (p. 100; see pp. 26, 98).

[4] Haller, pp. 74, 77.

[5] W. Martens, *Gregor VII.*, ii. 314, Leipzig, 1894; Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsthums*, p. 113, Tübingen, 1901.

imperial insignia, and to depose emperors. Hugh of St. Victor set forth the following doctrine which Boniface VIII. borrowed from him and inserted in the bull *Unam sanctam*: "It belongs to the spiritual power to establish the temporal power in such a way as to give it existence, and to judge it in case of misconduct."[1] St. Bernard taught this other doctrine which was also afterwards made use of by Boniface VIII.:[2] "Two swords are at the disposal of St. Peter to be drawn whenever he may need them, one when he asks for it, the other in his own hand." The same idea is to be met with in the expressions of John of Salisbury[3] and of Robert Grosseteste.[4] Hostiensis says: "Even as the moon receives the light of the sun, so the royal power derives its authority from the sacerdotal power. And even as the sun illumines the world by means of the moon when it cannot itself give light, which happens at night, so the sacerdotal power illumines the world through the royal power, when it cannot itself give light, which happens when blood has to be spilt."[5] All these authors express themselves with a certain moderation. Gilles of Rome goes farther than his predecessors.[6] If he is to be believed, the right of property itself has its source in the papacy, and to be valid, every possession must be authorized by the Church. *A fortiori* the papacy is the fountain of all political power. He says: "All kings hold their realms from the Church: it is the Church which gives them the right to reign, and without the Church their reign is unjust."

It need not be said that the theologians of this second school alone had the sympathy and favour of Rome. They represented the official theology. Until the end of the fifteenth century the popes claimed the empire of the world,

[1] *De Sacramentis*, ii. 2, 4, Migne, clxxvi. 418.

[2] *Ep.* 256, [1]; see also *De consideratione*, iv. 3.

[3] *Polycraticus*, iv. 3, Migne, cxcix. 516.

[4] *Ep.* 23, Luard, p. 91, London (1861).

[5] *Summa aurea*, iv. 9, Lugduni, 1568; *Commentaria*, iii. 34, 8, 26, Venice, 1581, iii. 128 give a text analogous to that of Hostiensis.

[6] Jourdain, *Un Ouvrage inédit de Gilles de Rome*, p. 14, Paris, 1858; Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.*, pp. 160–163, Münster, 1902.

and whenever they could do so they adjusted their attitude to conviction. In 1344, Clement VI., acting by virtue of his apostolic authority, appointed Louis de la Cerda prince of the Canary Islands, gave him the ownership and entire temporal control over them, and as a sign of investiture placed a gold crown on his head, on condition that the prince would pay an annual tribute to the Roman Church. These islands were inhabited by infidels. In 1454 Nicholas V. authorized the Portuguese to subdue the infidels of the west coast of Africa. In 1493, Alexander VI. published several bulls, according to the terms of which America was made subject to the Spaniards. In one of these bulls (inter ut. 3rd May) he says: "By the authority of Almighty God, which has been committed to us in the person of the blessed Peter, by virtue of our title as Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, we give, grant, and attribute to you and to your heirs and successors for all time, all the islands, and all the continents already discovered or to be discovered (outside the limits of the imaginary line drawn one hundred leagues west from the Azores, and of Cape de Verde), with their dominions, cities, rights and dependencies. . . ."[1]

[1] Raynald, 1493, 18; Pastor, iii. 518.

CHAPTER VIII

The Religious Advance of the Papacy

During the Middle Ages the popes continued to advance to gain supreme authority. They continued the work of the pontifical monarchy, an outline of which had been given by Victor, Stephen, Damasius, Innocent, and Leo. They did everything to subject the special churches to their laws. This undertaking, sometimes favoured, sometimes opposed by circumstances, was unfolded simultaneously in the Greek and in the Latin world; but with results so opposite that we must divide our inquiry, and study successively the acts of the papacy in the East and in the West.

I

In the East the situation, so far as Rome was concerned, remained the same as was disclosed in a letter of Polycrates to Victor, by the council of Antioch (A.D. 341), by the council of Constantinople (381), and by the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon. There was an old dispute, raised from time to time, which well-meaning men sought to settle, but which they could not suppress. It was an opposition of ideas, which became an opposition of attitudes. Rome considered that it was the source of authority; the East placed the supreme authority in the councils. Rome issued its orders: the East refused to obey them. This, however, was not always so. At times the East yielded, but its submission when there was agreement, was dictated by considerations which robbed the agreement of all its value. Moreover, the agreement was merely temporary. The East could never

forget its federal idea of the Church. If it had any idea of monarchical authority, it was only to arrogate this authority to itself. Such was the situation. The following are the facts:

In 484, Pope Felix III. deposed Acacius from Constantinople, who had insisted upon protecting the heretic Peter Mongus. The sentence was as follows: "Know that thou art dismissed from the priesthood, cut off from the Catholic communion, and from the number of the faithful; that thou no longer hast a right to the name of priest, nor to perform sacerdotal functions." And to justify this extreme measure, the Pope cited the text, "Tu es Petrus," which he said imposed upon him the duty of watching over the whole Church in Christian countries.[1] At this serious juncture, what was the attitude of the people in the East, not of the decided Monophysites who for a long time had anathematized Rome, but of the orthodox, of those who were in agreement with the council of Chalcedon, and had hitherto been loyal to the papacy? They affirmed that a general council alone had the right to depose a prelate from his patriarchal see; that Felix III. had exceeded his powers, and that his sentence was null and void.[2] Acacius thus kept his see. The entire East remained in communion with him, and separated itself from Rome, or rather accused Rome of separating itself from the Catholic communion. The only effect of the measure taken by Felix III. against Acacius was to divide the Church into two parts, to create a schism between the East and the West.[3]

The schism lasted thirty-five years, during which Pope Gelasius defended rudely and unnecessarily the Roman pretensions. In 519 the Roman emperor Justinian, having witnessed the relations existing between the Gothic king Theodoric and the papacy, saw in this alliance a danger which he tried to avoid by gaining the sympathies of the apostolic see. He therefore sent an embassy to pope Hormisdas,

[1] Thiel, *Epistolæ romanorum pontificum*, p. 246, Brunsberg, 1867; *Corpus of Vienne*, xxxv. 159.

[2] Gelase, Thiel, p. 393; *Pagi critica ad annum 484*, 4; Hefele, ii. 608.

[3] F. Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, pp. 387–414, London, 1900.

which was charged with the re-establishment of communion between Rome and the East. Hormisdas understood that the emperor was seeking the services of the papacy. He made him pay for it. He consented to renew the bonds which since 484 had been severed. But he imposed a condition. He required the signature of all the bishops to a profession of faith which he had himself prepared. The following are the principal passages of this formulary in which the monarchical idea of the Church and the supreme authority of the papacy are boldly proclaimed:

"The first condition of salvation is to preserve the standard of true faith, and not to forsake the tradition of the Fathers. The saying of Christ, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church,' cannot be annulled. These words have been verified; for the apostolic see has always preserved untainted the Catholic religion. . . . By following in every respect the apostolic see, by teaching what it has already established, we hope to abide with you in this sole communion which the apostolic see proclaims, in which verily is to be found all the power of the Christian religion."[1]

The emperor ordered his bishops to sign the Roman formulary. Disturbed by the imperial threats, the bishops of Thrace signed, but without sincerity. Moreover, John, bishop of Constantinople, prefaced his confession of faith with a commentary which took away its value; for in it he declared that he himself at Constantinople occupied the chair of the Apostle St. Peter.[2] In opposition to this the bishops of Pontus and of Asia refused to yield. They declared that they were ready to submit to any penalty rather than to give way to the requirements of Rome, and they were content to sign the profession of faith of Chalcedon. It was the same with the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch. Egypt, won by the Monophysites, did not sign at all.[3]

We have reached the time of Justinian. So long as this emperor was not master of Rome, he paid the papacy great

[1] *Corpus of Vienne*, xxxv. 520, 800.
[2] Puller, p. 400; *Corpus of Vienne*, xxxv. 608.
[3] Puller, pp. 401, 403, 421; *Corpus of Vienne*, 701, 703, 708, 728, 730.

deference, which he carried so far as to convey to Pope Agapitus a copy of the formulary of Hormisdas, signed by himself[1] (16th March 536). After he held Rome in his power (December 536) he was less obsequious; and in 541 he reaffirmed the canon of Chalcedon which made the see of Constantinople immediately after the apostolic see. Then, in 544, he condemned the Three Chapters and brought Pope Vigilius to Constantinople (545) to subscribe to this condemnation.[2] Of these two measures, the first had no effect. This was not the case with the second. On arriving at the imperial city, Vigilius, after some resistance, submitted and condemned the Three Chapters (Judicatum of 548). Soon afterwards, alarmed by protests from the West, he made a retraction (550; see particularly the constitution of 553), and refused to take part in the council which had been convoked by Justinian.[3] The Eastern bishops informed him that, in conformity to the will of the emperor, they would collectively judge the Three Chapters. They begged him to take part in their deliberations, and said: "If you do not wish to act with us as judge, we will judge without you."[4] In fact, they did without his assistance. They condemned the Three Chapters, and to punish the Pope for his attitude they excommunicated him.[5] Acacius was avenged; and the vengeance was complete, for Vigilius apologized, acknowledged that he had been uncharitable in separating himself from his brethren, and gave adherence to the condemnation which had been pronounced against the Three Chapters by the council, which thereafter had a place among the general councils.[6]

The capitulation of Vigilius restored peace. It was an

[1] *Corpus of Vienne*, xxxv. 338; H. Grisar, *Histoire de Rome et des papes au moyen âge*, i. 291, 377, Paris, 1906.

[2] Hefele, ii. 799; Duchesne, "Vigile et Pélage," in *Revue des questions historiques*, xxxvi. 392 (1884).

[3] Mansi, ix. 61, 104; Hefele, ii. 817, 832, 880; Duchesne, p. 401; Grisar, ii. 132.

[4] Mansi, ix. 194; Hefele, ii. 868.

[5] Mansi, ix. 366; Hefele, ii. 889; Duchesne, p. 420.

[6] *Letter to Eutychius*, Mansi, ix. 413; Migne, lxix. 122, 143; Hefele, ii. 907, 908; also Mansi, ix. 457.

imperfect peace, which was always being threatened. When the defeat of the Goths put Rome under the sway of the Eastern emperors, the patriarchs of Constantinople were not content to take the second rank which the council of Chalcedon had assigned to them. They wished to supplant the bishops of Rome—of "ancient Rome," as was said at the imperial court. They claimed the first place in the Church, and they took it. Indeed, they bore the title of "œcumenical patriarchs," that is, patriarchs of the universal Church. Formerly, when the emperor of the West or the king of the Goths was at their side, the popes for less weighty motives issued excommunications, and made high claims to the primacy of St. Peter. But at the end of the sixth century, violent or even haughty measures were no longer at their disposal; they could only protest. St. Gregory, who at this time occupied the apostolic throne, protested. He denounced what he called the monstrous pride of the bishop of Constantinople, John the Faster. He conjured the patriarch of the East, and even the simple bishops, to resist. To influence them more effectively he appealed to their interests. He said to them: "If John is the universal bishop he is the only bishop in the Church, and you who believe that you have the episcopal dignity are simply priests." He stimulated the ambition of the patriarchs by a special consideration. He said to them: "Like myself, you who are at Alexandria and at Antioch are successors of Peter, seeing that Peter before coming to Rome held the see of Antioch, and sent Mark his spiritual son to Alexandria. So, do not permit the see of Constantinople to eclipse your sees which are the sees of Peter"; in a word, he made a disturbance. It was useless, however; for the bishops and the patriarchs themselves remained indifferent to these appeals to their self-interest. He went no farther; he did not pronounce an excommunication; he hardly made use of the *Tu es Petrus*. John the Faster kept the title of œcumenical patriarch; his successors, except under the emperor Phocas, did the same, and the papacy swallowed the affront.[1]

[1] Jaffé, 1354, 1357, 1360, 1451, 1474, 1476, 1477, 1483, 1518, 1683, 1908.

In the field of theology the papacy had its revenge. In 619, Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, worked most diligently to spread the Monothelite heresy. This propaganda had a pacific object. Sergius wished to rally around his symbol, both Catholics and Monophysites, the partizans and the enemies of Chalcedon. Experience showed that his views were right: the results were satisfactory. The emperor Heraclius supported him and (634) Honorius addressed his congratulations to him.[1] Thus Monothelism seemed destined to be an agent of pacification; in reality it was a cause of discord. It provoked a new disagreement between Rome and Constantinople. It was a bitter conflict, in which the two adversaries exchanged formidable blows. Rome began the hostilities, thinking it could brave with impunity the emperor, who was harassed by the Arabs. It did brave him. John IV. had hardly ascended the pontifical throne when he condemned Monothelism[2] (at the beginning of the year 641), and after some vicissitudes which are noticed elsewhere, Rome, aided by fortunate circumstances, came honourably out of a war which it had itself provoked. Nevertheless it was obliged to sacrifice Pope Honorius.

The Eastern Church had its revenge twelve years later in the council of Trullo (692). There the law of the Latin Church, with respect to the celibacy of the clergy, was condemned in these terms: "As for us who observe the apostolic canons, we permit them (priests and deacons) to continue to live a married life. Whoever may dissolve such unions will be deposed." Another law which was in force at Rome and had reference to the Saturday fast, was proscribed under penalty of deposition on the clergy and of excommunication on the laity. This was not all. Under pretence of renewing the provisions of the second and of the fourth council, it was decreed that the see of Constantinople should enjoy "the same privileges as the see of ancient Rome." The protest of St. Cyprian against those who made themselves bishops of bishops acquired the force of a canon.[3] The meaning was

[1] Mansi, xi. 537; Jaffé, 2018; Hefele, iii. 147.
[2] Jaffé, 2040, 2042; Hefele, iii. 183.
[3] Canons 2, 13, 30, 36, 55; Hefele, iii. 329.

this: that the Roman discipline differed in several respects from the apostolic tradition; and the arbitrary authority of Rome was as unlawful as it was unpleasant. Of course, Rome did not accept the lesson which it had received from the East. Pope Sergius contemptuously rejected the acts of the council of Trullo. The emperor Justinian II. wished to resort to force; but the days of Vigilius and of Martin I. were past. Some years afterwards a compromise was effected. The papacy accepted the decisions of the said council, which were in agreement with its own discipline, and it rejected the others.[1]

In the iconoclastic dispute we find a council of three hundred and eighteen Eastern bishops approving the war on images which was being waged by the emperor, and they made a dogma of a doctrine which had been condemned by Rome (753). Yet it is true that the Greek like the Latin Church was a victim of the brutalities of Leo the Isaurian and of Constantine Copronymus. Therefore, the rivalry between the East and the West was less manifest in the iconoclastic council of 753 than in the general council of 787 (second council of Nicæa),[2] convoked by the empress Irene at the instance of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople. This was at the request of the Sicilian bishops, and with the consent of all the other bishops. Tarasius made the opening speech and directed the debates. Thus the Roman legates were forced back into the second rank until the time of signing arrived. Then they succeeded in passing to the first rank. And here is another incident which is not less significant.[3] The empress Irene summoned the Pope to the council and, in her letter, called Tarasius "universal patriarch." Adrian complained of that title: "If Tarasius is universal patriarch," said he, "he is primate of the Church, and it is evident to every Christian that this is a ridiculous pretension." Tarasius, who presided, did not wish this complaint to come to the knowledge of the council. He had the pontifical letter publicly read, it is true, and also

[1] Hefele, iii. 346.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.* 458.
[3] Mansi, xi. 1055, 1073; Jaffé, 2448; Hefele, iii. 448.

the letters of other patriarchs, but that passage was suppressed. To make up for this, he praised, in the council, the doctrine of the Pope, and admitted that it was thoroughly orthodox. On the whole he was inspired by the council of Trullo, which put on an equal footing the sees of Rome and Constantinople. He treated Adrian I. as a colleague.

Photius was prominent in the second half of the following century. From 857 to 867, Photius, being raised by the emperor Michael to the see of Constantinople, made a vain effort to secure from Pope Nicholas I. the recognition of his election. It was an unlawful election inasmuch as Ignatius, whom he succeeded, had been unjustly deposed. From 867 to 877 he was deprived of his title, confined in a monastery by the emperor Basil, and was deposed and anathematized by the council of Constantinople (869). Ignatius, on the contrary, was restored to his functions, which he performed until his death. From 877 to 886, Photius again occupied the see of Constantinople, thanks to the emperor Basil, whose sympathies he knew how to gain. He was recognized as legitimate patriarch by John VIII. (879), and, during the pontificate of this Pope, remained on good terms with Rome; but he was anathematized by Marinus I. (883), and by Stephen V. (885). At length (886) he was deposed by the emperor Leo the Wise, and spent the remainder of his life in a monastery. In the first period of this troubled career, Photius wrote a very severe accusation against the papacy and against the Latin Church. Furthermore, he summoned a council for the purpose of deposing Pope Nicholas (867). The accusation was a personal act, however, and affected no one but himself. The council, as representing the mind of the East, probably had some importance; but we have little information as to the composition and decisions of that assembly.[1] We need, therefore, barely notice it. It is enough to remark that Nicholas, with great emphasis, proclaimed the primacy of the apostolic see. He did not fear to speak as master to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. In his letters to the emperor Michael, he decided that the

[1] Hefele, iv. 353, 356.

bishop of Rome had jurisdiction over the whole Church, a jurisdiction which he held as a privilege from Christ, and not from councils, and that councils derived their authority from the Roman pontiff.[1]

The second period, from 867 to 877, from the point of view which interests us, includes some events far more important which were connected with the œcumenical council of 869. The legates sent to this assembly by Adrian II. were demonstratively welcomed by the emperor Basil. They began by presenting a formula of faith (*libellus satisfactionis*) almost identical with that of Hormisdas, and they insisted that this should be signed by all those who had taken part in the rebellion of Photius.[2] The emperor obeyed them; he ordered all the supporters of Photius to sign the Roman formula. But, as a matter of fact, he was annoyed by the requirement of Rome. In his eyes the signatures were trophies won from the Greek Church. He directed his officials to hide them from the legates. The latter protested. The emperor restored the signatures. The legates then took their departure with the tokens of their triumph. But they were obliged to make part of their journey without an escort, and were half overwhelmed by brigands. No doubt the emperor thought that the brigands were rather blundering to let their prey escape.

Let us return to the council. Following the example of the emperor, the bishops—that is to say, the good bishops who were friendly to Ignatius—treated the legates most obsequiously. But they exacted payment for these marks of deference. The Eastern patriarchs, as Hefele admits, behaved as if they were the peers of the Pope, put themselves into rivalry with the Roman envoys, and with them took part in presiding over the council,[3] and thus were placed under control of the emperor, who, during the sessions at which he was present, directed the debates. The legates of the Pope had brought from Rome a list of canons which they counted on having accepted by the council. The men of the East, indeed,

[1] Jaffé, 2690, 2796.
[2] Mansi, xvi. 27; Hefele, iv. 390, 427, 433.
[3] Hefele, i. 31.

agreed to that list, but inserted some new canons which, at the expense of Rome, favoured the authority of the patriarchs and metropolitans [1] (canons 17, 21, 26). For the papacy it was a grievous sacrifice, and it was not the only one. Directly after the last sitting of the council, the Eastern patriarchs decided that Bulgaria should be detached from the Roman patriarchate and be joined to the patriarchate of Constantinople.[2] Rome protested and formulated its complaints. From complaints it proceeded to threats. But all was useless. Ignatius kept the Bulgarians within his jurisdiction. Reluctantly John VIII. resolved to depose the obstinate patriarch; but when his legates reached Constantinople, Ignatius was dead (878), and Photius had taken his place on the patriarchal throne.

That which dominated the third period (877–886) was the council of Constantinople (879), in which Photius broke the œcumenical council of 869, condemned the conduct of the popes Nicholas I. and Adrian II., repudiated the *Filioque*, and claimed pre-eminence in the whole Church.[3] And what is particularly worthy of attention in this council is not so much the attitude of Photius, as the number of his supporters. Nearly four hundred bishops were present in this assembly, and all the oriental patriarchs were represented there. It was in truth the Eastern Church which, by the mouth of Photius, corrected the Roman Church and assumed the supremacy. And what did the papacy do? In the person of John VIII. the papacy made a bargain with Photius It consented to recognize him as patriarch, provided that he would condemn his own past behaviour, and give up extending his jurisdiction over the Bulgarians.[4] Afterwards, perceiving that it had been deceived by Photius, the papacy in the person of Marinus I. pronounced a sentence, deposing its powerful enemy, who, however, paid no attention to it.

[1] Hergenröther, *Photius*, ii. 68, Ratisbon, 1867; M. Jugie in *Dict. de théol. cath.* iii. 1284, 1287.

[2] Mansi. xvi. 11; Hefele, iv. 429; Jaffé, 2943, 2944, 2962, 2996, 2999; Lapôtre, *Le Pape Jean VIII.*, pp. 59, 61, Paris, 1895.

[3] Hefele, iv. 464; see also p. 478.

[4] *Id.*, *ib.* 458; Lapôtre, pp. 62–69.

Neither did the Eastern Church pay any attention to it (883). The rupture with Rome did not move it, and nothing was done to resume the relations which were interrupted by Marinus, and subsequently by Stephen V. The schism, however, lasted only three years. In 886 union was re-established. But the first step towards achieving reconciliation was taken by the emperor Louis the Wise; and he was influenced by purely political motives. He sacrificed Photius, because he saw in this intriguing patriarch a dangerous conspirator; and he then turned to Rome because he had need of it, in order to commit unhindered his deeds of violence.[1]

Leo the Wise resorted to the good services of Rome. Other emperors after him thought that they might do the same. In 934, Romanus Lecapenius wished to give the patriarchal see of Constantinople to his son Theophylactus,[2] who was still a youth. To put an end to the protests to which this plan gave rise, he asked of Pope John XI., legates, who were granted to him, and who came to Constantinople to bear witness to the adherence of the papacy to the election of the young Theophylactus. A century later[3] (1024) the emperor Basil asked John XIX., in exchange for ready money, to recognize the bishop of Constantinople as "universal" patriarch, and to deliver to him the entire East. John XIX. was inclined to make this bargain, but was prevented by the monks, especially by William of Dijon, who sounded a note of warning, and reminded the Pope that the rights of St. Peter were inalienable. John XI. and John XIX. asked only to live at peace with their colleagues of Constantinople. The latter were not always so inclined to peace. In 995 the patriarch Sisinnius constituted himself the defender of the memory of Photius. His successor, Sergius (999), carried his attachment to Photius so far as to efface the Pope's name from the diptychs.[4] Rome did not

[1] Hefele, iv. 486.

[2] Luitprand (Pertz, p. 361); Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental du xi^me siècle*, p. 4, Paris, 1899.

[3] Raoul Glaber, *Histor.* iv. 1; Migne, cxlii. 670, cxli. 1155; Bréhier, pp. 8, 10.

[4] Bréhier, p. 5.

reply to these warlike prelates. In 1053 there was a fresh attack, in the form of a letter written by the patriarch Michael Cerularius, in collaboration with Leo, archbishop of Achrida in Bulgaria, and addressed to a bishop in Apulia.[1] Pope Leo IX. replied at once. Soon after he secured relief; for in the beginning of the year 1054 the emperor Constantine Monomachus, who relied on the influence of Rome to obtain help from the German emperor against the Normans, wrote the Pope a conciliatory letter. Leo IX. responded with an affectionate epistle which was brought by three legates. This embassy caused an incident.[2] Humbert, the chief of the legates, being displeased at the attitude of Michael Cerularius, solemnly excommunicated him, and then left Constantinople. The sentence pronounced by Humbert envenomed a situation which already was far from being satisfactory. Yet no one, either at Rome or at Constantinople, was disquieted. So many conflicts had come and gone. But as years went by it was remarked that the rupture was prolonged. Without knowing it, Humbert had separated the East from the West for ever.

II

Let us now pass to the West and examine one after the other the churches of Africa, Italy, Great Britain, and Gaul, which was about to become France, and from which Germany and Spain were detached in the tenth century.

The Church of Africa, which in great part had been destroyed by the Vandals, was re-established in 533, in consequence of the victories of Belisarius. It had hardly been restored when it had a violent conflict with the papacy. This brought on the affair of the Three Chapters. The publication of the *Judicatum* was the signal for revolt.[3] Assembled at Carthage under the presidency of the primate Reparatus, the bishop of Africa observed that Pope Vigilius had violated the decisions of the council of Chalcedon: he was therefore ex-

[1] Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII. et la réforme de l'Église au xi^me siècle*, i. 336–361, Paris, 1889; Hefele, iv. 776; Bréhier, p. 97.

[2] Bréhier, p. 113; Hefele, iv. 775.

[3] Hefele, ii. 831, 835.

communicated. But Justinian came to the Pope's assistance, as in this affair the Pope was merely the executor of the emperor's will. By the emperor's orders the African bishops were imprisoned, mercilessly beaten, and exiled. These proceedings, in addition to some rewards bestowed for good intentions which had been duly remarked, wrought miracles of conversion. Nearly all the bishops, some sooner than others, capitulated. In 560, the Church of Africa condemned the Three Chapters, gave adherence to the fifth council, and was united to Rome.

It was united to Rome; but the bonds which attached it were loose. St. Gregory the pope drew them tighter (590–604). Over those charged with the administration of Byzantine Africa, of Southern Italy, and of the islands, Gregory gained a considerable ascendancy, which was due partly to the immense wealth in land of the apostolic see, partly to his noble origin and to the important functions which were committed to him before he rose to the chair of St. Peter.[1] The imperial officials with but few exceptions were his officials. He directed their actions, and through them directed the actions of the clergy. The bishops, under the eye of these officials, who called them to order when it was necessary, obeyed the Pope. It was a forced obedience which, however, gradually reacted on their opinions. At the end of forty years the Church of Africa had a Roman temper, and when the Monothelite heresy arose, this Church took the part of Rome against Constantinople[2] (African councils of 646). It then disappeared, overwhelmed by the Arab invasion.

The storm raised against the papacy by the affair of the Three Chapters was not confined to Africa. It spread to Italy. There also it was thought that Vigilius was guilty of treason to the council of Chalcedon; it was judged that Pelagius I., his successor, had committed the same offence, and out of respect to Chalcedon, the people separated themselves from the popes. There were three chief centres of opposition —Rome, Milan, and Aquileia. When Pelagius arrived at

[1] Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 509, Paris, 1896.
[2] Mansi, x. 919; Hefele, iii. 205; Diehl, p. 549.

Rome, he was received as a renegade. Everybody kept aloof from him. Clergy, monks, laymen, all classes of Christian society rejected him. Only Narses, the Byzantine general, and the other imperial officers were devoted to him. Poor Pelagius was reduced to pleading his own cause before the people, to proclaiming his orthodoxy, and also his innocence, for he was accused of having contributed to the death of Vigilius. He made his plea in the church of St. Peter before the assembled faithful, and swore upon the Cross and upon the gospel that he had done his predecessor no harm. He solemnly affirmed his respect for the faith of Pope Leo, for the faith of Chalcedon: only he forgot to reconcile this respect with his adherence to the council of 553, known as the fifth council. In a word, he flatly contradicted the accusation of homicide, and made an equivocal profession of faith. Thanks to this pleading and also to the protection of Narses, Pelagius maintained himself upon the apostolic throne.[1]

The opposition was longer and more violent in the province of Milan, and especially in the province of Aquileia, where (555) a council, presided over by the metropolitan Paulinus, condemned the fifth council.[2] Pelagius attempted to convince the rebels of his orthodoxy by sending them his profession of faith, but he failed. He then changed his method. He begged the Byzantine officials, especially Narses, to employ their soldiers for the conversion of sinners. Narses was anxious to please the Pope, but was even more anxious not to make himself odious to those whom he governed. He did not obey, or he obeyed only feebly. In any case, he achieved no result, and, when Pelagius died (560), the schismatics were stronger than ever. Thirty years later they were still dominant in the province of Milan, where they were supported by Queen Theodelinda. Pope Gregory wrote adroit letters to them and to the queen.[3] Renewing

[1] Liber Pontificalis, *Pelagius*, i. 109; Mansi, ix. 717; Migne, lxix. 399; Jaffé, 938; Hefele, ii. 911; Duchesne, "Vigile et Pélage," in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, xxxvi. 428 (1884).

[2] Hefele, ii. 914.

[3] Jaffé, 1273–1275, 1308, 1309.

the tactics of Pelagius, he affirmed his respect for Chalcedon, but avoided explaining how this respect was consistent with adherence to the fifth council; in other words, he employed equivocation. His efforts were not in vain. He had the consolation of seeing the province of Milan enter once more into communion with the apostolic see. In the province of Aquileia he was less fortunate.[1] There the schism was being tried by persecution. In fact, about 585, Pelagius II. appealed to the secular arm, which, by the authority of the exarch Smaragde, imprisoned the bishops who were hostile to Rome. Gregory followed the way marked out by his predecessor. He, too, asked the assistance of the secular arm. Urged by the emperor to leave the schismatics in peace, he returned to the charge, and finally made the exarchs act according to his inclination and desires. But he attained only partial success. The schism of Aquileia did not disappear until the eighth century.

In the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical province of Rome, the popes, as we have abundantly shown, with the exception of Pelagius, for a long time enjoyed peace. They consecrated the bishops in their jurisdiction as metropolitans —"their" bishops, as was said at the time—and made them take an oath of fidelity, convoked them to the Roman councils, imposed rules, and, in a word, were masters of the province of Rome. About 660, this peace was troubled by Maurus, the archbishop of Ravenna, who, although a metropolitan, was a suffragan of the Pope. Maurus declared his independence of the apostolic see, and excommunicated Pope Vitalian, who had issued an order deposing him. The schism lasted so long as it had the support of Constantinople; but in 683 it lost this support. The bishops of Ravenna were then constrained to place themselves once more under the Roman yoke. In 708, however, Bishop Felix sought to recover his independence, but by order of Justinian II. he was at once sent into exile, and his eyes were put out. These arguments enlightened him. Confessing his faults, he made an act of submission to Pope Constantine, who restored him to his see (713).

[1] Mansi, x. 463; Grisar, ii. 245; Hefele, ii. 923.

From the time of Charlemagne, the bishoprics of Italy were incorporated in the Church of the Franks, and then in the German Church. We shall revert to this hereafter. Let us pass to Great Britain.

Great Britain presents two distinct churches to our notice, the Anglo-Saxon Church, founded by St. Augustine of Canterbury, and the Celtic Church, anterior to St. Augustine.

The Anglo-Saxon Church—we shall call it the Church of England—had from its very origin a strongly accentuated Roman imprint. The monk Augustine received his mission from Pope Gregory, and was merely his lieutenant. Gregory traced for him his line of conduct, gave him his orders, and sent him the pallium, an honour which constituted Augustine vicar of the apostolic see. For six centuries—that is exactly to the time of Innocent III.—the Church of England conserved faithfully the Roman spirit with which the monk Augustine had inspired it. It even developed this spirit. Its Roman sympathies expanded in a devotion to St. Peter, and to his vicar the Pope. This devotion, the apostle of which was Wilfrid, monk of Ripon and bishop of York (634–705), created later the denarius of St. Peter. It inspired pilgrimages to the tomb of St. Peter. Out of love to him who has the keys of heaven, they went to pray before his remains. Wilfrid, accompanied by his friend Benedict Biscop, betook himself to Rome (about 653). Following him, several Anglo-Saxon kings, Ceadwalla (689), Offa (709), Coenred (709), Ina (726), went to pray at the tomb of St. Peter. The example set by these royal pilgrims was contagious. Multitudes from England took the journey to Rome. Even women did not shrink from the journey, in the course of which—as we learn from a letter from St. Boniface to Cuthbert—their virtue suffered lamentable shipwreck.[1]

The bishops followed the general tendency. They went to ask the vicar of St. Peter to relieve their doubts and to defend their rights. In 610, Mellitus, bishop of London, appeared before Boniface IV. and consulted him concerning

[1] *Letter to Cuthbert*, M. G., *Epist.* iii. 354, 355.

the ecclesiastical affairs of England.[1] Mellitus, it is true, was one of the companions of St. Augustine, and had been a Roman monk. But the Anglo-Saxon bishops also had their eyes turned towards the apostolic see. In 679, Wilfrid, whose rights had been infringed upon by Theodore of Canterbury, went to Rome and pleaded his cause before Pope Agathon, who did him justice.[2] At first Theodore refused to acknowledge his faults; but, tormented by remorse, he finally asked forgiveness "of God and of St. Peter" (685).[3] Wilfrid obtained satisfaction. Once more despoiled by Britwald, the successor of Theodore (council of Nesterfield, 702), Wilfrid again went to Rome, and had justice done him by John VI. (704). Britwald yielded to the Roman sentence. In 787, Roman legates convoked and presided over two English councils at which they had certain disciplinary rules accepted which were inspired by Rome.[4] In 1071 the archbishop of York disputed the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury, and submitted the litigation to Pope Alexander II., who left the decision of the matter to an English council. This council was held at Winchester (1072), and it decided in favour of the archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, who asked Hildebrand to have the judgment ratified by Alexander II.[5] A century later (1164), when the quarrel about "ecclesiastical liberties" broke out between Thomas of Canterbury and King Henry II., supported by the English bishops, each of the two opposing parties made efforts to win the Pope. Thomas went to Sens, where Alexander III. was at that time staying; he offered his resignation to the sovereign pontiff who, so far from taking him at his word, confirmed him in his charge (1164), and a little later even appointed him legate of the Holy See for England, with power to pronounce sentences of excommunication and of interdict. On their side the bishops, who took the part of the king, denounced Thomas of Canterbury to the Pope as a traitor and perjurer. And when Thomas, making use of his

[1] Bede, *Hist. Ang.* ii. 4; Mansi, x. 503; Hefele, iii. 64.
[2] Mansi, xi. 184; Hefele, iii. 119.
[3] Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, 41.
[4] Mansi, xii. 937; Hefele, iii. 638.
[5] Mansi, xx. 19; Hefele, iv. 890.

powers as legate, sought to employ excommunication, the bishops appealed from his sentence to the Holy See (1166). It need not be said that the king displayed the same eagerness to gain the sympathy of Alexander III.[1]

Yet at times there was tension between Rome and Canterbury. Gregory VII., finding that Lanfranc was not sufficiently obsequious, wrote him severe letters, and even threatened to suspend him.[2] In the century following, Thomas of Canterbury found himself temporarily abandoned by the Pope, who had at first supported him. He then uttered bitter complaints against Rome[3]: "I do not know how it always happens at the court of Rome that Barabbas is delivered and Jesus Christ put to death. . . . I do not wish further to weary the court of Rome. Let those go thither who return triumphant in justice. May it please God that the journey to Rome may not cause so many unhappy innocents to perish."

But these conflicts were rare, and had no sequel. The archbishops of Canterbury and of York considered themselves vicars of the apostolic see. They acknowledged that it was from the popes that they derived their powers, symbolized by the pallium, which they asked, which they often went to seek at Rome.

Until the end of the twelfth century the relations between the English episcopate and the papacy were generally friendly. After the time of Innocent III. the situation changed. The popes then undertook to administer the Church of England themselves, or by their legates; then, going still further, they claimed a right of proprietorship in it; they wished to appropriate its wealth. The bishops protested. They defended their authority, they defended their purse. Rome took severe measures, or threatened to take them. Such is the spectacle which is offered in the thirteenth century. At the Lateran council of 1215, Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, who tried to resist the arbitrary supremacy of Rome, was suspended by Innocent III. Under Gregory IX. (1232) certain bishops took part in an

[1] Hefele, v. 634, 635, 638, 659, 662.
[2] Jaffé, 5228.
[3] *Epist.* 31 (to the priest Albert), Migne, cxc. 492.

undertaking tending to cause an English uprising against the Roman government.[1] Under Innocent IV. (1246) the bishops and monks associated themselves with parliament in expressing to the Pope the indignation of the English people at the abuses of the pontifical government.[2] In 1253 the famous Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, rejected a pontifical ordinance as being injurious to the safety of souls. On various occasions this prelate bitterly complained of the papacy, and did not fear to compare it to Antichrist.[3] In 1258, Sewall, archbishop of York, who wished to prevent the Pope from disorganizing the Church, was solemnly excommunicated by Alexander IV. When at the point of death, the unhappy prelate made the following prayer: "Lord Jesus, thou knowest how the Pope hath maltreated me for being unwilling to commit the government of the churches which thou hast confided to me, to persons who are unworthy and who are ignorant of the English language. Nevertheless, for fear that the sentence, all unjust as it is, may become just through the contempt with which I would treat it, I humbly ask absolution. But I refer the Pope to thy incorruptible judgment, and I call heaven and earth to witness that he has unjustly persecuted me."[4]

From the fourteenth century the struggle to protect the Church of England against Rome was more ardent than ever: but it was led by parliament, and the clergy seemed to take no interest in it. Yet this indifference was only apparent. Little by little the bishops—from 1365—associated themselves with the movement of the nation and followed the king, who himself followed parliament. Thus the Church of England became more like a national church, the head of which was the king.[5] This head indeed preserved good

[1] Matth. Pâris, *Chronica majora*, 1232; Luard, iii. 217, 218.

[2] Matth. Pâris, 1246; Luard, iv. 527, 529, and 440. See Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, Berlin, 1903, p. 392, note 5.

[3] Matth. Pâris, 1253, v. 389–392. See also Letters of R. Grosseteste (Luard), *Ep.* 128, p. 432.

[4] Matth. Pâris, 1258, v. 692.

[5] Raynald, *Annales Eccles.*, 1426, 19. In 1426, Pope Martin V. wrote to the English: "Christus dixit Petro suisque successoribus: pasce oves meas.

relations with Rome, and through him the English clergy remained united to the apostolic see. But one day the Crown in the person of Henry VIII. became embroiled with the papacy in the person of Clement VII. Then that happened which was bound to happen. All the English, save Fisher, Thomas More, and certain monks, followed the king, and signed the Act of Supremacy which ratified the revolt of Henry VIII. (1535). The Church of England was separated from Rome.[1]

At the beginning of the seventh century the Celtic Church—let us say rather the Celtic churches, for there were more than one—were represented by St. Columban (died 615). It is this great Irish monk who is first to be considered.

Columban was content to apply the most honorary titles to the Pope.[2] In his letter to St. Gregory he calls the sovereign pontiff "the noblest ornament of the Church, the very august flower of degenerate Europe, the eminent guardian, the teacher of the divine doctrine of chastity." According to the same writer, Boniface IV. is "the head of all the churches of Europe, the very benign Pope, the supreme pontiff, the pastor of pastors, the venerable sentinel, the loftiest and the greatest."

Columban bore witness, therefore, to his submission to the apostolic see, and to his respect for it. But this submission and respect were limited. He believed that Rome sometimes wandered from the way, that it was not always on its guard against error, that Pope Victor formerly uttered erroneous ideas on the subject of Easter, that still later Pope Vigilius betrayed the faith on the question of the Three Chapters. Finally, Columban declared that Rome was still

Statutum autem regni pascere ipsas non sinit sed vult ut rex ipse pascat." Thomas More put the council above the Pope. See his letter to Cromwell in *Works*, p. 1426, or, better still, E. Bridgett, *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More*, p. 343, London, 1891.

[1] Pastor, v. 678, 679.

[2] Funk, *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, i. 430, Paderborn, 1899.

in error on the subject of Easter; and the proof, or rather one proof among several, was that it adhered to a calculation condemned by St. Jerome. Moreover, it supported the heresy introduced by Vigilius. Now, if Rome is deceived, what should the faithful do? They should seek to enlighten Rome. If they cannot succeed, they should resist Rome, and if need be break with it. Let us hear Columban himself.[1]

"At another time Bishop Victor said that (that we should not celebrate Easter with the Jews), but no one in the East has adopted this opinion . . . which was utterly frivolous and foolish . . . act in such a way [it is Pope Gregory who is addressed] that there be no divergence between your decision and that of Jerome. . . . Indeed I confess to you in all simplicity that he who sets himself against the authority of St. Jerome is regarded by the churches of the West as a heretic from whom we should separate ourselves."

And here is what he wrote to Boniface IV.[2]:

"If you wish to preserve your apostolic rank, keep the apostolic faith; defend it by word, by writing, by decisions of councils. Then no one will have the right to resist you. . . . It would be a lamentable spectacle to see the Catholic faith abandoned by the apostolic see. . . . The nobility of your throne is great, but take great heed to avoid the evil which would cause you to perish. You will keep your power only so long as you keep the truth. He is the true porter of the kingdom of heaven who by true doctrine opens heaven to the worthy, and closes it to the unworthy . . . you claim. I know not what proud privilege of authority and of power in divine things [because of the power received from Peter]. But if you cherish this thought of domination, your power will be diminished in the sight of God."

Columban recognized the right of Christians, under certain conditions, to resist the injunctions of Rome. The Celtic Church of Great Britain shared this opinion and gave plain evidence of it.[3] About 602, Augustine, taking advantage of the high jurisdiction given him by Pope Gregory, called upon

[1] *Ep.* i. 2 and 3; M. G., *Epist.* iii. 157, 158.
[2] *Ep.* v. 3, p. 171.
[3] Bede, ii. 2.

the British clergy to discontinue their peculiar practices—relative to the date of Easter, the baptismal liturgy, the form of the tonsure—and to adopt the Roman discipline. His undertaking failed. The British clergy clung obstinately to their practices, refused to recognize the authority of Augustine, and broke with Rome. They suffered the treatment which was then inflicted on schismatics. A canon of the Penitential of Theodore [1] gave the order to regard as null ordinations made by British bishops, and to perform them anew, and even to repeat baptisms administered by the British clergy. A Roman decision which has come down to us in the collection *Hibernensis,* declares that the Britons have severed themselves "from the unity of the Catholic Church." Consequently it denies them any judicial authority, and places them midway between Jews and heretics.[2] The Britons, for their part, did not conceal their antipathy to Rome. This is what was said (about 705) by Aldhelm, bishop of Shereborn:

"The British have such a horror of being in communion with the Romans that they refuse to pray with them in the churches and to sit with them at the same table. That which the Romans leave of their food is thrown to the dogs and swine; the dishes and bottles which they have used are buried or are purified with fire. The Britons do not return either their salutations or their kisses." [3]

This state of things could not last indefinitely. In 664, after the conference of Whitby, King Oswy, convinced by the arguments of Wilfrid, established the Roman discipline in the kingdom of Northumbria.[4] This was a heavy blow to the Celtic Church of Great Britain, which was thereafter driven back among the Scots, the Welsh, and the inhabitants of Cornwall. But even these regions afforded them only

[1] *Pœnitentiale Theodori,* ii. 9; H. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher,* p. 544, Mayence, 1883; *id.,* tom. ii. p. 574, Düsseldorf, 1898.

[2] H. Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung,* p. 61 (xxi, 6) ". . . sive ad Judæos . . . aut ad Britones qui . . . ab unitate Ecclesiæ se abscidunt aut (ad) hereticos."

[3] Migne, lxxxix. 90.

[4] Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi,* 10; Mabillon, *Acta,* iv. 681; Mansi, xi. 67; Bede, iii. 25; G. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church,* p. 162, London, 1907.

temporary shelter. The Church slowly but surely retreated. At the end of the eighth century the whole of England was open to the influence of Rome.[1] At this time Ireland consented to be romanized. Yet some traces of the Celtic spirit still remained. In Scotland they disappeared owing to the care exercised by Margaret (second half of the eleventh century); in Wales and Cornwall, following the Norman Conquest (end of the eleventh century);[2] in Ireland, under the influence of the Danish conquerors, particularly Gillebert of Limerick, the Dane, the first legate to the Irish from the Holy See (beginning of the twelfth century).

Another Celtic Church, that of Armorican Britain, a result of the British and Irish emigration of the fifth century, from the beginning assumed an attitude independent of the metropolitan of Tours, with whom it was connected. Moreover, for a long time it kept in force the practices which were in vogue in the churches of the insular Celts. This particularism was destroyed by the Frankish Conquest. It was destroyed for ever. Nominoé, it is true, established the metropolitan of Dol,[3] and this establishment continued until the time of Innocent III.[4] But the archbishops of Dol sought the pallium at Rome, and endeavoured to have their situation regularized by the papacy. The ephemeral Church, founded by Nominoé, although it

[1] Hefele, iii. 638, councils presided over by the Roman legates. See above.

[2] "Vita Margaritæ," 8, in Hadden and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ii. 156, Oxford, 1869.

[3] This was the work of council of Coëtlou of 849. (On this council see the note of Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, iv. 1371.) Pope Nicholas in his letter to Salomon (Migne, cxix. 808) says: "The archbishop of Tours is thy metropolitan, and all the bishops of thy kingdom are his suffragans . . . my predecessors have severely reproached their predecessors for what the latter took away [the Briton bishops] from the care of the archbishop of Tours." After this testimony the British episcopate was removed from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tours, by the predecessors of Salomon (therefore by Nominoé and Erispoé). Nevertheless, Festien, whose episcopate began eleven years after the council of Coëtlou, was the first to ask for the pallium, and therefore to act as archbishop. (See F. Lot, "Festien archevêque de Dol," in the *Annales de Bretagne*, xxii. 10–28, 1907.)

[4] Dom Maurice, *Memoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, i. 759, Paris, 1742.

was practically not very docile, was theoretically submissive to the pontifical jurisdiction.

The Frankish Church—Gallic until the time of Clovis (496)—went through several periods marked by Boniface, Pope Nicholas I., the first crusade, the Great Schism, and the concordat of Francis I.

Christian Gaul, although respectful to the Holy See was not obedient to Rome until the middle of the fifth century. From the time of Pope Leo it seemed that this situation would change, thanks to the edict of Valentinian III. (445), who commanded the Western bishops to obey the bishop of Rome under the penalty of being compelled to do so by public force. To facilitate the execution of this precious edict, the pope Hilary (462) re-established the vicarship of Arles, and gave the bishop of that city jurisdiction over the Gallic episcopate. If these two measures had been enforced they would have made the Gallic Church dependent upon Rome. But that did not happen. In 475 the empire of the West collapsed, and the edict of Valentinian III. did the same. At that time Arles fell into the power of the Visigoths, then of the Goths, and was isolated from the other regions of Gaul. Its primacy had departed. Until the end of the fifth century the Gallic Church remained independent of the papacy. At that time, however, it changed its form, and became the Frankish Church. Let us consider it as such until the arrival of Boniface in the country of the Franks.

The council of Clermont (535; canon 12), the council of Orleans (538; canons 3, 29), the council of Tours (567; canon 21), regulated the ecclesiastical discipline respecting the decretals which emanated from Rome. The council of Orleans (541; canon 1) prescribed that in case there was doubt as to the day of celebrating Easter, Rome should be consulted. The council of Orleans (549; canon 1) declared that its faith was conformed to that of the apostolic see. King Childebert asked relics of Pelagius I.; Gontran asked them of Pelagius II.; Brunehaut asked them of Gregory[1]; in 538 Theobert asked information of Vigilius concerning

[1] Jaffé, 942, 1048, 1431.

matrimonial legislation.[1] Thus the Frankish Church of Merovingian times had as much veneration for the papacy as the Gallic Church had. It had even more; for it believed that it was bound to the papacy by the decretals of Innocent and Leo, which, during the Gallic period, were simply individual consultations. This progress was the work of Cesarius of Arles who (514), for his own profit, caused the vicarship of Arles to be established for a third time, and who put his activity—a considerable activity—at the service of Rome. He it was, that is this vicar of the Pope, who caused the pontifical decretals to be entered in the Gallic law side by side with the canons of the councils. He it was who won for the pontifical authority a place in the Frankish Church at the time of the Merovingian kings.[2]

It was a modest place. The council of Lyons (567, canon 1), the council of Tours (in the same year, canon 2), made laws relating to conflicts which arose between bishops, without considering the rights claimed by the papacy since the council of Sardica, rights which they ignored or perhaps silently opposed. Pope Gregory I. urged the Frankish bishops to labour in council for the re-establishment of discipline, but the bishops gave no heed to these solicitations, and the council was not held.[3] The Frankish Church, which after the time of Cesarius was obedient to the decretals formerly emanating from the apostolic see, did not wish to be subject to him who occupied that see. The vicarship had not yielded what Rome expected of it. The only vicar who did honour to the popes was Cesarius, and Cesarius himself, who had great influence in the kingdom of the Goths, exercised only an indirect influence on the French provinces. The popes, moreover, soon recognized the uselessness of the vicarship, and permitted it to lapse. Without as yet giving up this means of action, Gregory I. had great hopes of the Frankish princes. He wrote frequently to them and pointed out to them various abuses, which he asked them to remedy. For example, he

[1] Jaffé, 905.
[2] A. Malnory, *Saint Césaires, évêque d'Arles*, pp. 51, 107, Paris, 1894.
[3] Jaffé, 1747, 1748, 1751.

begged Brunehaut, Thierry, Theodebert, and Clotaire II. to reassemble the council which he had vainly asked of the bishops.[1] He implored them to work to reform the clergy. Not being able to act in the Frankish Church through the channel of authority, he took the part of a suitor. But he obtained neither the council nor the reform which he demanded. After his time the relations between Rome and the country of the Franks were almost severed. They were indeed entirely severed after the year 649, when Martin I. sent to Clovis II. the acts of the Lateran council.[2] Like the Gallic Church, the Merovingian Church remained independent of the papacy until the last. Its head was the king, who called councils, and sometimes even presided at them, who appointed bishops and founded new bishoprics (in 575, Gontran founded the bishopric of Maurienne at the expense of Turin).[3] It was a national Church, an autonomous Church.

The Anglo-Saxon Boniface, who in 742 undertook to put an end to this state of things, was called first by Carloman, then by Pepin, to reform the Frankish Church. Let us observe what he desired; we shall subsequently see what he obtained.

The object of Boniface, from the time when at the instance of Carloman he left the forests of Germany to come to France, was to make the Pope the head of the Frankish Church, and subject the Frankish bishops to him. For this Anglo-Saxon was wholly devoted to the interests of the papacy. He had the Roman spirit, which he owed to his education, and which he derived through Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop from Augustine of Canterbury. For him as for his fellow-countrymen, the Christian life consisted above all things in obedience to the apostolic see, in adopting its

[1] Jaffé, 1743, 1744, 1838, 1840, 1841, 1842.

[2] Hefele, iii. 213, 229. This author says (iii. 252, 253) that the bishop of Arles who attended the Roman council of 679 was delegated by the Frankish clergy, but he contradicts this assertion by the observation which he subsequently makes concerning Wilifrid.

[3] Duchesne, *Fastes episcopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, i. 240, Paris, 1907; Hauck, i. 157; Sigebert founded Châteaudun at the expense of Chartres (Gregory of Tours, vii. 17; and Council of Paris, 573).

maxims, in observing its laws. Therefore, in 718 he did not undertake the evangelization of Thuringia until he had obtained the authorization of Gregory II.; and in 722, when he received episcopal consecration from this pontiff, he pronounced the following oath: "I Boniface, bishop by the grace of God, promise to you blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, and to your vicar the blessed Pope Gregory as well as to his successors, . . . that I will always preserve an entire fidelity and a sincere attachment to you, and to the interests of your Church, to which the Lord has granted the power of binding and loosing, that I will have the same fidelity to your vicar and to his successors."[1]

From the year 742 Boniface laboured to place the Frankish Church under Roman domination. To realize this project he found no better means than to take as his model the Anglo-Saxon Church, in which all the bishops were dependents of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who received from the apostolic see an investiture symbolized by the pallium. He proposed, therefore, to attach the Frankish episcopate to the Pope, by means of archbishops invested with a spiritual jurisdiction over the bishops, and holding from Rome their mandate under the symbol of the pallium. That is what Boniface wished: what results did he achieve?

The execution of his programme began in the council of 747, where the bishops engaged themselves to be "always submissive to the Roman Church," and to "obey St. Peter and his vicar"; where it was also decided that the bishops should submit to the metropolitans, and that the latter should ask the pallium from the apostolic see.[2] But the metropolitans did not keep to their engagement. They refused to seek the pallium at Rome: and Boniface, who in 747 had announced his triumph to Pope Zacharias, informed him[3] four years later of his disappointment. His dream, it is true, was

[1] M. G., *Epist.*, iii. 265.

[2] M. G., *Concilia*, ii. 47 (letter of Boniface to Cuthbert): "Decrevimus . . . subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ fine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare, Sancto Petro et Vicario ejus velle subjeci . . ." See also M. G., *Epist.*, iii. 351.

[3] M. G., *Epist.*, iii. 368 (Ep. 86).

finally realized. Charlemagne obliged his metropolitans to ask the pallium from the Pope: he sometimes made the request himself; and the usage introduced by the powerful emperor remained,[1] but for a long time was without importance. The archbishops of Charlemagne regarded the pallium merely as a decoration, and not as the symbol of investiture. They ruled their provinces as potentates, and did not permit Rome to interfere with their affairs except to the degree parsimoniously fixed by the council of Sardica. In 825 the assembly of Paris carried its independence so far as to declare that Pope Adrian in the question of images had supported the cause of superstition, and that for thirty years his successors had fulfilled their mission no better.[2] In 833, at the time when the sons of Louis the Debonnair made war upon their father, the bishops belonging to the emperor talked of deposing Gregory IV., who was attached to the party of the sons.[3] In 844, Pope Sergius II., who at Lothair's request had appointed Drogon of Metz as his apostolic vicar in Gaul and in Germany, witnessed the repulse of his plan by the council of Ver.[4] Boniface did not succeed in bringing the Frankish Church under the papal yoke.

From this check we are not to conclude that his action was without results. Boniface, who obtained nothing from the Frankish bishops, was more fortunate in dealing with their prince. He asked Pepin to suppress the Gallic liturgy in all the Frankish countries and to substitute for it the Roman liturgy; and his wishes were complied with.[5] He implanted in Pepin's soul feelings of devotion to the Roman Church; and these feelings were expressed a first time, in 751, by the celebrated consultation from which proceeded the deposition of Chileric III., the Merovingian king; a

[1] E. Lesne, *La Hiérarchie episcopale*, pp. 67–72, 75, Paris, 1905.

[2] Mansi, xiv. 421; M. G., *Concilia*, ii. 481; Migne, xcviii. 1299; Hefele, iv. 42.

[3] Paschase Radbert, *Vita Walœ*, ii. 16; Migne, cxx. 1635; *Letter of Gregory to Frankish Bishops*, M. G., *Epist.*, v. 228.

[4] Canon xi; Mansi, xiv. 810; Hefele, iv. 111.

[5] F. Cabrol, "Charlemagne et la liturgie," in *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturg.*, iii. 808.

second time in 754, by the establishment of the temporal power; and a third time by military expedition against the Lombards (756). Boniface, who could not make the Frankish Church submit to the Roman Church, at least succeeded in establishing friendly relations between the two. He inaugurated a new era, in which the Frankish episcopate, forsaking its isolated position, accepted an alliance with the apostolic see, and borrowed the usages of the latter, not, however, without reserving the right to control its own acts.

Boniface left his imprint on the Frankish Church. Nicholas I. did the same, although he did not realize his ideal. He did not escape the law of miscalculation any more than the Anglo-Saxon apostle did. But he achieved important results. Let us first speak of the progress which he made.

Nicholas I. (858–867) wished to be the master of the Frankish Church; he wished to exercise not only a limited authority over it, such as the canons of Sardica conferred on the papacy, but a complete and absolute authority. He wished to hold the Frankish bishops in his hand. He set this forth, or rather he practised it: on the one hand, in his disputes with Gunther of Cologne and Theutgaud of Trèves; on the other hand, in the conflicts which he waged with Hincmar of Reims.

Gunther and Theutgaud had favoured the caprices of Lothair II. Nicholas deposed them at the Lateran council of 863.[1] According to the canon law at that time in force in the Frankish Church, a Frankish council alone could depose Frankish bishops. Furthermore, Gunther and Theutgaud did not heed the pontifical decision, which in their eyes was illegal. They went further, and undertook to depose the Pope; and the emperor Louis II. supported them, and was disposed to give them satisfaction. Nicholas found himself on the point of being sent into exile or even of losing his life. Thanks to a combination of circumstances, he succeeded in winning the sympathy of Louis II. (864). After this, Gunther and Theutgaud, being deprived of any support, were obliged to leave their sees, to which they never returned.

[1] R. Parisot, *Le Royaume de Lorraine*, etc., pp. 235, 241, 257.

In the council of Soissons (853) Hincmar deposed the clergy ordained by his predecessor Ebbon.[1] Nine years later, at the council of Soissons, he deposed Rothad, the bishop of that city, who, without waiting for that condemnation, had appealed to Rome.[2] Nicholas severely reproached that powerful archbishop for having condemned Rothad, in spite of the latter's appeal to the apostolic see, and he called upon him either to restore the bishop to his functions or to go to Rome with the opposing party[3] (863). Three years later he was occupied with the clergy of Ebbon, who also had appealed to the apostolic see. He insisted that they should be reinstated, or at any rate that their cause should be reopened for examination in the council.[4] Hincmar was obliged to allow Rothad, to whom Nicholas had restored his episcopal rights,[5] to leave for Rome (24th December 864, 21st January 865). In regard to the clergy of Ebbon, he at first sought to conceal his defeat by the following expedient. In the council of Soissons (866) the clergy of Ebbon were reinstated "by indulgence," which implied that their deposition was legitimate.[6] But a year afterwards, in the council of Troyes (867), he was forced to abandon his pretensions.[7] To sum up the matter, Nicholas, in the person of Hincmar, crushed the metropolitans of the Church of France. We may remark that he was favoured by circumstances. The bishops had difficulty in enduring the domination of the metropolitans. Too weak to free themselves, they had no resource other than to ask protection and support from the apostolic see. And the *False Decretals* which appeared about 851 were inspired, according to a prevailing opinion, by this state of mind. Here was a power valuable to a Pope who wished to crush the metro-

[1] Mansi, xiv. 978; Hefele, iv. 181.

[2] Mansi, xv. 638; Hefele, iv. 258. This council followed the council of Pistes or Pîtres; see Hefele, iv. 256.

[3] *Ep.*, 33–35, Migne, cxix. 825.

[4] *Ep.*, 89, Migne, cxix. 964; Mansi, xv. 705; H. Quentin, *Lettre de Nicolas Ier pour le concile de Soissons dans le Moyen Age*, 2e série, ix. 97 (1904).

[5] *Ep.*, 72–75, Migne, cxix. 892 et seq.

[6] Mansi, xv. 703; Hefele, iv. 316. [7] Mansi, xv. 790; Hefele, iv. 331.

politans. Nicholas understood this power, and made use of it.

Let us now notice the consequences of the efforts made by the Pope to domesticate the Frankish Church. These efforts were two in number. One of them was manifested at Rome, the other in the Frankish country—we may say in France, for we are at the period when France, properly so called, appeared. Nicholas bequeathed his spirit to Rome, a spirit of domination which sought to reduce the French Church, as well as the Churches of other countries, to servitude. Before him, the papacy had never succeeded in displaying its jurisdiction in the real sense. After him, with the exception of the sorry personages who during the tenth century dishonoured the apostolic see, the popes assumed an arbitrary attitude towards the clergy. They commanded, they threatened, they raged; and with Gregory VII. they reached the point of treating France as a conquered country.

In France, Nicholas created what may be called militant Gallicanism, that is to say, a spirit of resistance to the encroachments of Rome. It was observed that the papacy was making innovations, and that it was arrogating to itself rights unknown in antiquity. An effort was made to prevent this, and to raise against it the barrier of tradition. Hincmar was the first witness of this state of mind. Conquered by Nicholas, Hincmar, with the aid of Charles the Bald, shortly afterwards took his revenge. In 871, at the council of Douzy, he deposed his nephew Hincmar of Laon, in spite of the appeal to Rome made by the latter two years before.[1] He inserted indeed in the sentence of deposition this formula of submission to Rome: "Save in all things the rightful privilege of our lord and father Adrian, Pope of the apostolic see"; but he added this significant restriction: "as the canons of Sardica have ordered it." In the report on this subject which he sent to Rome, he lectured to Pope Adrian II. on the canon law. He explained to him the rules of procedure as determined by the council of Sardica, and imperiously bade him not to depart from them. Adrian II.

[1] Mansi, xvi. 570; Hefele, iv. 494; Migne, cxxvi. 635.

protested indignantly at the injury done to his pretended rights; but it was labour lost. Hincmar gave him to understand that the council of Douzy was in harmony with the orders of Sardica, and was not subject to reproach.[1]

A century later there was a new and much more imposing manifestation of Gallicanism on the part of the French episcopate. The opportunity for this was afforded by Arnoul, archbishop of Reims, who betrayed Hugh Capet the king. The bishops of the province of Reims assembled at Senlis (990) asked Pope John XV. to help them depose the traitor. But the Pope, being bought by the enemies of Hugh, did not reply. The councils of St. Basle or Verzy (991) and of Chelles[2] (993) were then convoked. The first of these deposed Arnoul; and when the defenders of this prelate cited the authority of the False Decretals, which reserved to the Pope the right to depose a bishop, the answer was made that this pretended right was repudiated by the councils of Nicæa and Africa, which were superior to the pontifical decretals, the authenticity of which was not suspected. The council added that the papacy, which had fallen into the mire, had lost its title to the respect of Christians. At Chelles, the bishops decided that if the Pope of Rome advances an opinion contrary to the canons of the Fathers, this opinion will be held to be null and void. And this decision is a reply in advance to John XV., who was preparing to annul the sentence of St. Basle. To the declarations of these councils it is appropriate to add that of Gerbert—who later became Pope Sylvester II.—who, at the time when Pope Gregory V. in the council of Pavia (997) condemned the bishops present at St. Basle, wrote: "If the bishop of Rome himself offends his brother, if he refuses to listen to the repeated warnings of the Church, the bishop of Rome himself, according to God's commandment, should be treated as a heathen and a publican."[3]

[1] Migne, cxxii. 1312; Mansi, xvi. 569.

[2] Mansi, xix. 107; Hefele, iv. 637; see especially F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet*, pp. 58–67, Paris, 1903.

[3] Lot, p. 112.

We cannot stop to consider the council of Anse (1025), which annulled as contrary to the canons, a privilege granted by Rome to the monastery of Cluny;[1] nor the council of Reims (1049), which the French bishops, with one or two exceptions, notwithstanding the invitation of the Pope, refused to attend;[2] nor the letter of Brunon, bishop of Angiers, to the archbishop of Tours, from which one learns that there is in the Church outside of Rome "another authority to which appeal can be made."[3] We now come to the councils which Gregory VII. caused to be held in France. In the council of Paris, which met about 1074, "almost all the bishops, abbots, and clergy composing the assembly declared the orders of the Pope to be absurd," which related to ecclesiastical celibacy. Of the council of Poitiers (1078), the pontifical legate who presided over it said: "No one took pains to recognize us. . . . The archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Rennes disturbed almost all the council." Such was the mental attitude of the French clergy under Gregory VII.[4] It did not change under Urban II., as may be seen by the council of Etampes (1091), where the bishops set themselves to depose Ives of Chartres for having received episcopal consecration from the Pope, which his metropolitan alone was qualified to give him.

It should be noted that the French prelates, so jealous of their independence, did not fear to resort to the papacy whenever they had need of it. And this need was often felt. When an episcopal election was disputed, the two rivals went to Rome and submitted to its judgment. When a greedy noble took possession of the Church's property, the bishop went to Rome and had delivered to him a bull which consecrated his right of property. The protection of Rome was so valuable that it was asked to confirm elections in

[1] Mansi, xix. 723; Hefele, iv. 680.

[2] Mansi, xix. 724; Hefele, iv. 723; Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII.*, i. 139, 140.

[3] Sudendorf, *Berengarius Turonensis*, p. 202, Hamburg, 1850; see Delarc, i. 371.

[4] Mansi, xx. 437, 495; Hefele, v. 34, 115; Delarc, iii. 87, 357. See chapter on "Celibacy."

which there was no contest: it was an assurance against dangers which might arise in the future. To sum up, the apostolic see was recognized as a superior authority; but it was remarked that this authority was turning into despotism, and there was a struggle to prevent its excesses.

In this struggle the French clergy were defeated. That was bound to happen. The plain people being witnesses of the respect with which Rome was treated, and of the services demanded by it, concluded that Rome always had the right to be venerated and obeyed. Armed with suspension, interdict, and excommunication, of which the people had always to take account, the papacy won most of the battles in which it was engaged. Having profited by their successive defeats, the clergy finally understood that resistance was impossible; and they submitted. It need not be said that their real opinion did not change, and that their submission was only outward. But then two new factors intervened: the monks, and the crusades. The monks conducted an active propaganda in favour of the papacy. It was a self-interested propaganda; for it was Rome which protected their property against the avidity of the nobles and of the bishops. They put their influence, which at the end of the eleventh century was enormous, at the service of the papacy. They began the conquest of convictions. The crusades completed the work of the monks. From the time when the papacy threw Europe into transports of enthusiasm for an attack upon the infidels, there was no longer any doubt about its sovereign authority. There was a conviction that it had received all power from heaven, and there was action in consequence of that conviction. From the twelfth century all the difficulties which arose among the clergy were taken to Rome. Appeals to the apostolic see were multiplied to such an extent that they evoked complaints from Hildebert, archbishop of Tours,[1] and from St. Bernard.[2] The Church of France did not consider itself capable of doing its own police work. It believed itself to be incapable of distin-

[1] *Ep.* ii. 41, Migne, clxxi. 265 (see also ii. 47, 273).
[2] *De consideratione*, ii. 2.

guishing truth and error. The council of Sens (1140), after condemning Abelard, submitted the sentence to Rome for approval. Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers, was denounced at Rome for teaching erroneous doctrines; and it was Pope Eugenius III. who condemned him in the councils of Paris and Reims (1141). In return for the protectorate which was asked, Rome formulated requirements to which submission was given. It demanded money of France—especially after Innocent IV.—and France gave money. It demanded benefices for its protégés—from the time of Innocent III.—and France permitted its canonries to pass into the hands of clergy sent by Rome. It demanded even its bishoprics—especially after Boniface VIII.—and France delivered over its bishoprics. The Gallican Church allowed the papacy to administer it.

Under this régime certain abuses soon made their appearance which drew forth complaints from most honest men. In 1247, St. Louis, king of France, presented to Innocent IV. a memorial of which this was the substance. The Church of France is exhausted because of the sums of money extorted by the apostolic see; and it is disorganized by the disposition made of its benefices which Rome grants to foreigners, which Rome promises while they are not yet vacant.[1] In 1311, William Le Maire, bishop of Angers, presented to the council of Vienna a memorial similar to that of St. Louis.[2] Doubtless these two documents were limited to demanding reforms, and the demands were respectful. But the dissatisfaction sometimes assumed other forms. The council of Bourges (1225) resolutely set aside a project of Pope Honorius III., by the terms of which in each episcopal church, and in each abbey, one prebend (in England, two) should be placed at the disposition of the apostolic see.[3]

[1] Matth. Pâris, *Additamenta*, vi. 99–112 (Luard). See chapter on "Episcopal Elections."

[2] Published by C. Porte in *Documents inédits* (*Mélanges historiques*, ii. 471–480, especially 481); Raynald had already published it, 1311, 59, but without the name of the author.

[3] Mansi, xxii. 1214; Hefele, v. 933; Bouquet, xviii. 310 (*Chronicon Turonense*).

The council of Paris (1263) refused to grant a subsidy demanded by the Pope, as being unreasonable.[1] The church of Reims met with a refusal the pontifical legate who (1267) demanded money of it; it declared itself ready to brave excommunication, and to cause a schism rather than permit itself to be oppressed by Rome.[2] Here we no longer have to do with respectful requests; these are acts of independence which we have before us. About 1305, Pierre Dubois wrote the *De recuperatione terre sancte*,[3] in which he urged the king of France to take possession of the pontifical state, to grant the Pope an annual pension, to suppress his temporal power, to limit him to the exercise of his spiritual power, and above all to take the papacy away from the Romans, who were using it as an instrument of exaction and despotism. In 1311, Durand, bishop of Mende, made a violent criticism of the rapacity and ambition of the Roman court; he proposed to submit the papacy to the supervision of a general council which should meet every ten years.[4] In 1315, the Franciscan Occam taught at Paris the doctrine, which he afterwards put into his Dialogues,[5] of which these are some of the articles. "The Church, that is to say the society of Christians, has the right, when its interests require it, to change the form of its government; therefore if it has to complain of the monarchical papacy, it can confide the supreme power to a collective authority. In any case, the papal monarch, so long as he exists, has no right to impose his opinions upon the Church; on the contrary, it belongs to the Church to supervise the faith of the Pope, and to depose him when he is heretical." The anonymous author of a defence of Boniface VII. (written about 1308) tells us that at the death of that Pope the French did not wish to have an

[1] Mansi, xxiii. 1112; Hefele, vi. 85.

[2] Raynald, 1267, 55, Letter of Clement IV., which says (57 fin.) that the delegates of the Church of Reims poured forth insults upon him, "impudenter evomere præsumpserunt."

[3] Edited by Langlois, pp. 98–100, Paris, 1891.

[4] It is the book *De modo celebrandi concilii*. See extracts in Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, pp. 60–64.

[5] See extracts from the Dialogues, in Haller, pp. 78–80.

Italian Pope any longer, and threatened, unless they received satisfaction, to establish a national Church for themselves.[1] And the Dominican John of Paris (Jean Quidort) declared (1304) that he had heard the following proposition: "The Pope is an archbishop, or, if one prefer it, a patriarch, who in primitive times governed only his own diocese, but who has been led by circumstances to extend his jurisdiction."[2]

It may be seen that the Gallican spirit was not dead. The tradition represented by Irenæus, Hilary of Arles, Hincmar, Gerbert, was not extinct. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, among the French clergy there were men who, like their predecessors, resisted the encroachments of Rome, and did not recoil even at the thought of a rupture with the apostolic see.

Nevertheless, these men were not numerous; and the anonymous defence which has just been mentioned, exaggerated when it said that all the French were ready to organize a national Church. Certain bishops and certain doctors may be counted as opposed to Rome; but the great majority of the clergy remained submissive. A proof of this was furnished at the council of Vienne (1311), where, according to an English chronicler, Clement V. conducted himself as absolute master.[3] The authority of the papacy over the French clergy was again emphasized during the fourteenth century. Yet some of the popes of this period employed odious methods of government. Clement V., as was admitted by Cardinal Orsini, sold the bishoprics when he did not reserve them for his favourites. John XXII. extorted money from the Churches *per fas et nefas*. But these were French popes, they supported French policy,—it was the period of the sojourn of the popes at Avignon. Therefore, everything that they did was overlooked; and they could permit themselves to do everything. There is a temptation to believe that the theories of Pierre Dubois, of Durand, of Mende, of Occam, were forgotten. But such was not the case. In the middle

[1] H. Finke, *Aus den Sagen Bonifaz VIII.*, p. lxxxix, Münster, 1902.
[2] Finke, p. 149, note.
[3] Heminkburgh, ii. 292 (in Haller, p. 53).

of the fourteenth century they still had representatives like Jean de Guignecourt and Pierre de Bray; only they made little noise, or their opinions were discreetly transmitted. The shock of the Great Schism was necessary to make them emerge from their unpopularity.

In 1378 two popes disputed the Apostolic See. The papacy fell into an abyss, where it was about to perish had not assistance reached it. A saviour appeared, and this saviour was Gallicanism. But this saviour knew how to exact payment for its services. It wished first to deprive the popes of the hegemony of the Church; and second to oblige them to disgorge, that is to say, it proposed to confiscate the rights which they had usurped during preceding centuries. In other words, its programme consisted of two parts, the history of which we are about to set forth. Let us begin with the superiority of the Church to the Papacy.

At the opening of this crisis, Gallicanism wrested from the papacy the sceptre of supreme authority, and committed it to the Church universal represented by the general council. It is this spectacle that Conrad de Gelnhausen portrays in the *Epistola concordiæ*, written in 1379 at the request of Charles v., king of France.[1] Conrad explained that the Church represented by the general council was superior to the Pope, and in the council he found the remedy for the evil from which Christianity was suffering. For a time there was hesitation in following him. It was hoped that the Pope of Avignon—the only legitimate Pope, according to France—would gradually see all nations range themselves in obedience to him. But soon it was perceived that this hope was an illusion, and must be given up. And then to save the Church the papacy was sacrificed. In the council of Paris (1406) the French episcopate, renewing an experiment which had already been tried in 1398, declared the "withdrawal of obedience" to the Pope of Avignon.[2] It refused all obedience to this pontiff, who was, as has already been said, the only legitimate Pope in

[1] Haller, p. 337.

[2] N. Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, iii. 148, 607, 614, iv. 21; Haller, p. 278.

the eyes of France. From the day when this decision was confirmed by Charles VI. (February 1407, May 1408), the Gallican Church had no further connection with the papacy. It was autonomous. Thus it took the initiative at the Council of Pisa, where, after causing the deposition of the two rival pontiffs, it procured the election of Alexander V. (June 1409). Its work, it is true, was annulled by the emperor Sigismund, who, without regard to the council of Pisa, convoked a new assembly at Constance. But the council of Constance had as leaders two French doctors, Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, who were very hostile to the pontifical monarchy. It sanctioned the Gallican principles in the following declaration:[1] "The synod of Constance . . . has received directly from Jesus Christ a power which every person, of whatever condition or dignity, even papal, he may be, is bound to obey in whatsoever pertains to the faith" (1415).

From Constance this declaration passed to the council of Bâle (1432); then it was inserted in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), which under Charles VII. was made a law of the State. From that time the supremacy of the council over the Pope was an integral part of French legislation; and pontifical measures which were thought to afford a cause of complaint could be set aside by an appeal to a future council. In 1457 the Church of France made use of this right. There was great wrath at Rome. Calixtus III. complained bitterly to King Charles VII. of this practice, which, according to him, was "schismatical and heretical."[2] His successor, Pius II., issued the bull *Execrabilis*, which inflicted excommunication on all those who in the future should permit themselves to appeal from the Pope to the council (1460).[3] The only response of the French Government was to refer this bull to a future council; and in the second half of the fifteenth century this practice, hateful to Rome, was more than ever in force. In 1463, Louis XI. commanded parliament to agree with the university, and appeal to the

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 584.
[2] N. Valois, *Hist. de la Prag. Sanction*, pp. 233 and clxxxv, Paris, 1906.
[3] *Id., ib.*

future council with respect to censures which had issued from Rome. In 1491 the university, which was in conflict with Innocent VIII., resorted to the same means of defence. To these appeals other measures were added. In 1479, Louis XI., with the previous adhesion of French prelates who were assembled at Orleans, threatened Sixtus IV. with the convoking on his own account a general council. In 1498, king Charles VIII. made the Sorbonne authorize the convocation of a general council in case the Pope, who had been called on to do this, should refuse to obey. In 1510 the French clergy in the assembly of Tours authorized king Louis XII., who had asked their advice, to withdraw France from obedience to Julius II., and to treat the censures of the Pope with contempt. Furthermore, they believed that the Pope should be called on to convoke a general council, and that if necessary this council should be convoked without the Pope. As a matter of fact, a council was convoked, in spite of Julius II.; it was held at Pisa in 1511. It failed; but this was no fault of the French prelates, who on the contrary did their utmost to assure its success. To sum up the matter, from the beginning of the Great Schism until the concordat of Francis I., the superiority of the council to the papacy did not cease to be admitted in France.[1] This, it will be remembered, was one of the two articles of the Gallican programme. Let us now see what became of the other.

The councils of Paris of 1398 and 1406, which had declared themselves to be in favour of the "withdrawal of obedience," did not intend to separate France from the papacy for ever. The measure which they adopted was, in their opinion, only temporary; it was to cease after order had been established. Nevertheless they wished the pontifical administration, at least so far as France was concerned, to be reformed; and they themselves laboured for this reform. They decided to take away from the court of Rome the right of disposing at its pleasure of bishoprics, abbeys, and other French benefices. In like manner they decided to prohibit the drain on French gold. That was what was now called in

[1] P. Pithou, *Preuves des libertés de l'Église gallicane*, ch. xiii. 10, 19, xx. 28.

the councils "the liberties and franchises of the Gallican Church."[1] Yet in 1411, after long hesitation, subsidies were granted to John XXIII.; but this concession was regretted as soon as it had been made.[2] The assembly of the clergy of 1412 was unreserved in its recriminations against Roman rapacity.[3] France was no longer willing to be exploited by the papacy; and it agreed to recognize Martin V., who was elected at Constance, only while reserving its "liberties" (ordinance of March 1418).[4] Unhappily at this time France was not the mistress of her own destinies. The English, who dominated a part of French territory, wherever their power extended, imposed the régime which was dear to Rome. At home they resisted the Roman influence; in France they favoured it in order to gain the support of the apostolic see in their conquest. The feeble Charles VII. was obliged to save his crown, which was threatened, by imitating the conduct of his enemies, and by making concessions to the papacy. In 1421 he abolished the ordinances of 1418, and subjected his kingdom to the papal exactions. Moreover, he soon afterwards (1422) re-established the "liberties," which he again suppressed (1425), to re-establish and to suppress them once more. For several years he thus oscillated between the "liberties" and obedience, without being able to attain to stability.[5] At length (1438), believing that his throne was confirmed, he made the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges the law of the state, which withdrew the Church of France almost wholly from the jurisdiction of Rome, and assured the triumph of the "liberties."[6]

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was really introduced into French legislation by order of Charles VII., but was elaborated by the French bishops. It was the work of the clergy of France. It need not be said that it was odious to Rome. The popes, it has been seen, found fault with it

[1] N. Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, iv. 176.
[2] *Id.*, *ib.*, iv. 188. [3] *Id.*, *ib.*, iv. 200.
[4] *Ordonnances*, x. 445, 447; Valois, iv. 420, 424, 429.
[5] Valois, *Hist. de la Prag. Sanct.*, pp. xiii–l.
[6] *Id.*, *ib.* pp. lxxvii–xcii.

because it gave supremacy to the council; they found fault with it also, and even more, because it established the régime of the "liberties": and with unwearied perseverance they demanded its suppression. So long as the reign of Charles VII. lasted they obtained nothing, or rather their negotiations gave them certain hopes; but the forgery known as "the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis" was a fabrication which saved Gallicanism, which was threatened[1] (1450). Under Louis XI. the situation changed (1461–1483). Louis, who wished to rule, and to exert pressure upon his clergy as he pleased, detested the Pragmatic Sanction—it made the clergy a body independent of royalty—and, practically, he trampled it under foot. But he made use of it to frighten or to cajole the Pope as occasion required. His reign was passed in abolishing this act (1461), in re-establishing it (1464), in abolishing it again (1467), in re-establishing it (1478), especially in diverting the Pope by his deceitful promises (concordat of 1472), and frightening him by threats which were not always sincere. Yet during the last years of his life, hypnotized by the thought of death, he left the Pope a liberty of action which the latter utilized to the greatest advantage of the Roman Curia.[2]

Having become once more the prey of the pontifical fiscal system, the Church of France raised a cry of alarm to the States-General of Tours (1484).[3] Charles VIII. and Louis XII. endeavoured to defend it. But the Pope protested against what he called the violation of his rights. Julius II. went farther. Emboldened by the success of his army,—for several years he had been making war on the French,—he prepared to hurl against France, in the Lateran council of December 1512, the most formidable thunderbolts. Death put an end to his murderous plans (February 1513). His successor, Leo X., took them up again, and in the tenth session

[1] Valois, *Hist. de la Prag. Sanct.*, p. clix; L. Madelin, "Un Essai d'Église séparée en France au XV^me^ siècle," in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1906, March 15.

[2] J. Combet, *Louis XI. et le Saint Siège*, pp. 8, 9, 69, 113, 159, Paris, 1903.

[3] *Journal des États généraux de France tenus à Tours en 1484*, arranged by Masselin; *Journal de Masselin*, edited by Bernier in *Documents inédits*, p. 661: "Cy sensuit le cayer présente au roy et son conseil."

of the Lateran council (May 1515) he decreed severe measures against the Pragmatic Sanction. But the day of Marignan saved the fortunes of the French (September 1515).

Until the victory of Marignan, Francis I. posed as the defender of the Pragmatic Sanction: he pretended that he wished to protect the independence of the Gallican Church against Roman rapacity. From the day when he perceived that he was master of the situation, he unveiled his inmost thought, which had also been that of his predecessors, and treated the Gallican Church as a prey which had for a long time been coveted. Of course, such a project could not be realized without some concessions to the Pope, who also coveted the prey. This was the object of the concordat which Francis I. made with Leo X. at Bologna (1516). By this treaty the king of France and the Pope shared amicably the spoils of the Gallican Church. The king reserved to himself the choice of bishops and abbots; to the Pope he left the right of confirming his selections, and he abandoned to him also the annates. By his right of appointment he held the Church of France in his power; the Pope, for his part, although his pretensions were not all realized, recovered at least some of the advantages of which the Pragmatic Sanction had deprived him. Both were glad, and rightly so, for they had gained a great victory.[1]

Victory over whom? Over the Gallican Church whose liberties were destroyed by the concordat. Francis I., foreseeing the wrath which his conduct would evoke, endeavoured to deceive the Church, and make it believe that he had yielded reluctantly to the requirements of Rome. This falsehood was not believed. Parliament and the university uttered violent protests. The inferior clergy were no less hostile, and during the sixteenth century the chapters on different occasions, particularly in the States-General of Blois (1576), rebelled against the new order of things. But all

[1] Advised by the artful Duprat, Francis I. deceived the Pope. He demanded the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction, *which he did not desire*, in order to lead the Pope to propose a concordat. His plan succeeded. See Madelin, "Duprat et François Ier" in *Rev. du Foyer*, September 1, 1912, pp. 388–424.

this opposition gave way before the royal power. The concordat was enforced. Of the two articles of the Gallican programme, elaborated in the councils of 1398 and 1406, one —that which concerned the ecclesiastical "liberties"—was definitely sacrificed. Nothing remained except the superiority of the council to the Pope. The clergy carefully guarded this treasure. At the council of Trent the French bishops energetically defended the Gallican tradition; and they caused it to be respected by that assembly, which, thanks to them, refused to convert the theory of the pontifical monarchy into a dogma.[1]

The German Church, which was detached from the Frankish Church at the diet of Tribur (887),—it may even be said that the division was made by the treaty of Verdun (843),—did not begin to play a part and to have a history until Otto I. (936). After that date it passed through three stages separated from each other by the death of Henry III. (1056) and the deposition of Frederick II. (1245).

From the reign of Otto I. to the death of Henry III., the Emperor—the empire was re-established in 962—ruled the German Church in concert with the Pope, who often owed his nomination to him. At times he took into account maxims formulated by Nicholas I. Thus in 962, Otto I. wished to found an archbishopric at Magdeburg and a bishopric at Merseburg, and resorted to John XII., requesting a bull of institution.[2] In 1007, Henry II. received authority from John XVIII. to found the bishopric of Bamberg.[3] But this formality was not always observed. In the year 1000, Otto II. on his own authority established an ecclesiastical metropolis at Gnesen,[4] and in 1014, Henry II. set up the bishopric of Bobbio in the same manner.[5] The bishops, for their part, utilized the right inaugurated by the False Decretals, at least when they found it to their advantage. Herlwin, who was

[1] Pallavicini, *Histoire du concile de Trente*, xxi. 4, 8, xxii. 3, 4.
[2] Jaffé, 3690.
[3] *Id.*, 3954.
[4] Thietmar, iv. 28; Migne, cxxxix. 1265; Mansi, xix. 269.
[5] Thietmar, viii. 3; Migne, cxxxix. 1363.

appointed bishop Cambrai (996), when Gerbert and Arnoul disputed the see of Reims, of which he was the suffragan, went to Rome to be consecrated by Gregory v.[1] Some years later Bernward of Hildesheim, thinking that his rights had been encroached upon by the archbishop of Mayence, Willigris,[2] went to Rome and laid his case before Pope Sylvester, who took up his defence. It may be added, that was a reverse side of this deference to Rome. In the affair of Bernward, Wolligris, archbishop of Mayence, for six years refused to obey the Pope's orders, and treated contemptuously a sentence of suspension pronounced against him by the pontifical legate. At Worms, in 1052, Pope Leo IX. degraded a deacon of Mayence, whereupon the archbishop called upon the Roman pontiff to revoke the sentence, and he won his case.[3] The following year the same Pope Leo IX. wished to assemble a reform council at Mantua, but was obliged to take flight before a revolt organized by the bishops.[4] Notwithstanding the high protection of the emperor, the popes were only partially masters of the German Church.

From 1056 the papacy into which Hildebrand infused his spirit waged a mortal war against the empire, which ended in the deposition of Frederick II. While this long duel was in progress the popes sent numerous legates to Germany, armed with very extensive legislative and coercive powers. They even pretended to lead the German Church as they pleased. What results did they achieve?

In 1059, Pope Nicholas II., who had just subjected the pontifical election to new rules, was for this reason excommunicated by a German council.[5] In 1074, Gregory sent legates into Germany to hold a council there. The German bishops refused to assemble, and the legates returned to Rome without having been able to accomplish

[1] Jaffé, 3866.

[2] Tangmar, *Vita S. Bernwardi*, 18 et seq.; Migne, cxl. 407; Jaffé, 3915, 3917; Hefele, iv. 656; Hauck, iii. 271.

[3] Ekkehard, *Chronicon universale*, M. G., *Scriptores*, vi. 166; Delarc, *Vie de Saint Grégoire VII.*, i. 289; Hefele, iv. 762.

[4] Mansi, xix. 799; Hefele, iv. 763; Delarc, i. 294.

[5] Hefele, iv. 846; Delarc, ii. 144.

their mission.[1] A short time afterwards the same Pope promulgated in Germany the law of celibacy. His project raised a storm of protest; the German clergy exclaimed that Gregory was a heretic and a madman.[2] In 1080 there was another storm. Gregory had just deposed Henry IV.; nineteen German bishops assembled at Mayence, and twenty-seven bishops, Lombard and German, assembled at Brixen, retaliated and deposed Gregory.[3] This deposition was confirmed five years later in a council of Mayence.[4] Yet Gregory had partizans in Germany as well as in Lombardy. There was a Gregorian school, zealous in the pursuit of the theocratic ideal; but it was recruited almost exclusively among the monks. The episcopate with some unimportant exceptions was hostile to maxims emanating from Rome. It should not be forgotten that the Saxon clergy who made common cause with the Pope were, like all the Saxons, obedient for political reasons; it would be a mistake to connect them with the Gregorian school.

The profound influence exercised by Cluny and the crusade from the eleventh century has been noticed elsewhere. Germany did not escape this double influence. Moreover, it gradually submitted to the prestige, and accepted the yoke of Rome. The evolution was slow. It had made but little advance when, in 1111, Pascal II. was overwhelmed with insults by the German episcopate.[5] But time had its effect. Besides, Lothair of Saxony, the successor of Henry V., was too weak to resist the German nobles, and had no alternative but to place his crown under the protection of the Holy See (1125). After this the popes flooded Germany with legates, who deposed unworthy bishops, confirmed elections, legislated as they pleased—the opposition which Alexander III. encountered was connected with doubts surrounding his election—the Church of Germany was administered by

[1] Lambert de Hersfeld, *Annales*, 1074, in M. G., *Scriptores*, v. 215; Hefele, v. 28; Delarc, iii. 79.

[2] Delarc, iii. 81–84.

[3] Mansi, xx. 547; Hefele, v. 147; Delarc, iii, 512.

[4] Mansi, xx. 603, 614; Hefele, v. 182.

[5] See chapter on "The Papacy and the Empire."

Rome. It remained under this régime until the sixteenth century: yet on various occasions there was an outbreak of rebellious feeling. In 1201 two archbishops and nine bishops solemnly protested against the interference of Innocent III. in the nomination of the king of the Romans.[1] In the middle of the thirteenth century, when war broke out between Frederick II. and Innocent IV., several German bishops, especially those of Magdeburg, Passau, Frising, Metz, Worms, Spire, took the part of the emperor against the Pope.[2] In other regions where the clergy arrayed itself on the side of Innocent, the people were furious at the priests, and treated the pontifical censures with contempt. Ratisbon afforded this spectacle, as did Swabia and Bohemia. A century later the archbishop of Mayence supported Louis of Bavaria in his opposition to Rome, and in spite of the censures with which he was assailed, he kept his see until his death (1354). At the council of Constance the German episcopate joined the bishops of other nations in resisting the encroachments of the papacy. New attempts at emancipation were made in the diet of Mayence (1439), in the diet of Nürnberg (1461), and elsewhere.[3] Parallel to the propaganda of action was displayed the propaganda of the pen. Henry of Langenstein (1381), Zabarella (1408), John of Falkenberg (1408), Thierry of Nieheim (1410), Döring (1443), published in German countries the theories preached in France by contemporaries of Philip le Bel, and re-edited by Conrad of Gelnhausen in 1380.[4] The Church of Germany accused the Roman Curia of placing foreigners in its benefices, of ruining it by their exactions, of treating it as a conquered country. It published certain "complaints" against Rome; it prepared the famous *Gravamina* which appeared at the diet of Frankfort (1456) and which afterwards recurred periodically.[5]

[1] Migne, ccxvi. 1063 (Reg. de negot. imperii, 61); Hefele, v. 787.

[2] On the means employed by the Pope to weaken this opposition, see Hauck, iv. 838–848.

[3] Pastor, i. 708; ii. 128.

[4] *Id.*, i. 85, 182, 386; ii. 128.

[5] Janssen-Pastor, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, i. 741, ii. 170, Freiburg, 1897.

For a long time complaints and revolts were in vain. In times of difficulty Rome skilfully sowed the seeds of discord among princes, won over some, weakened others, and at length had the last word. Yet at the diet of Nürnberg (1522–1523) a new spectacle was presented. Luther had just aroused a part of Germany against the papacy; and the pontifical legate Chieregati called upon the princes to drown the revolt in blood. The princes manifested the "One Hundred Complaints" (*Gravamina*) of the German nation, declared that by its abuses the papacy had itself provoked the evil from which it was suffering, and refused to arrest the Lutheran movement by armed force.[1] Twenty years later (diet of Augsburg, 1555) a part of Germany was for ever separated from the Roman obedience.

The Church of Spain was partially destroyed by the Arab invasion (713), and did not begin to recover until the second half of the eleventh century. Thus its history includes two periods: one ends in the year 713; the other begins about 1070.

From the conversion of Reccarede to the Arab invasion the Church of Spain had a very pronounced national character. The bishops nominated by the king held numerous councils—there were eighteen councils of Toledo—but had very infrequent and unimportant relations with Rome. In 590, Leander, bishop of Seville, announced to Pope Gregory the conversion of Reccarede, whom he had already known at Constantinople, whose friend he was. Some years later Reccarede charged the same Pope with a mission to Constantinople, and in relation to this wrote him a very obsequious letter. Gregory gratified his friend Leander with the pallium. To the king he sent warm congratulations accompanied with good advice; but at the same time he declared that he was not in a position to render the political service demanded.[2] After this short correspondence the relations between Spain and the papacy were broken off. They were renewed (683)

[1] Pastor, iv. Abtheilung, ii. pp. 89–96; Janssen-Pastor, ii. 296.
[2] Jaffé, 1111, 1756, 1757.

by Leo II., who communicated to the bishops of Spain the condemnation pronounced against Monothelism by the sixth œcumenical council, and who asked them to subscribe to it. The bishops of the province of Toledo examined the said condemnation, recognized it as conforming to the rule of faith, approved it, and sent their adherence to Rome accompanied by a profession of faith, the author of which was Julian, bishop of Toledo. But then an incident occurred. Pope Benedict II.—Leo II. had just died—discovered certain inaccuracies in this profession of faith and told the Spaniards of them. Julian being displeased, composed a dissertation in defence, in which the Pope was treated as both ignorant and impudent.[1] This slight altercation had no sequel, and silence was resumed between Rome and Toledo. During all the first period of its history the Church of Spain remained beyond the sphere of pontifical influence.

Under the pontificate of Alexander II. (about 1065), Ebles, count of Rouci, in Champagne manifested the intention of waging war in Spain against the Mussulmans; and Hildebrand made him agree in writing to recognize St. Peter as his suzerain.[2] Some years later (1073) Gregory VII., who had barely ascended the pontifical throne, wrote a letter to Ebles and his companions of which this is the substance: "You are not ignorant that for a long time the kingdom of Spain has belonged to St. Peter [an allusion to the gift of Constantine]. The count of Rouci has agreed to take possession of this country for the benefit of the blessed Apostle. If you are decided to keep this engagement, you can advance. But if you do not intend to respect the rights of St. Peter, we forbid you to enter Spain. Better is it to leave this country in the power of the infidels than in the hands of bad Christians." This formidable letter, which claimed for St. Peter, that is for the papacy, the right of eminent domain in Spain,[3]

[1] *Liber Apologeticus*, especially 4 and 16; Migne, xcvi. 528, 535.

[2] Engagement attested by Gregory VII. in his letter, i. 6 (Jaffé, 4777); Delarc, ii. 392.

[3] Letters, i. 7; Jaffé, 4778; Delarc, iii. 20; Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, iii. 457, Ratisbon, 1874.

was ignored by the Moors. But the Spanish princes who fought against the Arab element were doubtless informed by the monks of Cluny who were settled among them, concerning the fate which threatened them. One of them, Sancho of Aragon, perceived that his sole resource was to become a vassal of St. Peter. He therefore surrendered himself and his kingdom to Gregory. He even carried his submission so far as to introduce the Roman liturgy into Aragon.[1] Another, Alfonso of Castile, without pushing his obsequiousness to such a point, heaped benefits upon the monks of Cluny, who were labouring to propagate the pontifical theocracy.[2] Thus at the end of the eleventh century the Church of Spain was brought into the orbit of the papacy by kings who were alarmed at the claims and threats of Gregory VII.

It remained there, and thereafter did not cease to gravitate around Rome. In some respects, indeed, it continued to be a national Church: its bishops were appointed by the king, even its liturgy did not give place, except partially, to that of Rome; but nothing important was done in the Church without the assent of Rome. In 1088 the metropolis of Toledo was re-established by order of Urban II.[3] The same Pope laid the foundations of the metropolis of Tarragon, which was definitely instituted by Gelasius II.[4] (1118). Calixtus II. constituted the metropolis of St. James of Compostella (1124), and set limits to that of Braga, which had been restored by Pascal II.[5] After the victory of Xeres, which drove the Moors from several cities of Andalusia (1234), Gregory IX. charged the archbishop of Toledo to re-establish the hierarchy in the newly conquered country.[6] In 1249 the bishopric of Jaën was founded by a pontifical bull. And when Ferdinand the Catholic had finished the conquest of the kingdom of Granada, it was due to the initiative of Alexander VI. that this country recovered its former archbishoprics (1493). The kings of Spain, whenever they wished to make war on the

[1] Jaffé, 4841 (*Ep.* i. 63).
[2] *Id.*, 4840 (*Ep.* i. 64).
[3] Gams, iv. 2–39.
[4] *Id.*, *ib.* 189.
[5] *Id.*, *ib.* 9, 17.
[6] *Id.*, *ib.* 145.

Moors, asked Rome for the indulgence of the Crusade. They needed the assistance of the papacy. They repaid this with a deference and submission with which their bishops could not fail to sympathize. At Trent, the Spanish bishops generally attributed to the Pope, authority over the Church universal, and therefore superiority to the councils.

CHAPTER IX

The Pontifical Exchequer

J. B. Kirsch, *Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums im xiii. und xiv. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 1895. P. Baumgarten, *Untersuchungen und Urkunden über die Camera Collegii Cardinalium für die Zeit von 1295*, Leipzig, 1898. J. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, Berlin, 1903. Ch. Samaran et G. Mollat, *La Fiscalité pontificale en France au xiv^me^ siècle*, Paris, 1905. E. Göller, *Der Liber taxarum der päpstlichen Kammer*, Rom, 1905. E. Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Umstaltung unter Pius V.*, 2 vols. Rom, 1907–1911. A. Clergeac, *La Curie et les bénéficiers consistoriaux*, Paris, 1911. P. Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber Censuum de l'Église romaine*, Paris, 1892. F. Durham, "The Denarius sancti Petri in England," in *Transactions of the Royal Histor. Society*, xv. 1901. Daux, "La Protection apostolique au moyen âge," in *Revue des questions historiques*, lxvii. 1902. Daux, "Le Cens pontifical dans l'Église de France," in *Revue des questions historiques*, lxxv. 1904.

Through the piety of the faithful, the Roman Church soon acquired domains which were called "the patrimony of St. Peter." This fortune was already vast in the time of Pope Gelasius, who made an inventory of it in a register called the "Polyptichus"; and it was enormous when Gregory the Great ascended the ponifical throne (A.D. 590). Partially confiscated by the barbarians, and especially by Leo the Isaurian (733), it almost disappeared under the attacks of the Lombards when Pepin the Short saved it, increased it, and transformed it into a political power which was called "the pontifical state." This has been noticed in a previous chapter. It is enough to recall the fact that the first source of the papal revenues was "the patrimony of St. Peter," which in consequence of the gift of Pepin became "the pontifical state." Nevertheless, in the course of time

numerous streams successively swelled the river of the pontifical fortune, which without them would have run dry. These are the affluents which are to engage our attention. They are called the denarius of St. Peter (St. Peter's pence), the apostolic tax, the annates, the tithes, the pallium, the perquisites, the procurations, the vacancies, the subsidies, the indulgences, the absolutions, the dispensations.

I. The Denarius of St. Peter[1] was, in the first instance, an alms sent by the kings of England to the English colony at Rome, called *Schola Saxonum.* In this form it was instituted by Ina, king of Wessex (689–726), and was extended to Mercia by Offa II., king of that country (794). In 853 the Anglo-Saxon king Ethelwulf, whose son a short time before had received the royal unction from Leo IV. at Rome, went to thank the Pope for his kindness, and as a token of his gratitude promised to pay the apostolic see an annual revenue of three hundred mangons. This gift received the same name as the preceding one, and was called the denarius of St. Peter. Thus the denarius of St. Peter from the middle of the ninth century was designed to aid the English colony at Rome and at the same time the apostolic see. For a time it was devoted to this two-fold object. After a while the *Schola Saxonum* disappeared, and the denarius of St. Peter was devoted exclusively to the needs of the papacy.

When the Danish king Canute took possession of England (1017), he thought that the payment of the denarius of St. Peter would make his conquest lawful, and would make him the authentic heir of the Anglo-Saxon kings. He therefore held it an honour to send the traditional alms to Rome. In 1027 he wrote from Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage, to the chief men in his kingdom, a letter in which he said: "I came to Rome, knowing that the Apostle St. Peter possesses great power to loose and to unloose, and that he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven. I judged it useful to solicit specially his favour and patronage. . . . I ask all my bishops and all my officers so to act before my return to England, as that all the ordinary debts may be

[1] Fabre, pp. 129–134.

paid, that is . . . the denarii which should be sent to Rome for St. Peter."[1] And among the laws of Canute we find one expressed as follows: "The denarius of Peter should be paid on the feast of Peter. Whosoever shall not have paid it at that date must deliver it to the bishop, and in addition he must pay a fine."[2]

Instead of imitating the conduct of Canute, the last Anglo-Saxon kings permitted the payment of the denarius to lapse. Their negligence cost them dear.[3] Hildebrand, being displeased with them, caused Alexander II. to take the part of their adversary William the Conqueror, and to deliver to him the banner of St. Peter. He doubtless hoped that his protégé would be more generous to St. Peter. He was not mistaken. For several years William paid the denarius regularly; but when, in 1080, Gregory, who had for three years received nothing, called him to account, the Norman king made this reassuring reply: "As I have just passed three years in Gaul, the money has been raised only negligently; but now that I, by the grace of God, have returned to my kingdom, I send thee by thy legate the sums already collected. That which remains to be paid will be sent to thee at an opportune time by the envoys of our faithful archbishop Lanfranc."[4]

Until the time of St. Gregory VII. the denarius of St. Peter was an alms. This pontiff undertook to transform it into a feudal tribute.[5] He reasoned as follows: the English kings would not bring their money to the popes unless they were their debtors. And they would not be debtors unless the popes held the kingdom of England as their property. From these premises Gregory concluded that William was a vassal of the Holy See, and that as such he should swear fidelity to the Roman pontiff. William, as we know, contemptuously repudiated this pretension; but the papacy was not dis-

[1] Migne, cli. 1181.
[2] Mansi, xix. 555; Fabre, p. 134.
[3] Fabre, p. 136; Jaffé, 4757; Delarc, *Saint Grégoire et la reforme de l'Église au xi siècle*, ii. 446, Paris, 1889.
[4] Jaffé, 4850; Migne, cxlviii. 748.
[5] See above, "The Political Advance of the Papacy."

couraged.[1] In a letter to Anselm of Canterbury, Pascal II. (1101) took up once more the thesis of Gregory VII., which still later (1156) Adrian IV. restated. In 1173, King Henry II., in order to preserve his crown, which was threatened, acknowledged his vassalage; but this capitulation, wrung from him under critical conditions, had no sequel. To sum up: throughout the twelfth century the denarius of St. Peter, received at Rome as a tribute and as a sign of vassalage, was paid by England as an alms. The popes remained faithful to the conception of Gregory VII.; the successors of William retained his point of view. On both sides they continued to hold the positions which they had taken. At length, in 1213, under circumstances which we have already noticed, John Lackland solemnly recognized the suzerainty of Rome. By force of perseverance the popes gained the victory.

As an alms or as tribute, the denarius of St. Peter soon seemed to the English a burden from which they hoped to be freed. On different occasions Pope Pascal II. (1099–1118) complained that he received nothing. He appealed to Anselm of Canterbury,[2] who did his best. He recommended to the bishops the denarius, or, as it was called, the "Romascot" (or "Romescot"). The bishops collected the money, but delivered only a part to the representative of the Pope, and kept the rest for themselves. Pascal II. again complained, and this time denounced the indelicacy of the English bishops to the king. It was in vain. The transactions which provoked the indignation of Pascal continued, and Rome was resigned. The bishops took up vigorously the collection of the denarius of St. Peter. Each of them imposed upon all the families of his diocese the payment of the traditional denarius, paid to the pontifical collector a fixed sum which amounted to 300 marks sterling, and kept the surplus in his own treasury. Indeed, this surplus usually far exceeded the amount collected by the apostolic see—a case is cited in which it was ten times as large. The denarius of St. Peter,

[1] Fabre, p. 138.

[2] Anselm, *Ep.* iii. 85, iv. 29; Migne, clix. 120, 217; Jaffé, 6450; Fabre, p. 142.

which was profitable for Rome, was the same for the English episcopate. It was paid until the day when Henry VIII. (1535) and Elizabeth (1562) freed them from this burden.[1]

Canute, king of Denmark, and at the same time king of England, imposed the denarius of St. Peter upon the Danes, and fixed it at a half mark in silver per person.[2] There is reason to believe—the proof is wanting—that he imposed the same tribute upon Norway.

II. The Apostolic Tax, the *census*, was an annual charge which the monasteries and kingdoms "recommended" to St. Peter, that is to say, granted as property to the great apostle, placed under his guardianship, paid to the apostolic see. When any pious person founded a monastery, he "recommended" it to St. Peter, and asked him to protect it against the rapacity of brigands, nobles, bishops, and kings. To be assured of this protection, he gave the monastery wholly to the prince of the apostles, and promised to pay, or cause to be paid, an annual tribute to his vicar the Pope. The monasteries for which this precaution had not been taken at the time of their origin, "recommended" themselves to St. Peter, and promised to pay an annual revenue. Kings who thought themselves menaced by powerful neighbours took the same precaution, and "recommended" their kingdoms to St. Peter, with a promise to pay a revenue. This revenue was called the *census*. The monasteries and kingdoms which were recommended were *census-payers* of the Holy See. Such was the origin of the apostolic census.

The census had its origin in the recommendation, but came much later in time than its cause. In other words, for a long period monasteries were gratuitously recommended to St. Peter. The census made its appearance when it was decided to reward St. Peter for the services which had been demanded of him.[3] This took place at the end of the eighth century, when the monastery of Lucques was founded (790). In the charter of this foundation we read: "In recognition of the protection exercised by the Apostle, of this monastery and of themselves, the abbesses who succeed

[1] Fabre, p. 140. [2] *Id.*, pp. 135, 145. [3] *Id.*, p. 38.

one another at the head of the convent should every year furnish a quantity of oil for ten golden sous, to the Church of St. Peter at Rome, for the lighting."

After this date, charters analogous to that of Lucques were frequent. We may confine ourselves to a reference to the charter of Cluny[1] (910). The following are extracts from that important act: "I William, by the grace of God, count and duke, . . . give and deliver to the apostles Peter and Paul the village of Cluny, situated on the river Grosne. . . . I grant it on the condition that a monastery shall be built at Cluny in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul. . . . Every five years the monks shall pay to Rome the habitation of the apostles a census of ten sous to provide for the lighting. They will have as protectors the apostles themselves, and the Roman pontiff as their defender. . . . The monks assembled in congregation at Cluny shall be entirely set free from our power, from the power of our relations, and from the bonds of royal greatness, and shall not be subject to any earthly power."

In the twelfth century, thanks to the social progress that had taken place, the monasteries no longer feared that they would be given over to pillage, and ruined by brigands either lay or ecclesiastical. Logically, the apostolic census should have disappeared, since there was no further reason for its existence. It was preserved because a new use for it was discovered. In fact it was employed to pay for exemption from episcopal control. The "exemption" was an ancient favour. At the end of the tenth century (997) Gregory V., at the request of Otto III., removed Cluny from the spiritual control of the bishops. In 751, Boniface had obtained from Pope Zacharias the same favour for Fulda. In 679, Wilfrid had obtained it for the English monastery of Peterhausen; and in 628, Honorius had granted it to Bobbio.[2] But up to the end of the eleventh century it was given gratuitously, and moreover given seldom. Urban II. was the first to attach to the census the power of purchasing "liberty," that is to say, independence of the jurisdiction of

[1] Fabre, p. 53; Delarc, I. xiv. [2] Fabre, pp. 86–97.

the bishops. This was a stroke of genius. A multitude of monasteries which were not yet *census-payers* hastened to become so, when for a pecuniary consideration they could free themselves of episcopal control. And for the Roman Curia the census was more than ever a fruitful source of revenue. The popes were glad to behold this river of gold which flowed into their treasury. The bishops, it need hardly be said, looked upon this spectacle in a different way. Each exemption, or, as was said at Rome, each "liberty" granted, was a blow at their influence and prestige. They struggled against the current which was carrying them to their ruin. In 1028 the council of Anse condemned the exemption as being contrary to the canons. The council of Reims of 1119, re-edited the complaints formulated at Anse.[1] In 1177 the Archbishop of Canterbury endeavoured to bring back under his episcopal control the monks of Malmesbury, who, as *census-payers* of the Holy See, had become emancipated from it. In 1205 the bishop of Coïmbra defended the rights of the bishops against the monks of his diocese, rights which in 1206 the bishop of Worcester defended once more against the monks of Evesham.[2] St. Bernard himself admitted that the exemptions were becoming an abuse.[3] But the complaints of the bishops and the criticisms of St. Bernard were made in vain. The monks, more and more eager for "liberty," continued to ask it of Rome, which, on the payment of the apostolic census, hastened to grant it.

Following the example of the monasteries, the kingdoms too become *census-payers* of the apostolic see.[4] The princes, who to assure their independence made themselves vassals of St. Peter, agreed to repay this service. Boleslas of Poland—we learn this from his letter to Benedict VIII. (1013)—promised to pay the census to Rome. Robert Guiscard swore that he would pay every year to St. Peter "twelve denarii for every yoke of oxen": this oath he swore for himself and for his successors. Sancho of Aragon promised

[1] Fabre, p. 91.
[2] *Id.*, pp. 102–108.
[3] *De consideratione*, iii. 4.
[4] Fabre, pp. 120–123.

an annual tribute of five hundred mangons (1089). Alfonso of Portugal, for a census of four ounces of gold (1143), bought from the apostolic see the right to wear the crown, a price which was afterwards (1179) raised to two marks in gold. And while several kingdoms spontaneously bound themselves to pay the census, others were constrained by Rome. In 1081, Gregory VII. wrote to his legates in France:[1] "We shall inform the Gauls that they ought every year to pay the blessed Peter one denarius for each house, since the Emperor Charlemagne—whose authentic authorization is preserved in the archives of the basilica of St. Peter—collected every year for the apostolic see twelve hundred pounds in three places, namely, Aix-la-Chapelle, Le Puy, Saint Gilles-sur-Rhône." Later on (1156) Adrian IV. granted Ireland to Henry II. of England, so that each Irish house might pay the denarius of St. Peter.[2] In spite of his pretended "authentic authorization," Gregory VII. was unable to obtain anything from France. Adrian IV., on the contrary, succeeded. While cardinal and legate of the Holy See, this pope had ten years before subjected Norway and Sweden to the census. Nevertheless his undertaking was then doubtless limited to re-establishing the denarius of St. Peter in these countries which had been introduced by Canute, and neglected after the death of that prince. The most brilliant success was achieved by Innocent III., when through his legate he forced John Lackland to subject England to the suzerainty of Rome. John then engaged to pay an annual tribute of one thousand marks to the apostolic see; and he made this engagement for all his successors. This revenue had nothing to do with the denarius of St. Peter which England was paying already. Kings were obliged to pay it out of their personal resources so long as the denarius was charged to the English people. At the council of Lyons (1245) the English protested against the tribute to which their kings after John Lackland were subjected.[3] The Pope let them manifest their ill will, but

[1] Jaffé, 5203.

[2] Fabre, p. 123.

[3] Matth. Pâris, *Chronica majora*, 1245; Luard, iv. 440; see "The Political Advance of the Papacy."

he took good care not to abolish an institution so profitable for the pontifical treasury.[1]

The census, it need hardly be said, gave rise to extensive accounts, which were first organized by Gregory VII. and were perfected by Cencius, the Pope's chamberlain, who afterwards became Pope Honorius III. In 1192, Cencius prepared the *Liber Censuum*, the book of *census-payers* of the Roman Church; that is, the register wherein were inscribed, province by province, the names of the debtors of the Roman Church, and the amount of their revenues.

III. "Annates" is the name given to the revenue which the new incumbent of a benefice paid to the Roman court. The amount of this tax was equal to the revenues of the first year; hence[2] the name "annates." They were called also *annalia, annualia, fructus primi anni,* the first fruits. In other words, the popes ordered the beneficiaries to abandon the revenues of the first year. This was the right of the annates, or the right to the annates.

Clement V. was the first to make use of the annates to enrich the papacy. It should be remarked that he did not invent them. They were in existence before his time; but before, they enriched only the monks, the bishops, and even the kings, and the popes only gave these persons permission to collect the tax. Thus in 1216, Honorius III. authorized the bishop of Toulon to profit for two years by the benefices of his diocese. In 1246, the Archbishop of Canterbury obtained the annates of all the benefices of his province. Later (1256) the king of England, Henry III., received for a period of five years all the annates of his kingdom. These examples were contagious, especially in England. In 1306, Clement V., who observed the eagerness with which the English prelates claimed from him the annates of their dioceses, according to an old chronicler, reasoned as follows:

[1] The payment was stopped in 1366; see W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, ii. 433, iii. 346, Oxford, 1884.

[2] Berthier, *Histoire de l'Église gallicane*, xv. p. vi; T. Kirsch, *Die päpstliche Kollektorien in Deutschland während des xiv. Jahrhunderts*, p. xxiv, Paderborn, 1894; Samaran-Mollat, pp. 23–34; Haller, pp. 49–52, 102, 128, 129.

"The superior, if he wishes, can very well appropriate to himself the privilege which the inferior demands." On this principle he for three years awarded to himself the annates of England and Scotland. He thus created the "pontifical" annates by diverting, for the profit of the papacy, a source of revenue which up to that time had found its way into the coffers of the monasteries or of the bishops.

Clement v. did not tax the new incumbents of benefices except for a period of three years, and then only in England and Scotland. The tax which he instituted was therefore at once temporary and local. But it soon increased. John xxii. the successor of Clement v. by the bull *Si gratanter advertitis* of 1316, which another bull of 1326 completed, extended the annates to the whole Church. He indeed presented this as a temporary measure, but he took care to renew it periodically, so that during his pontificate the new incumbents of the benefices were obliged to pay the revenues of the first year to the Apostolic Church. In the seventeenth century, and even in the council of Constance, John xxii. was regarded as the "inventor, the author, and the father of the annates." This opinion, while not strictly true, was not altogether false. Considered as pontifical taxes, the annates existed, but they were local and temporary. John xxii. made them general. He it was also who, while pretending to give them only a temporary character, actually made them perpetual. In this respect he was the father of the annates. He developed the institution begun by Clement v.

He developed it, but did not bring it to perfection. In fact he taxed only an insignificant part of the benefices, and let the majority escape. That was a lacuna, but it was filled. Clement vi. (1342–1352), Innocent vi. (1352–1362), by skilful measures gradually closed the meshes of the pontifical net, through which only the lesser fry could pass. Therefore from the time of Clement vi. the annates were a considerable source of income; yet some beneficiaries escaped the obligation of delivering the revenues of the first year to the Pope. Gregory xi. remedied this oversight, and subjected all the new incumbents of benefices to the law (1375). Nevertheless,

about this time was established the custom of paying the Apostolic Chamber, not all, but only half, the revenue of the first year.

At the very beginning the pontifical annates gave rise to complaints and protests in England, which were formulated for the first time in 1307, and were renewed in 1343, 1376, and 1390. Yet the popes by skilful manœuvres won the kings to their side, and were able to exact payment. But the Great Schism put the institution of Clement v. to a terrible test. Let us first notice what took place in France. After twenty years of effort uselessly directed to repairing this division, the Church of France resorted to a radical measure. It cut off supplies from its Pope Benedict xiii. by suppressing his annates (1398). Political intrigues, it is true, caused the annulment of this decision. In 1403 the annates were re-established in France. But in 1405 they were again suppressed by an Act of Parliament, and the royal ordinance of February 1407, which were published throughout France in May 1408.[1] In 1414 they were re-established in favour of John xxiii., who earnestly demanded them. Nevertheless, this concession was merely provisional. Therefore at the council of Constance the "French nation"—as we know, this council was divided into nations—endeavoured to procure the suppression of the annates (1415). Gerson severely condemned the means employed by Rome to collect this tax. In the meeting of 24th November 1415, a memoir was read in which the annates were attacked.[2] The following are some points in this important document: "What is more evident than the excesses committed in the collection of annates in the pontificate of John xxiii.? Sometimes in a single year there are three changes of incumbents in the same benefice, and therefore the annates are paid three times a year. It happens that the Pope receives the entire revenue for the year, while the cardinals require besides half the same sum. . . . What harm is not done by this withdrawal of money from

[1] Noël-Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, iii. 313, 607, Paris, 1896.

[2] Noël-Valois, iv. 417.

the kingdom of France? John XXIII. has declared that he had in reserve one million seventy thousand florins. It can be believed that the cardinals themselves possess a sum equal to half of this. Whence has come the greater part of this sum, if not from the Church of France? Indeed, according to the taxation of the Apostolic Chamber, the great benefices of France, that is the bishopries and the abbeys, return to the Holy See the sum of 697,750 English pounds per annum; for they are all renewed approximately every six years. If the other churches were established on like foundations, the annates would return nearly seven millions to the Holy See. Yet the Pope and the cardinals have revenues enough without this tax. And the Church of France in particular has granted them twenty thousand pounds of revenue."

In spite of the considerable influence which they exercised at Constance, the French did not succeed in making their opinion prevail with respect to the annates. They had at least the consolation of bringing over the king of France to their point of view. The suppression of the annates—or, to speak more generally, the restoration of the "liberties"—was decided by the royal ordinance of March 1418 (published in April), an ordinance abolished by the Burgundian government in September 1418, but maintained by Charles VII. There would have been no change in this situation had France been the mistress of her destinies. But France was under the domination of the English, who, in order to enlist the Pope in their interest, flattered his pretensions, and among other concessions granted the annates, asking him, in view of the distress of the times, to surrender half of his rights (1425). Charles VII., to whom the support of the papacy was indispensable, imitated the policy of his enemies, and made concessions to Rome. It was thus that the annates were re-established in France (embassy of 1425, and concordat of Genazzano of 1426).[1]

The Church of France had difficulty in bearing this burden, and Charles VII. looked for an opportunity of giving

[1] Noël-Valois, *Hist. de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges*, pp. xxvi, xxxvi–xlvii.

relief. The opportunity soon came. In 1435 the council of Bâle suppressed the annates (Session xxi.); and then made an advance in the way of reform. It decreed more and more radical measures against Pope Eugenius IV., and finally deposed him. This was in 1439. In 1438 he had not yet been suspended from his functions. At this serious juncture Charles VII. consulted his clergy as to the attitude which he should assume. The French bishops met at Bourges and adopted a policy of compromise (1438). They accepted most of the disciplinary decisions of the council, but out of respect to the Pope they weakened them.[1] By means of these moderate measures the annates were suppressed in principle, nevertheless Eugenius IV. was authorized to collect during life a fifth part of the tax imposed by the council of Constance, with the obligation to surrender every other subsidy.

Eugenius IV. thought that this was making too great a sacrifice. He was indeed willing to grant the beneficiaries certain delays in payment; he was willing besides to renounce his right when a benefice was changed twice in the same year. But he carried his generosity no farther, and demanded the maintenance of the annates. The Church of France, for its part, continued to demand the suppression of a tax which was regarded as odious. The unknown Gallican who about 1445 fabricated the "Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis," took pains to insert in it an article against the "pecuniary exactions of the court of Rome."[2] Directly after the death of Louis XI., at a time when the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was temporarily suspended, the States-General of Tours (1484) were preoccupied, says Masselin, with "preventing the money of the kingdom from being brought to Rome." They asked the king, Charles VIII., to put an end to the injury inflicted on France by Rome, "by the exaction of *vaccans annates*." They denounced the "blood lettings" and "marvellous clearances" made by the popes since Martin V. in the "poor kingdom."[3]

[1] Noël-Valois, pp. lxxxiii, lxxxvii. [2] Noël-Valois, pp. clxi, clxxiv.
[3] "Journal de Masselin," in *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, pp. 83, 602, 669, 671.

When Francis I. and Leo X. made the concordat of 1516, they knew that their action would cause an explosion of wrath throughout the Church of France. Therefore, with a feeling of modesty, they did not venture to inscribe the annates in their contract.[1] But this was merely a device. In exchange for the advantages secured to him by the contract, the king secretly granted the Pope pecuniary compensations. The annates, of which the treaty made no mention, were maintained; yet with this reservation, that the benefices with a revenue not exceeding twenty-four ducats should be exempted from the tax. Practically all the non-consistorial benefices were regarded as yielding a revenue not exceeding twenty-four ducats. Thanks to this fiction, the consistorial benefices alone were subjected to the annates. That was far too much for the Church of France, which was unwilling to pay anything. The States-General of Orleans (1560) protested against the annates, in consequence of which a royal ordinance was published from which the following is an extract: "We order that all transportation of gold and of silver beyond our kingdom, and payment of the denarius under the pretence of annates, of non-occupation or otherwise, shall be subject to seizure, and shall cease." But this ordinance remained a dead letter, and the annates were paid.

Germany cared no more than France for the annates. At Constance the Germans made an effort to suppress this tax. Yet through the influence of Martin V. they yielded and surrendered the power to him, but for only five years (the Germanic concordat of 1418). In 1447, profiting by the embarrassments which the council of Bâle had caused the papacy, they obliged Eugenius IV. to relinquish the annates (concordat of the princes). But the following year, Pope Nicholas V. had his revenge in the concordat of Vienne, in which the annates were re-established. After this the German incumbents of the ecclesiastical benefices gave the papacy the revenues of the first year, with certain restrictions which were afterwards adopted in the French concordat of 1516, and which Martin V. had already accepted. Payment

[1] Berthier, xv. p. xxviii.

was made reluctantly. In 1457, Martin Meyer, the chancellor of Mayence, found fault with the annates and other Roman exactions which were impoverishing Germany. Two years later Diether, archbishop of Mayence, refused to pay the annates, which were fixed by the Apostolic Chamber at ten thousand crowns. And in 1522 the diet of Nürnberg asked the Pope to correct the abuses of the Roman court, especially the abuse of the annates. Of course Rome did not give up its revenues. In reply to the complaints of Meyer, Cardinal Æneas Sylvius, who became Pope Pius II., declared that the impoverished state of Germany was owing to the luxury of the prelates and not to the Roman court. Archbishop Diether was excommunicated and finally deposed. As for the diet of Nürnberg, it encountered the haughty refusal of the nuncio Chieregato.[1]

In England, the "Statute of Carlisle" (1307) and the "Statute of Provisions" (1351), which were especially intended to take from the popes the nomination to bishoprics and other inferior benefices, affected the annates.[2] When these rules, which for a long time had been a dead letter, were enforced (from 1390, and especially from 1407), the annates disappeared. They had no place in the concordat of Constance (1418).

IV. The Tithes were a tax levied on the revenues of ecclesiastical benefices. This tax was for the purpose of paying the expenses of the crusades and of supplying the wants of the Holy See. It was supposed to amount to the tenth part of the net revenues; hence the name tithe or tenth part.

The tithes were of royal origin. They were devised by kings, and for some time they existed under this form, before they were adopted by the papacy. It was Louis VII., king of France, who for the first time (1146) imposed upon his subjects a contribution for the second crusade. He repeated this measure about 1163, perhaps more frequently. His

[1] Koch, *Sanctio pragmatica Germanorum illustrata*, pp. 181, 210; Argentorati, 1789; Hefele, vii. 480; Pastor, i. 297, iv. 2, 89.

[2] Stubbs, iii. 338.

son, Philip Augustus, followed his father's example. In 1188 he established the "Saladine tithe" (for the crusade against Saladin). Later, he again demanded money of the churches and monasteries. His contemporary, Richard Cœur de Lion, also instituted the "Saladine tithe" in his dominions, but imposed it only on the laity. Louis VII. and Philip Augustus are thus the authors of the ecclesiastical tax known by the name of "tithes." The way was prepared for them by the English king William Rufus, who (1096) extorted money from the ecclesiastics of England. Nevertheless William resorted to this fiscal measure in order to make war on his brother Robert, and not to pay the expenses of the crusade.

The clergy looked with disfavour at kings taking money from their purse, and adopted measures in consequence. The council of Tours (1163) forbade the bishops, under penalty of deposition, to pay tithes. The third Lateran council (1179), which was somewhat less radical, tolerated tithes, but made them subordinate to the will of the clergy; so that kings before taxing ecclesiastical property were obliged to have the consent of the bishops, abbots, and other beneficiaries. The fourth Lateran council (1215) ordered the bishops never to pay taxes to kings without having previously applied to Rome. By virtue of this rule the Pope became the arbiter of tithes, and kings could not tax the clergy without his authorization. It was a great victory for the papacy. Innocent III., who at that time occupied the apostolic see, desired a still more decisive triumph, and he obtained it. During the meeting of the same council he exacted a half tithe from the clergy to pay the expenses of the crusade.[1]

In 1188, Clement III. had levied a tax on the property of the clergy; and in 1199, Innocent III. had renewed this measure.[2] But at that time Rome had not yet placed this property under its control. The edict of 1215, aside from the question of tithes, is therefore remarkable. It marks

[1] Matth. Pâris, *Chron. maj.*, 1215; Luard, ii. 632.

[2] Gottlob, *Kreuzablass*, p. 188; *Kreuzzugsteuern*, p. 21; Potthast, 915, 922.

the time when this tax, hitherto collected by kings, was claimed by the papacy, and took its place among the items of the pontifical fiscal system. There was no delay in enforcing it. In 1225 the legate of Honorius III. made the clergy of France pay the expenses of the crusade against the Albigenses. When Gregory IX. undertook to depose Frederick II., he needed a great deal of money to carry out his plan, in order to reduce the German Cæsar to a helpless condition. This money he demanded of the clergy, and his legates sought it throughout Christendom. At the council of Lyons (1245), Innocent IV. decided that the pontifical commissaries should for a period of three years take not only a tithe, but a half of the revenues of the benefices which were not protected by the residence of the incumbents.[1] The sums collected were destined for the crusade. Alexander IV., who had formed a plan to bestow the crown of Sicily on Edmund, an English prince, collected from the English clergy the sums necessary for this chimerical undertaking.[2] His successor, Urban IV., made fresh demands for money on the clergy of England and of France[3] (1263). He wished to free the Holy Land; more than this, he wished to re-establish the Latin empire of Constantinople. In 1265, Clement IV. ordered the clergy of France to pay a tithe for three years, in order to aid the crusade of St. Louis and the expedition of Charles of Anjou. The same Pope through his legate exacted a tithe from the English benefices, for what purpose, we do not know (1265). On another occasion he granted the king of England a tithe on all the benefices of his kingdom (1266). At the second Council of Lyons (1274), Gregory X. required all the beneficiaries of the Church to pay a tithe during a period of six years, for a crusade which did not take place.[4] Philip III., king of France, on the eve of his expedition against the king of Aragon (1283), was authorized by Martin IV.

[1] Mansi, xxiii. 613; Hefele, v. 1118.

[2] Gottlob, *Päpstliche Darlehnschulden*, p. 677; *Kreuzzugsteuern*, pp. 85, 209; E. Jordan, *De mercatoribus camerae apostolicae*, p. 73, Paris, 1909.

[3] Raynald, 1263, 20.

[4] Jordan, *De mercatoribus*, p. 77.

to levy a tithe on the benefices of the kingdom of France. At the end of the thirteenth century the contribution of tithes was in the hands of the papacy, and Boniface VIII. merely formulated in theory a state of things accepted by all when, speaking of ecclesiastical property, he said:[1] "The apostolic see has the absolute power of administering it. . . . It can dispose of it without the consent of anyone. It can exact, as it sees fit, the hundreth, the tenth, or any other part of this property."

Complaints and recriminations were not wanting. They were frequent, and at times went so far as open resistance. In 1225 the clergy of France granted the legate of Honorius III. a half tithe; but in granting it he observed that he understood that it was to give help, not to satisfy an obligation. Therefore, in the following year, when the pontifical legate returned to the charge and exacted the payment of a new tithe, protests arose. The chapters of the four provinces of Reims, Sens, Tours, and Rouen wrote to the Pope, who at that time was Gregory IX. (1227). They said in substance: "We have made a free-will offering to the apostolic see: the legate transforms this act of charity into a debt which he pretends to have the power of exacting periodically."[2] In 1229, Gregory IX. obtained money without much difficulty; but in 1240 he met, at least in England, with violent opposition. To the claims of the pontifical legate the parish priests replied:[3] "It is not permitted to exact money in order to make war on the emperor [Frederick], as if he were a heretic, considering that he has not been condemned nor convicted by the judgment of the Church; he is only excommunicated. Just as the Roman Church has its patrimony, the administration of which belongs to the Pope, so the other churches have theirs, which is in no manner tributary to the Roman Church. . . . The power to bind and loose, granted to

[1] P. Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques de la France*, ii. 404, Paris, 1898.

[2] Raynald, 1227, 56; Viollet, ii. 403.

[3] Matth. Pâris, *Chron. maj.*, 1240; Luard, iv. 39.

St. Peter, does not authorize him to make these exactions." It was also said:[1] "Contributions of this sort have already been imposed, and when the money was extorted the Pope and the emperor have become reconciled. Yet not a penny has been returned; on the contrary, if anything remained to be paid, it was rigorously exacted." At the council of Lyons (1245) there were fresh complaints made by the English, complaints directed especially against the census and the benefice provisions, but also against the pontifical tithes. "The Italians," it was said, "acquire every year from England more than sixty thousand silver marks; the king himself does not receive so much."[2] In 1247 it was that model of kings, St. Louis himself, who sent Pope Innocent IV. a memorial in which the exactions of the Roman court were denounced. At the head of these exactions figure "the levies of subsidies on the Church of France, the suppression of which was demanded by St. Louis." The respectful but firm document begins as follows:[3] "The King, my master, has for a long time hardly endured the wrong which has been done to the Church of France, and therefore to himself and to his kingdom. . . . Up to this time he has been able to believe or to hope that you would desist from these troublesome proceedings, either of your own accord or because of his repeated petitions. But seeing to-day that his patience has had no effect, that each day leads to greater injuries, after duly deliberating, he has sent us to set forth his rights and to inform you of his opinions."

In the second half of the thirteenth century resistance became more energetic. In 1257 the council of London decided not to pay the subsidies which Pope Alexander IV.

[1] Matth. Pâris, p. 40.

[2] *Id.*, IV. 443 (see also p. 419); farther on, pp. 518–522, new complaints formulated in 1246, that is a year after the council of Lyons.

[3] *Id.*, VI. 99–112. The French embassy charged to present this memorial is mentioned by Peter of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury, who places it in the month of May 1247. Matth. Pâris, VI. 131, says that the memorial was presented to the Pope during the council of Lyons, but on this point he is mistaken. See Haller, p. 27.

imposed on the English clergy.[1] In 1263, Urban IV. encountered a like opposition in England, Castile, and even in certain provinces of France. The council of Paris alone was more conciliatory. But even it refused to co-operate by means of subsidies in re-establishing the Latin empire of Constantinople. It did not grant aid except for an expedition to the Holy Land. It refused to grant this aid as an obligatory debt; it granted it only as a voluntary offering.[2] Clement IV. was not more fortunate.[3] Upon his demanding subsidies, several French chapters replied with a refusal accompanied by threats. They declared that they regarded the excommunication of Rome with contempt, and were ready to cause a schism rather than submit to the oppression of the papacy. In his reply Clement IV. confesses that "insults have been vomited" upon him. Afterwards it was the princes who acquired their freedom. In 1294, Philip le Bel, king of France, and Edward I., king of England, imposed a tribute on their clergy, without previously taking the opinion of the Pope. This was contrary to the decree of the Lateran council, which subjected the levying of tithes to the authorization of Rome.

But what came of this movement of opposition? Nothing, or almost nothing; in most cases bishops, chapters, parish priests, and monks were forced to submit by kings whom popes had previously won to their interests. They paid, therefore, after having sworn that they would not pay. The attitude of Philip le Bel provoked a more serious conflict, in which the Pope was momentarily defeated.[4] Boniface VIII. indeed, after having, in his bull *Clericis laicos*, strictly forbidden kings to touch ecclesiastical property without his authorization, retreated before the threats of Philip, and left to that prince full liberty to levy tributes on his clergy, without the previous consent of the apostolic see. But in 1301 he again took up the thesis of the bull *Clericis*

[1] Mansi, xxiii. 948; Hefele, vi. 59.
[2] Raynald, 1264, 19–21; Mansi, xxiii. 1112; Hefele, vi. 85.
[3] Raynald, 1267, 55.
[4] See chapter on "The Political Advance of the Papacy."

laicos, complicating it with pretensions to suzerainty (bulls *Salvator mundi* and *Ausculta fili*). And this time he had the last word—not on the political field, where, on the contrary, he suffered complete defeat, but on the administrative field. His claims relating to tithes, which were those of the fourth Lateran council, were admitted throughout the fourteenth century. As a rule the kings did not exact tribute of the clergy without the authorization of the Pope. When they neglected this formality—the States-General of 1356 wished to get rid of it—they were called to order. For their own part the popes levied tithes, not only to meet the expenses of the crusades, but for their personal use. Things did not always take place according to their wishes. In 1357, Innocent VI., having claimed a tithe from the German clergy, met with a refusal which was emphasized at the diet of Mayence (1359), where the chancellor of the court Palatine delivered a violent discourse against the papal rapacity. In 1392 the French Pope Clement VII., under analogous circumstances, provoked the indignation of the clergy of France. But in spite of difficulties Innocent VI. found a means of extorting money from the Germans. Clement VII. also caused the French to pay.

The council of Constance made a fresh attempt to defend ecclesiastical property against the covetousness of kings and popes. In its forty-third session (21st March 1418) it subjected the levying of tithes to the previous consent of the bishops; but this regulation resulted only in provoking conflicts between Rome and the episcopate. The Turks were threatening Christendom. In order to arrest them, soldiers were needed, and to provide soldiers, money was needed. Popes Nicholas V., Calixtus III., Pius II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII. summoned the princes to the crusade and exacted tithes. This second task was especially thankless. At the assembly of Frankfort (October 1454), the Germans refused to pay the tithe, pretending that Pope Nicholas V. would apply it to his personal use, and not to the war against the Turks. At the synod of Aschaffenburg the archbishop of Mayence reproached the Roman Curia with exploiting the

German nation by means of tithes and indulgences. The same grievance was formulated the following year in the synod of Frankfort[1] (1456). In France, the university of Paris, the clergy of Normandy, and the clergy of Autun opposed the levy of the tithe and appealed from the Pope Calixtus III. to the general council (1456). In spite of all protests, the money was forthcoming; but no one ever knew what became of it. Certainly it was not used against the Turks. A like thing happened under Innocent VIII. (1490). This Pope announced that he was about to wage war against the Turks, and send emissaries all over Christendom, charged with draining the purses of the clergy. Two hundred thousand crowns in gold went into the pontifical treasury. There was no longer any question of a war. These repeated embezzlements did not add to the prestige of the Roman Curia. The legate Cajetanus had experience of this in the diet of Augsburg (1518). He came in the name of Leo X. to ask the Germans to contribute to the expenses of an expedition against the Turks. He received the answer that the German nation, already drained by the exactions of Rome, was without resources; but it was also made plain that no confidence was put in the probity of the apostolic see.[2]

V. The Servitia[3] were a revenue which was paid to the Pope and his court by the bishops and the abbots of monasteries for their nomination, consecration, the confirmation of their election, and the reception of their bulls. The term "servitia" dates only from the thirteenth century, but the revenue itself was far older. It existed in the time of Pope St. Gregory, who, in order to put an end to the abuses of which he was a witness, authorized the offerings which were made voluntarily as a token of gratitude, but he forbade the requisitions, under pain of anathema[4] (Roman Council of 595).

[1] Pastor, i. 680, 684; Noël-Valois, *Hist. de la Prag. Sanc.*, pp. clxxxv, 233.

[2] Christophe, *Hist. de la papauté pendant le xv^me siècle*, i. 428, ii. 15–17; Pastor, IV. i. 169; Fleury, *Hist. eccles.* liv. 117, 1.

[3] A. Gottlob, *Die Servitientaxen im 13 Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1903.

[4] Migne, lxxvii. 1337; Mansi, x. 475; Jaffé, 1365; Hefele, iii. 58.

According to the ordinance of St. Gregory, the Pope and his officers could accept voluntary offerings from the bishops, but were not allowed to exact nor even to request anything. We do not know whether, nor for how long a time, this law was observed. It is certain that at the end of the eleventh century it was forgotten. This is proved by the following citation from Yves of Chartres: "The chamberlains and ministers of the sacred palace require of the bishops and consecrated abbots many things which they adorn with the names of offerings and benedictions."[1] The third Lateran council (1179) condemned as a horrible thing the traffic in holy things (canon 7).[2] Yet in spite of its anathemas the Roman Curia continued to exploit the bishops and abbots. Certain too flagrant abuses were indeed corrected. Innocent III., for example, forbade his officials to resort to insults or violence in order to procure money. Previously the abbot St. Anastasius—who was afterwards Pope Eugenius III.—had insured an equality of salary among the cardinals (1143) by instituting a common treasury into which all receipts were paid.[3] But these reforms were not advanced to suppress the remuneration of the pontifical offices: they tended only to regulate them. In the thirteenth century bishops and abbots paid for their promotion, as in the past. They paid even more than in the past. For the Roman Curia, thinking that the revenues were insufficient, increased them by drawing more and more on the purse of the newly appointed bishops and abbots. In 1225, Honorius III., being vexed at the complaints provoked by this régime, endeavoured to obtain from each cathedral church one or two prebends, according to the country, and from each abbey, revenues equal to a prebend.[4] If it had succeeded, this plan would have permitted him to nourish all his ministers, great and small, without requiring payment for his administrative services. He failed; for the cathedrals refused to part with any of their prebends, and the abbeys were unwilling to surrender

[1] Ives, *Ep.*, 133; Migne, clxii. p. 142; A. Gottlob, p. 13.
[2] Mansi, xxii. 234; Hefele, v. 713.
[3] Gottlob, pp. 53, 55.
[4] *Id.*, p. 58.

any of their revenues. The papacy then continued to extend its financial operations. At a period which is not well defined, but which was prior to 1250, the "tax of servitia" made its appearance.[1] Most of the cathedrals and abbeys were subject to a tariff, and were obliged to pay for each promotion of a bishop or abbot a sum fixed in advance. This sum was designated by the term "servitia": and it was inscribed in a register which was called "The Book of the Taxes of the Chamber." It need hardly be said that the "servitia" increased and improved progressively. On the one hand an increasing number of bishoprics and abbeys were subject to the tax of the servitia; on the other hand, the tax was raised. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the servitia were divided into common servitia (*servitia communia*), small servitia (*servitia minuta*), and secret servitia (*servitia secreta*). The common servitia were destined for the Pope and cardinals: they usually amounted to one-third of the revenues of the bishopric or of the abbey, but they were often larger. The small servitia were divided between the household of the Pope, which received four-fifths, and the households of the cardinals, which took the remainder. These two servitia had a juridical character, and were inscribed in the book of taxes. The secret servitia, which were of no juridical value, were fees designed to purchase privately the favour of the Pope, or of a cardinal.[2]

The servitia, even when they were subject to a tariff, were considered by the Roman Curia as offerings freely made by the prelates. But this pretended freedom was a fiction. Actually, whoever refused to pay the servitia, after having acquired an honour, was excommunicated. In 1279 the archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham, was obliged to pay four thousand marks to the Curia. Not having this sum, he borrowed it from bankers, who advanced it to him, but they wished to be repaid at the end of five months, under pain of excommunication. When he found that he was in

[1] Haller, p. 39 (in opposition to Gottlob, who (p. 92) attributes the servitia to Alexander IV.).

[2] Gottlob, pp. 75, 102, 144.

danger of being excommunicated, the wretched Peckham exclaimed in his distress: "I would never have accepted episcopal consecration had I foreseen the terrible curse which was awaiting me."[1] In 1326 the monk Richard, being appointed abbot of St. Albans, received an order to pay the tax. "What tax?" said he; "we pay every year an ounce of gold for the census." "Be silent," replied the pontifical officers; "we are speaking to you of the tax fixed for the servitia. It is inscribed on the register as seven hundred and twenty marks, and at the rate of five florins per mark, that makes thirty-six hundred florins." They showed him the register in which the monastery of St. Albans was subjected to a tariff of seven hundred and twenty marks. Then he was made to swear an oath upon the gospels that he would pay this amount after a definite interval, and in case of non-payment, excommunication would follow.[2]

VI. The right of the Pallium was, as the name indicates, a revenue paid by archbishops when they received the pallium. Pope St. Gregory found this revenue in force, and in the council of 595, already mentioned, he undertook to suppress it. Nevertheless, a century and a half later (744) two Frankish archbishops, Abel and Ardobert, who at the instigation of Boniface went to Rome to seek the pallium, returned very much dissatisfied, and accused the Roman Curia of treating the grant of the pallium as a commercial transaction. Boniface made these complaints known to Pope Zacharias. The latter declared that he had been calumniated. According to him, everything at Rome was done gratuitously, and the pallium offered no opportunity for an attempt to gain money.[3] In the eleventh century new recriminations were uttered; this time by the English archbishops. Moved by these reproaches, which seemed to him too well justified, King Canute gave disinterested advice to

[1] Ch. Martin, *Registrum epistolarum fratris J. Peckham*, i. 22, 23. (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland.)

[2] Th. Walsingham, *Gesta abbatum monasterii S. Albani*, ii. 190. (Chronicles and Memorials.)

[3] Among the letters of Boniface, M. G., *Epist.* iii. 315; Hauck, i. 528.

the Roman Curia. He made fair promises to it, as is proved by his letter written at Rome (1027): "I have complained to our lord the Pope, and have expressed to him my lively dissatisfaction at the enormous sums which have been exacted from my archbishops when the pallium was in question. He decided that this should not occur again."[1]

But the success achieved by Canute did not last long: for at the beginning of the twelfth century—we learn this from St. Anselm—when an English archbishop wished to obtain the pallium, he "sent money to Rome." The same thing happened subsequently. The right of the pallium took its place among the sources of the papal revenues. Attacked by the council of Bâle, and by the Pragmatic Sanction, it triumphantly survived these two assaults, and at the opening of the sixteenth century it flourished more than ever. At Mayence it amounted to twenty thousand florins.

VII. The right of Visitation was a revenue which certain bishops and abbots of monasteries were obliged to pay to the Roman Curia,[2] when the visit *ad limina* occurred. The amount of revenue varied in different episcopates and in different monasteries. The following facts demonstrate this. The archbishop of York was obliged to pay three hundred marks sterling every three years, which was the equivalent of twelve hundred florins. The archbishop of Tours, every two years was taxed six hundred pounds; the archbishop of Rouen, one thousand pounds every two years; the archbishop of Canterbury, three hundred pounds every two years; the abbot of Marmoutiers paid four hundred pounds every two years; the abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, ten marks every three years.

VIII. The Procuration meant at first the right which the bishops or their representatives had to be lodged by the parish priests to whom they made a canonical visit, with the pomp of princes. To give some idea of this extravagance it is sufficient

[1] Migne, cli. 1182; Anselm, *Ep.* iv. 88; Migne, clix. 245. See *Ep.* iii. 37, p. 72; Fabre, p. 134.

[2] F. Baumgarten, *Untersuchungen und Urkunden über die Camera Collegii Cardinalium*, cxxi.-cxxv.; Haller, p. 133.

to say that the third Lateran council[1] (1179), which wished to remedy the evil, forbade the archbishops to have in their train more than fifty horses, and forbade the bishops to have more than thirty. Another abuse consisted in making parish priests pay the expenses of a canonical visit which never took place. This is as much as needs be said.[2]

The councils forbade the bishops to exact procurations when they had not made the canonical visit; but in spite of this prohibition, which the council of Valencia (855) promulgated, and which the fourth Lateran council repeated, the abuse continued. It should be remarked that every one profited by this. The parish priests preferred to send money to the bishops rather than be supervised and ruined by them; the bishops were not sorry to receive the revenues without being inconvenienced. Thus it became the custom to pay the bishops the procurations, in order to indemnify them for canonical visits which were not made. Yet this usage was condemned by the councils. Therefore, from the time of Boniface VIII. we find certain bishops asking a dispensation of Rome. This dispensation was granted. The bishops thanked the Pope for having legitimized an order of things which had previously been illegal; and they showed their gratitude by giving the papacy a part of the money which had been collected. Thus the procurations took a place among the pontifical revenues. That took place under John XXII. (1316–1334). They were gifts made by the bishops to the Pope, to thank him for having freed them from fulfilling an obligation.

Indeed, there is reason to believe that the gifts of the bishops were not spontaneous, and that John XXII. demanded a share of these benefices. But the compulsion was concealed, and the first procurations were officially regarded as gifts. They did not long preserve this false appearance. Innocent VI. (1352–1362) in several provinces (of France) openly claimed two-thirds of the procurations. Urban V. made the law of Innocent VI. general (1369); and Gregory XI. completed

[1] Mansi, xxii. 234; Hefele, v. 712.

[2] Haller, p. 131; Samaran-Mollat, pp. 34–47.

the work of Urban V. Apostolic collectors went through the dioceses and deducted sums of money corresponding to the expenses which the canonical visit would have caused, had it taken place. Of course the bishops no longer made the canonical visit. Condemned as an abuse by the council of Constance (sess. 39, decr. v.), the pontifical procuration disappeared in the fifteenth century.

IX. The right of *Spolia* is the right which the popes claimed to the property of bishops on the death of the latter.[1] For a long time this right had been claimed by the people, by the clergy, by the princes. Upon the death of a bishop the people, whenever they were able, pillaged his house. The nobles and kings put an end to this disorder by adjudging the episcopal property to themselves. The councils on their own part intervened, endeavoured to make the churches heirs to the episcopal property, and with this in view enacted rules which the bishops themselves disobeyed. The popes then came forward, and placed the right of spolia among the sources of papal revenue.

The first steps in this direction were taken by Innocent IV., who in 1246 promulgated a constitution, according to the terms of which the property of clergy dying intestate reverted to the apostolic see. This constitution was addressed to the Church of England, but in that country it encountered so much opposition that it could not be enforced. The undertaking of Innocent IV. remained merely a plan. In 1311, Clement V., who was in search of money, was urged by Raymond Lullius to lay hands on the spolia of deceased bishops, but he refused. It was John XXII. (1316–1334) who carried out the idea of Innocent IV. and of Raymond Lullius. During the reign of this pontiff the spolia of the archbishopric of Auch, of the bishoprics of Toulouse, of St. Papoul, of Mirepoix, of Carcassone, of Alet, of Couserans, of Agele, of Lodève; of the abbots of Lorèze, of Aniane, of St. Paul of Narbonne, were seized for the Holy See. The fiscal proceeding, so brilliantly begun by John XXII., was developed by his successors, particularly by Gregory XI. (1370–1378). In the

[1] Samaran-Mollat, pp. 47–52, 114; Viollet, ii. 349–352.

fourteenth century the spolia formed one of the most considerable sources of revenue for the papacy,—and also one of the most odious. The popes had frequently to resort to excommunication in order to take possession of the prey which the heirs of the bishops disputed with them. At the time of the Great Schism, the French popes Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. carried their exactions so far that the king of France put a stop to them. Abolished in France (1406) by royal command, the right of spolia was condemned at Constance (sess. 39, can. 5). Yet a half century later the pontifical collectors passed through France in search of spolia, but Louis XI., by an ordinance of 1464, stopped the exercise of this industry.

X. The right of Vacancies is the right which the popes claimed to the revenues of vacant benefices, that is to say, those deprived of their titulars.[1] This fiscal measure was established by John XXII., who seems to have made it advance *pari passu* with the right of the spolia and the annates. Every time that the Roman Curia took possession of the patrimony of a deceased prelate, it adjudged to itself besides, the revenues of the benefice during the vacancy, and then claimed from his successor the revenues of the first year. Spolia, vacancies, annates succeeded one another as links in a chain. Nevertheless Benedict XII., the successor of John XXII., disregarded the annates, and preferred to utilize the vacancies. His procedure was simple. When a beneficiary died, Benedict unduly prolonged the vacancy of the See, and during the whole interval he collected its revenues. He was afraid, he said, of appointing unworthy titulars; and this convenient pretext permitted to justify his conduct. The dissatisfaction that he provoked, alarmed his successor, Clement VI., who gave up the vacancies and returned to the annates. But Urban V. and Gregory XI. thought that if the annates were useful, so too were the vacancies; and they reserved the profits of the benefices which had been deprived of their titulars. To be exact, we should remark that only

[1] Samaran-Mollat, p. 62; Baluze, *Vitæ paparum avenionensium*, i. 240; Haller, pp. 122, 130.

the benefices whose titulars were appointed by the Pope were subjected to the right of vacancies. But from the time of John XXII. the papacy was so well able to extend its right of collation, that under Gregory XI. it bestowed all the benefices. As a consequence, it deducted in advance the right of vacancies from them all. The council of Constance (sess. 43), presided over by Martin V., abolished this right.

XI. The Caritative Subsidies were originally free gifts made under certain circumstances by the priests to the bishops to aid the latter when they were embarrassed financially.[1] John XXII. utilized this practice, and asked the bishops to come to the help of the Holy See with generous alms. His successors followed his example. Thus the caritative subsidies, thanks to the initiative of John XXII., served to feed the pontifical treasury. The collectors charged with taking them were empowered to excommunicate the beneficiaries who refused to open their purses. These subsidies were therefore veritable revenues; but they kept their original name, and were called "caritative," as if they were evoked by the compassion of bishops and beneficiaries for the embarrassment of the papacy.

XII. In the first half of the tenth century Pope Leo VII. granted Indulgences to the benefactors of the monasteries of Cluny and Gorze. His successor, Stephen VIII., conferred the same privileges on a monastery of nuns.[2] By Urban II. indulgences were subsequently granted to the benefactors of the monastery of Pavilly (1091), and by Gelasius II., to the Christians of Spain, who by their alms contributed to the restoration of the Church of Saragossa, or who came to the aid of the clergy of that city. Nevertheless up to the middle of the twelfth century the popes showed reserve in advancing upon this path. Gregory VII. refused even to enter upon it at all.[3]

[1] Samaran-Mollat, pp. 56–60.

[2] Jaffé, 3607, 3617; N. Paulus, *Mittelalterliche Absolutionen: Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, xxxii. 443 (1908); Migne, cxxxi. 1075 (Jaffé, 3605, 3609, 3617, is insufficient).

[3] Gottlob, *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass*, pp. 241, 244, 95, Stuttgart, 1906.

But the bishops had fewer scruples. They distributed indulgences profusely to those who furnished money for the building of churches.[1] This was the origin of the trade in indulgences. It was developed under the auspices of Rome, but at first not to its profit. On the contrary, it served exclusively to enrich the monasteries, the churches, and the bishops. From the middle of the twelfth century the situation changed. Then the papacy diverted the stream of wealth which flowed from the indulgences, and it employed it in fertilizing its own works.

The first pontifical undertaking which profited by this pious traffic was the Crusade, and the first Pope who thought of aiding the Crusade by the commercial value of indulgences was Eugenius III. To procure money on the eve of the second crusade, Eugenius III. remitted one-seventh of penance to all those who contributed by their alms to the success of the holy expedition (1145 or 1146). Clement III. (1188) and Innocent III. (1199) imitated Eugenius III. They, too, promised indulgences to those who by their alms should aid in sending armies to the Holy Land.[2] Henceforth the tradition was established: every call to the Crusade was accompanied by a sale of indulgences, which, together with the tithes, served to furnish the funds necessary for the expedition.

From the first years of the thirteenth century, parallel to the crusades, the papacy organized various military expeditions:[3] at first against the Albigenses; then against political enemies,[4] against Frederick, Conrad, Ezzelin, Manfred, Conradus, Peter III. of Aragon. With great skill the papacy likened these wars to the crusades to the Holy Land. Its preachers declared to the people that the Albigenses were heretics worse than the infidels, that Frederick and the other adversaries of the pontifical policy were dangerous heretics: in a word, that the expeditions against the enemies of Rome were real crusades.

Thereafter it was logical to extend to these "internal crusades" the financial system of which the crusades to the

[1] Gottlob, p. 247.
[2] *Id.*, pp. 183–185.
[3] See below, Crusades.
[4] Gottlob, p. 258; Lea, iii. 153.

Holy Land were the beneficiaries. Of course the popes adopted this view; and after beginning by selling indulgences for the war against the Mussulmans, they sold them to enlist soldiers to oppose their political enemies. They soon sold them to contribute to their daily needs. It is this spectacle which was witnessed in the case of the indulgence at the jubilee instituted in 1300 by Boniface VIII. This indulgence required only visits to the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. No money was exacted. But this was destined to draw to those basilicas crowds who would unavoidably give alms. Under the appearance of a gratuity, the indulgence of the jubilee was necessarily productive. Indeed its productiveness exceeded all expectations. Millions of the faithful assembled, and enriched the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as the Romans themselves. Originally the indulgence of the jubilee was granted only once every century. But for so fruitful an industry, such an interval was far too long.[1] At the instance of the Romans, Clement VI. (1343) reduced the period between the jubilees to half a century. In 1389, Urban VI., at the limit of his resources, took advantage of the precious indulgence. He decided that the period of jubilee should thereafter be reduced to thirty-three years, and to make this principle directly applicable he proclaimed a jubilee for the following year (1390). Pope Paul II. did even better (1470); he reduced the period of jubilee to a quarter of a century. In conformity to this legislation, the jubilee took place in 1475, and from that time on it recurred every twenty-five years. Sixtus IV. (1475) decided that during the period of the jubilee every indulgence other than that of the jubilee was to be suppressed. This prudent measure, which had the advantage of preventing dangerous rivalries, was maintained. Alexander VI. (1500) authorized strangers to acquire the indulgence of the jubilee without coming to Rome, provided they paid a fifth part of the amount which their pilgrimage to the capital of the Christian world would

[1] Bull *Unigenitus* in *Extravag. communes*, v. 9; E. Amort, *De origine, progressu, valore, et fructu indulgentiarum*, i. 84; Raynald, 1470, 55; 1500, 25; Pastor, ii. 385, 509; iii. 512; Lea, *Auricular Confession*, iii. 214.

have cost them. Furthermore, he permitted pilgrims, on condition that they paid an indemnity, to shorten the time of their stay at Rome, which had hitherto been fixed at fifteen days. But these expedients, which manifested too plainly certain industrial preoccupations, were not renewed. Nevertheless it should be said for Alexander VI. that (in 1390) Boniface IX. authorized foreigners to acquire the indulgence of the jubilee without leaving home, on condition that they paid the sum which the journey to Rome would have cost them.

We now meet with another very famous indulgence,—that of St. Peter.[1] In 1506, Julius II. caused the ancient basilica of St. Peter to be torn down, and he undertook to rebuild it on a very great scale. He needed money for this gigantic work. Julius caused a sale of indulgences. His successor, Leo X., followed up these operations (1513), and did his utmost to extend them. Julius II. had sold indulgences only to the Italians; Leo sought new markets. Spain, England, and France did not indeed desire the pontifical merchandise. But Germany still remained. Leo X. gave orders to export the indulgence of St. Peter to the Germans (1513–1514). In the meantime Albert of Brandenburg, a young man twenty-four years old, of princely origin, who was already archbishop of Magdeburg, and administrator of the bishopric of Halbertstadt, secured his own appointment as archbishop of Mayence. This plurality of bishoprics was a grave breach of canon law. The Roman Curia authorized it only after the payment of ten thousand ducats, which had to be paid at once. Albert paid, after borrowing this sum from Fugger, the powerful banker. Then the Roman Curia, careful to defend the interests of Fugger, who wished to be repaid, made the following bargain with the young archbishop. Albert was appointed commissary of the indulgence of St. Peter for the Provinces of Mayence and Magdeburg, for the bishopric of Halbertstadt, and for the domains of the house of Brandenburg. As such, he was obliged to make known to

[1] Pastor, iii. 775; iv. i. 225; A. Schulte, *Die Fugger in Rom*, i. 115, Leipzig, 1904.

all these regions the precious merchandise, and to do his best to dispose of it. As a reward he was authorized to appropriate one-half the products of the sale; the other half was for St. Peter. The indulgence was valid for eight years; during this time all the indulgences could be suspended at the pleasure of the dealer. Albert accepted the bargain—although, without enthusiasm—and took as his under commissary the Dominican Tetzel, whom he charged with preaching the indulgence of the jubilee to the people (1517). Tetzel was a man of affairs, who on several occasions had given proof of it. He passed through the country, advertized the matter, and explained that every piece of money dropped into the chest provided for the indulgence saved a soul from the flames of purgatory. Unfortunately, on 31st October 1517, Martin Luther, a young monk of Wittenberg, nailed to the door of the castle church ninety-five theses which were injurious to the doctrine of indulgences. The same day he denounced to the archbishop of Mayence the commercialism of the latter's preacher. Tetzel endeavoured to defend himself; but he soon found that he was obliged to interrupt his oratorical tour and to disappear. Protestanism had just been born, and at its birth it had slain the indulgence of St. Peter.

XIII. Innocent III. gave a dispensation on several occasions to certain excommunicated persons, from going to Rome to secure absolution; but he exacted a sum of money from them. Learning, for example, that a husband whose wife had been seduced by a priest had cut off the priest's nose, and so had become subject to excommunication, Innocent authorized the man to obtain absolution from his bishop; but he obliged him to give for the crusade the money which the journey to Rome would have cost him.[1] The same Pope issued a bull by the terms of which all those who had made a vow to go on the crusade, and were unable to do so,—the preachers were ordered to exhort all the faithful, including old men, women, and children, to make this vow, —were to obtain absolution from their vow by paying a

[1] *Ep.*, vii. 156; Migne, ccxv. 46.

sum of money. Such is the origin of the sale of absolutions. It was Innocent III. who began this commerce.[1]

His successors advanced resolutely in the path which this great pope opened to them. In 1240, the legate of Gregory IX. in England published the following circular: "We have learned that certain crusaders who are unfit for war, are going to Rome to obtain absolution from their vow. We inform them that to spare them the trouble and expense of the journey, the Pope has charged us not only to absolve them, but to oblige them to redeem their vow. They will therefore appear before us to receive this favour. Given at London, 15th February." And Matthieu Pâris,[2] who preserved this document for us, adds that the monks granted the crusaders absolution from their vows, exacting from each one the sum which would have been paid for the journey. Gradually the sale of absolution was improved, and gave rise to a new industry, known in history as the "letter of confession." The letter of confession was a diploma which conferred on him who acquired it, the right to choose a confessor at his pleasure, and grant the latter the power to confer absolution upon him. Armed with this document, which the Roman chancellory sold to whoever would pay the price, the sinner sought a priest and gave him all the powers necessary for granting him absolution, after confession, from his censures and his faults. The letter of confession had to be renewed as often as the faults committed had been punished with censures. As a rule it cost ten *gros tournois* (pounds of Tours)—the *gros tournois* represented about two shillings—but this tariff was often greater. In the sixteenth century, under the pressure of Protestantism, when the Roman Curia had serious thoughts of reform, the letter of confession was submitted to a pontifical commission which declared it to be

[1] Gottlob, *Kreuzablass*, pp. 178–180.

[2] *Chronica majora*, 1240; Luard, iv. 6, 9; "Eisdem temporibus inceperunt ipsi Prædicatores fratres et Minores et alii viri literati præcipue theologi crucesignatos absolvere a suo voto, accepta tamen pecuniæ quantum sufficere videbatur unicuique ad viaticum ultramarinum, et factum est in populo scandalum."

legitimate, and maintained it (1536). It was suppressed by the council of Trent.[1]

XIV. Indulgences were sold, absolutions were sold. Dispensations also were sold. The most important of the dispensations dealt with commercially was that relating to abstinence. The initiator of this seems to have been Benedict XII. In 1338 this Pope offered for sale permits to take meat and milk on fast days. His successor, Clement VI., granted analogous privileges (1344). Thereafter authorizations to take meat, eggs, and milk at prohibited periods were counted among the sources of revenue of the Holy See, which nevertheless admitted bishops, and sometimes princes, to share its benefices. The famous *Cruzada* brought in enormous sums, upon which Rome levied an amount varying from twenty thousand to one hundred thousand ducats,—and left the remainder to Spain.[2]

The pontifical receipts were fed from numerous sources. To manage such a fortune, a ministry of finance was needful. This ministry, known as the "Apostolic Chamber" (*Camera apostolica*), was not fully constituted until the fourteenth century. But in the thirteenth century its principal officers were at work, some passing their time in travelling to levy taxes on the spot, and bring them to their destination; while others, installed in the bureaus of the Curia, supervised the return of the receipts. In the first group were collectors attended by their subordinate officers. With authority over a financial circumscription, called "collectoreria," the collector notified all the tax-payers in his jurisdiction concerning the amounts which they had to pay, collected the taxes, transmitted to the Curia, or to a place indicated by the Curia, the sums collected, after previously submitting them to the operation of exchange. When a beneficiary died, the collector went immediately to the dwelling of the dead man to take possession of his remains. When a

[1] Lea, *Auricular Confession*, i. 293; Tangl, *Das Taxwesen des päpstlichen Kanzlei*, p. 91.

[2] Lea, ii. 64, iii. 427.

tax-payer refused to pay, the punishment of excommunication was inflicted upon him, as was the case with that bishop whose body remained unburied until his relatives had agreed to pay his debts. In the course of his journeys, the collector was at times plundered by robbers or imprisoned by nobles. This profession was therefore not without peril, but it was lucrative. Often, indeed, the collector deceived the Curia with false accounts, and kept a part of the sums extorted from the tax-payers. It sometimes even happened that he was a thorough brigand, like John Bernier and John des Palmes, who terrorized the people in their jurisdiction.[1]

At the Curia was stationed the chamberlain who was minister of the pontifical finances—at least after the fourteenth century. Under his orders he had the treasurer, the members of the office of disputed claims, and an army of scribes who kept the registers. These registers were of two kinds, the "ordinary" and the "special." The ordinary registers were called "Receipts and Payments." They served to indicate the movements of the funds. The special registers, seven in number, were appropriated to the different branches of the receipts.

In addition to the collectors, the scribes, and the Apostolic Chamber, there were the bankers (*mercatores camerœ*). These officials changed money, charged themselves with the transmission of securities, and especially advanced funds. When a tax-payer, bishop, parish priest, or abbot of a monastery could not pay the Roman Curia, he sought a banker. Often, however, he found one without seeking him. The banker, in fact, accompanied the collector on his rounds, and offered his services to any one who needed them. He lent money when necessary, and was repaid at a high rate of interest. The debtors, indeed, often forgot to pay their debts; but the banker, like the collector, was invested with the power to excommunicate. Armed with the formidable weapon which the Roman Curia put into his hands, he generally ended by recovering both principal and interest. We have seen that John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, was threatened by the bankers with excommunication. Rome

[1] Samaran-Mollat, pp. 76, 112, 116.

protected the bankers, and with good reason, for it often resorted to their services. Of course, when the need of money was felt, the Holy See had as a resourse the imposition of the tithe or the issuance of an indulgence. But tithe and indulgence required months, and even years, to have their effect. Not having time to await the harvest, the Pope mortgaged it. He applied to the banker, who paid him the sums required, and reimbursed himself with interest from the tithes and indulgences. The Templars, up to the time of their disappearance, were the most powerful and respected bankers. The banking passed into the hands of the Italians of Florence, and especially of Lombardy, who moreover in the thirteenth century traded in money.[1]

Finally, we must here mention the commissaries charged with issuing indulgences. They were established by Boniface IX., who utilized them for his jubilee in 1390.[2] From the beginning they behaved as traders, or rather as charlatans.[3] Without regarding the instructions of the theologians, they granted indulgences to the people, who took them at their word, as a magic recipe designed to blot out all offences, to restore baptismal innocence to the Christian, to open to him directly after death the gates of heaven, and to save at once the souls in purgatory. Furthermore, they appropriated a part of the sums which they collected; in short, they acquired a bad reputation. They continued to deserve it. Arcimbaldi, one of the commissaries of indulgences under Leo X., by his unscrupulous commercialism, scandalized the peoples of Denmark and Sweden.[4] And the conduct of Tetzel, without being so reprehensible, was not altogether upright.[5]

Money came to the Apostolic Chamber, brought by the collectors, the bankers, the beneficiaries, the censors, the pilgrims, by prelates who were obliged to make visitations

[1] Jordan, *De mercatoribus*, pp. 49–74; Samaran-Mollat, pp. 142–158.

[2] M. Jansen, *Papst Bonifatius IX. und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Kirche*, p. 143, Freiburg, 1903.

[3] Pastor, iv. 233.

[4] A. Schulte, *Die Fugger in Rom*, i. 151.

[5] Pastor, iv. 239. "Auch Tetzel ist in dieser Hinsicht von Schuld nicht freizusprechen."

ad limina, by the faithful in quest of an absolution or a dispensation, by the commissaries of indulgences. The money arrived. When once it had been received, what became of it? Clement V. amassed a million florins, that is, about sixty million shillings. This treasure was supposed to be intended for the Crusade. As a matter of fact, Clement V. disposed of it in the interests of his family, in such a way that his successor, John XXII., found the pontifical treasury empty. He laboured to refill it, and in this work displayed extraordinary financial genius. Having witnessed his devices, his contemporaries unanimously accused him of rapacity, and they estimated the amount of his reserve at a milliard and a half. This estimate, it seems, was exaggerated, and John XXII. probably did not have more than Clement V. At his death he probably left no more than sixty millions. But the prodigality of Clement VI. quickly absorbed everything. His successors expended considerable sums in re-establishing their authority in the pontifical state by armed force. Then came the Great Schism; the taxes, with the exception of four or five which perished in the storm, were resumed. But the papacy had then to gratify two costly passions: the love of luxury, and the cult of literature and of the arts. Luxury entered the Roman Curia with Clement VI., and in spite of the reaction effected by certain popes (notably by Innocent VI.), it increased. In the fifteenth century the popes and the cardinals led the life of princes, or rather they surpassed princes in their splendour and magnificence. For example, six of the pearls of the tiara of Eugenius IV. were alone worth thirty-eight thousand gold crowns; the tiara of Paul II. was even richer.[1] From the time of Eugenius IV. the popes associated with their luxury the cult of letters and of the arts. They favoured the humanists. They reared palaces, and these palaces they enriched with paintings and sculpture. They directed the Renaissance.[2] These showy tastes required

[1] Pastor, i. 268, ii. 377; E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la cour des papes pendant le xv^me^ et le xvi^me^ siècle*, i. 36, Paris, 1878.

[2] Pastor, passim, especially i. 385–419, ii. 349–354, 655–710, iii. 530–543, 745–871, iv. 425–558.

money, a great deal of money. Moreover, there was a periodical recurrence of wars, the wars of Calixtus III. against the Turks, the war of Sixtus IV. against the Florentines, and against other Italian principalities, the war of Innocent VIII. against Naples, the war of Alexander VI. to secure the preponderance of his family in the pontifical state, the wars of Julius II. against Venice and against France. Although the receipts were great, they did not always outweigh the expenses; and to balance their budget certain popes of the fifteenth century resorted to expedients of which John XXII. had no idea. Sixtus IV. sold the places of the Curia, and even created new ones, in order to increase his revenues. As this was not sufficient, he engaged in the industry of making a "corner" in the market. He bought large quantities of wheat, which he sold again at an opportune time, five times as dear. His successor, Innocent VII., put up hundreds of new employments for sale. He did more; he mortgaged his tiara and his diamonds for one hundred thousand ducats.[1]

The historian who to-day passes all these financial combinations in review, will conclude with Michelet that in the fourteenth century the papacy had become a "commercial house," and continues on its way. The pontifical financial system of the middle ages awakens the curiosity of the historian, but inspires no other emotion. The contemporaries of Innocent IV., of John XXII., and of Sixtus IV. were not so impassive. They suffered from the spectacle which they had before their eyes. And because they suffered, they complained. The complaints of the most moderate of them were lamentations. Alvarez Pelayo, for example, the confessor of John XXII., and an ardent partizan of pontifical omnipotence, exclaimed: "I have frequently entered into the office of my lord the Pope, where I have always seen bankers, tables loaded with gold, ecclesiastics occupied in counting piles of crowns! May Christ, who was poor, deign to cast out now and for ever this business from His Church!"[2] But the complaints did

[1] Christophe, *Hist. de la papauté pendant le xv^me^ siècle*, ii. 243, 348, 350; Pastor, ii. 644, justifies the corner, while admitting the abuses.

[2] *De planctu Ecclesiæ*, ii. 7.

not always preserve this tone of resignation. More often they broke out into protests and insults. Recriminations came from England, from France, from Germany, from every quarter. Germany, less protected by its princes from the exactions of Rome, cried out the oftenest and the longest. Nothing did so much as the pontifical financial system to create about the papacy an atmosphere of disaffection, and to detach the nations from the apostolic see.

CHAPTER X

The Episcopal Elections

F. Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, Tom. II. and III., Berlin, 1878–1883. P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les elections épiscopales dans l'Église de France du ix^me^ au xii^me^ siècle*, Paris, 1891. A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1896–1904.

The dispute concerning investitures separates the history of episcopal elections into two parts, and thus furnishes a natural division of our inquiry. We are about to explain the election of bishops before, during, and after the pontificate of Gregory VII.

We have two letters of Pope Hilary[1] written on the day following the death of St. Leo, which in the name of the council of Nicæa forbid proceeding to the consecration of a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan of the province, which order the bishops assembled for an election, not to obey blindly the desires of the people, and which command the metropolitans energetically to exercise their rights. In these texts we discover the tendency to place the episcopal elections under the exclusive direction of the bishops, and especially of the metropolitans. But in A.D. 476 the Roman empire had disappeared. In its place were Italy, which a half century later was subjected to Byzantine rule; Gaul, of which the Franks took possession, and from which at the end of the ninth century Germany was to be detached; Great Britain, where the Anglo-Saxons settled; and Spain, where the Visigoths were strong. We are to consider the character of the episcopal elections in these different countries.

From the time of the Byzantine conquest, Italy, so far

[1] *Ep.* ii. 1, 4; iii. 3; Migne, lviii. 18–20.

as the episcopal elections were concerned, was governed by the rules laid down by Justinian.[2] The following is the substance of what the imperial legislation prescribed. When a bishop died, the clergy and chief men of the city, after an interval of six months, were obliged to prepare a list of three candidates, and to present a report of the selection to the consecrator—this consecrator was a patriarch—who was to choose the most worthy of the three candidates. If the electors were six months without presenting their candidates, the consecrator, that is the patriarch, appointed a bishop, and conferred on him the episcopate. Italy did not recognize the institution of the patriarchate, but possessed the four metropolitans of Rome, Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna. Let us notice how the rules of Justinian were applied.

The vast correspondence of Pope Gregory informs us exactly of the manner in which things occurred in the jurisdiction of the Roman metropolitan[3] (central and southern Italy, and the adjacent islands). When a bishop died, Gregory commanded a "visitor"—sometimes a bishop, sometimes a priest—to administer the vacant church, and to preside at the elections of a successor. At the same time by letter he ordered the church in question to proceed to the election as soon as possible. He addressed his letter to the whole electoral body, which included the clergy, the nobility, and the people. He then explained to them that the bishop-elect should cause a report of his election to be made, and signed by all the electors. Furnished with this document, he was to proceed to Rome to receive consecration. At times the electoral corps of the vacant church neglected to hold the election; in such a case, Gregory himself appointed the bishop. It was in this way that he placed Martin at the head of a Corsican church which had been for a long time without a bishop; and while waiting for Martin to occupy his see, he appointed the bishop Leo as visitor of the church.[3] At other times the electoral body did not succeed in agreeing on a candidate. Gregory then authorized what was subsequently called the compromise. He summoned to Rome

[1] Hinschius, ii. 514. [2] *Id.*, *ib.* ii. 515. [3] Jaffé, 1145, 1146, 1147.

three delegates, who chose a member of the Roman Church. It was thus that he proceeded in the case of Naples.[1] Of course he reserved to himself the supervision of the election, and annulled it when he detected any circumstance contrary to the canons. The electors of Rimini gave their suffrages to Ocleatinus; Gregory made them understand that he could not accept this candidate, and ordered them to hold another election, failing which, he would himself give them a bishop.[2]

Gregory, who consecrated the bishops of the suburban churches, also consecrated the metropolitan of Ravenna. Learning that the see of that city was vacant, he ordered the notary Castorius to convoke the electoral corps and to send two candidates to Rome, reserving to himself the choice of him who should judge to be the most worthy.[3] This recalls the fact that the metropolitan see of Ravenna, created by the papacy to weaken Milan, did not enjoy all the rights inherent in the ancient metropolitan sees. At Milan things happened otherwise. In 592 an episcopal election took place in that city, and Gregory was confronted by an accomplished fact. He congratulated the electors on their choice, but he did not even think of reproaching them for acting without his knowledge. Nor did he think of making the bishop-elect come to Rome to be consecrated. He was content to send a delegate to Milan to be present at the consecration, which was performed by the provincial bishops.[4] As for the metropolitan see of Aquileia, it was at that time in revolt against Rome on the subject of the Three Chapters. It need not be said that it asked nothing of the Pope. To sum up, the metropolitans of Milan and of Aquileia were consecrated by the suffragans in their episcopal city. It should be added that these metropolitans—including the metropolitans of Ravenna—consecrated their suffragans, after having previously presided at the election. This we learn from Gregory. Observing that his colleagues at Milan and Ravenna permitted the inoccupancy of certain episcopal sees situated in their circumscription to be prolonged indefinitely, he re-

[1] Jaffé, 1240.
[2] *Id.*, 1125, 1126.
[3] *Id.*, 1335.
[4] *Id.*, 1233, 1235.

minded them of the canon of Chalcedon, which forbids permitting the vacancy in churches to be prolonged more than three months. He made reference to the legislation of Chalcedon, and not to that of Justinian. He ordered them to observe the law; but he went no further; he did not substitute himself for them.[1]

Let us pass to the Church of the Franks. Towards the end of the fifth century Cæsarius of Arles reminded the bishops of Gaul of the canonical prescriptions in the *Statuta ecclesiæ antiqua*, in which we read that the bishop should be elected by the clergy, the laity, and the bishops of the province.[2] But the canon law met with a formidable adversary in the person of the Frankish king.[3] Clovis himself bestowed the bishoprics. This we learn in a passage from St. Rémi, which declares that the bishops of Paris, Sens, and Auxerre, "received their dignity" from the founder of the Merovingian dynasty.[4] His sons, especially Clotaire, Thierry, and Clodomir, imitated the example of their father. Gregory of Tours, speaking of one of Thierry's bishops, says: "Already in this period, the episcopate was sold by kings and purchased by the clergy.[5] Three councils of Orleans (533, 538, and 549), the council of Clermont (535), the council of Paris (557), protested more or less boldly against this condition of things; but in vain. It was also in vain that one of these councils, that of Orleans (549), sought to compromise, and submitted the elections to the approval of the king (*cum voluntate regis*).[6] The evil persisted. It even increased, or in any case was not diminished, under the sons of Clotaire. When they were not acquired by intrigue, the bishoprics were sold to the highest bidder.

From 590, Pope Gregory also endeavoured to reintroduce into the Frankish Church the observance of canonical laws. Knowing that the evil was due to the royal power,

[1] *Regesta*, vii. 14, 39 (Jaffé, 1460 and 1485, is unsatisfactory).
[2] *Statuta*, i. [3] Loening, ii. 174–186; Hauck, i. 148–163.
[4] *Ep.* iii., in M. G., *Epistulæ*, iii. 114.
[5] *Vitæ Patrum*, vi. 3; Hauck, i. 153.
[6] M. G., *Concilia ævi meroving.*, p. 103.

he called upon the royal power to correct it. He wrote to Brunehaut, to Thierry II., to Clotaire II., and to Theodebert, complaining respectfully. He even begged Brunehaut to assemble the Frankish bishops in council. Brunehaut, who had need of the Pope to bring to a successful conclusion a negotiation with the emperor of Constantinople, promised the pontiff all that the latter desired (602).[1] But this promise was not kept. The council dreamed of by Gregory did not take place.

A council did take place, but at a time when that pope had been dead for a long time. In 614 the Frankish episcopate was assembled at Paris, by order of Clotaire II., and once more made laws as to the recruiting of bishops (canon 2).[2] On pain of annulment it was forbidden to purchase episcopal consecration, or to obtain it through the influence of princes; in a word, to enter the episcopate except by the way of canonical election. Thereafter there was to be no more traffic in bishoprics, there were to be no more royal appointments; only election should intervene. But election was conceived of according to the notion of the hierarchy. It was explained that the future bishop should be appointed and presented to the electoral body by the metropolitan. According to this regulation, the recruiting of the episcopate was not at all subject to royal influence; for the most part it was not even subject to the influence of the electoral body, which had only the rôle of acceptance. It was confided to the metropolitans.

Such was what the council of 614 intended; but it failed. As a matter of fact, Clotaire II., who ratified the decision of the council, modified it in two important respects.[3] In the first place it granted the king the right recognized by the council of Orleans (549), but passed over in silence by the council of Paris of 614, to confirm the election, con-

[1] Jaffé, 1837–1842, 1871.

[2] M. G., *Concilia ævi meroving.*, p. 186; Hinschius, ii. 518.

[3] M. G., *Capitula reg. franc*, p. 21: "Si persona condigna fuerit per ordinationem principis ordinetur; certe si de palatio eligitur per meritum personæ et doctrinæ ordinetur."

sequently the right to supervise it, and if need be to annul it; and it forbade the metropolitan to consecrate the bishop-elect before he had been authorized by the king to do so. To this first modification the king added a second. It reserved to itself the power of choosing any of the officers of the palace as candidates for episcopal consecration; and it decided that in this case the merit of the subject honoured by the royal suffrage should take the place of election. To sum up: election under the supervision of the king; appointment of the officials of the palace by the king. Such were the two ways, according to the decree of Clotaire II., which were to give access to episcopal consecration conferred by the metropolitan.

This legislation was accepted by the Frankish Church. The councils of Boneuil (about 616, canon 1) and Clichy (about 625, canon 4) bear witness to this, as they gave orders that the constitutions adopted at Paris by the bishops as well as by the king should be executed. The Frankish Church consented, therefore, to submit its episcopal elections to royal supervision, and to permit officers of the palace who were under the patronage of the king, to enter the corps of bishops, without previous election. Obliged to abandon its dream of emancipation, it voluntarily made the sacrifice that the royal will imposed upon it.

The royal will was soon to impose another sacrifice, which was even more considerable. There is reason to believe that Clotaire II. (†628) and his son Dagobert (†639) respected, at least ordinarily, the wishes of the churches, and appointed to the bishoprics the candidates which were presented to them. But after their time the royal will became rapidly omnipotent. The king appointed as bishops those who knew how to acquire his favour, or who were recommended to him by his courtiers, and the election being despised by him was only an empty formality. This state of things had already been remarked in the collection of documents of the monk Marculf, composed about 660. This book, which puts before us models of all the acts made use of in the seventh century, contains three formulas concern-

ing the episcopate.[1] One of these is the request addressed to the king by the electors of a church which had become vacant; two others are letters addressed by the king to the metropolitan consecrator. In the request, the electors present to the king the report of their election,—that which they called *consensus*,—and they humbly beg him to grant them their candidate as bishop. In his letter the king, without mentioning electors, declares that he wishes to raise to the episcopate the one whom his courtiers have recommended, and gives orders to the metropolitan to go into the episcopal city where the church was vacant to perform the consecration. He appointed as bishop the one who pleased him; the provincial bishops had no other rôle to fill than that of executing his will. As to the request of the electors, it was cast aside.

For some time the Frankish Church did not complain of this régime. The prelates granted to them by the king usually had the virtues which their position required; they did not dishonour the episcopate. But from the time that Charles Martel came into power, the situation changed. This prince distributed the bishoprics among those of his companions in arms whom he wished to reward for their services. Coarse and dissipated soldiers thus were put at the head of churches. It was a sad period. "Most of the bishoprics," complained Boniface, "have been given to greedy laymen or to adulterous clergymen, fornicators and usurers, who think only of taking advantage of their position."[2]

Happily for the Frankish Church, a physician was at hand ready to heal its wounds. This physician was Boniface. This zealous monk secured better recruits for the episcopate. How did he achieve this result? Was it by restoring the former electoral discipline? No: he respected the ancient practice of nomination by the king. He left Carloman and Pepin in possession of the right which the Frankish princes arrogated to themselves; only he asked them to exercise it for the good of the Church. Under the guiding influence of

[1] *Formulæ*, i. 7, 5, 6; Migne, lxxxvii. 704, 705.
[2] *Ep.* 50; M. G., *Epistolæ*, iii. 299.

Boniface, Carloman and Pepin appointed good bishops, but they appointed them themselves. Of this a primary proof is afforded in the following declaration of Carloman in the council of Germany (742):[1] "In conformity to the wish of the prelates and nobles of our states, we have established bishops in the cities, and at their head we have put the archbishop Boniface, who is the envoy of St. Peter." And there is another proof in the declaration of Pepin at the council of Soissons (744): "In conformity to the wishes of the bishops and nobles, we have appointed legitimate bishops in the cities, and have set over them the archbishops Abel and Ardobert."[2]

Charlemagne—whom some serious authors deceived by apocryphal texts have represented as the restorer of elections—followed the paternal tradition.[3] Doubtless he granted "charters of election" to certain churches, which authorized them to choose their bishops themselves; but these charters, besides reserving the supreme right of royal authority, were privileges which reposed solely on the favour of the prince. Moreover, they were rare; only four are known, which were granted to the churches of Coire, Reggio, Aquileia, and Ravenna. Charlemagne almost always chose the bishops of his empire himself. He appointed Guerbald at Liège, Amalaire at Trèves, Liudger at Münster, Willehad at Wigmodie, Leidrade at Lyons, Gervold at Evreux, Frothair at Toul, Pierre at Verdun. His selections, however, were generally good. The Monk of St. Gall shows him to us once calling one of his clergy to grant him a bishopric; then, when he perceived his incapacity, withdrawing the appointment. Whether true or false, this story corresponds to the programme of Charlemagne, who wished to have capable men as bishops.

During the whole reign of the great emperor the Frankish Church appeared to have forgotten the decrees of former councils relative to episcopal elections, and did not

[1] M. G., *Concilia*, ii. 3.
[2] M. G., *Concilia*, ii. 34; Hinschius, ii. 522; Hauck, i. 525, 545.
[3] Hinschius, ii. 523; Hauck, ii. 200; Imbart, *De la Tour*, pp. 80, 192.

complain of the régime to which it had been subjected. If Alcuin, in letters to his friends in England,[1] protested against the system of royal nomination, he took care that his complaints should not reach the ears of his master. But Louis the Debonnair, at the beginning of his reign, learned that the legislation of the councils still had its apostles. At the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (818) desires for episcopal elections were expressed, and the pious emperor satisfied them with a capitular, in which it is said: "We consent to conform to the provisions of the sacred canons which are known to us, in accordance with the agreement with which bishops are canonically chosen in the diocese by the clergy and the people."[2] The satisfaction was theoretical, for, after the capitular of Aix-la-Chapelle, the recruiting for the episcopate was conducted as before. Moreover, the emperor was reproved. At the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (828), Wala, the abbot of Corbie, making use of the freedom which his position gave him—he was a cousin of Charlemagne—indignantly protested against the contempt with which the canons were treated, and demanded a return to the episcopal elections.[3]

At the time when he made these claims, Wala was almost isolated.[4] Many demanded reforms; but no one included electoral freedom among them. For several years the Frankish episcopate remained attached to the régime of the royal nomination, and confined itself to petitioning the prince to make good selections. The council of Paris (829) requested the emperor "to take the greatest pains in the future to appoint good pastors in the churches of God." The council of Aix-la-Chapelle (836) expressed a like desire. The council of Jutz (Diedenhofen) of 844 appealed to the three sons of Louis the Debonnair, earnestly recommended them not to leave the episcopal sees vacant any longer, and while avoiding simony, to appoint bishops as soon as possible. To

[1] *Ep.*, 44 (to Eanbald of York); M. G., *Epistolæ*, iv. 90.
[2] Hinschius, ii. 524; Imbart, p. 178.
[3] *Vita Walæ* (by Paschase Radbert), ii. 4; Migne, cxx. 1612.
[4] *Id.*, ii. 2, p. 1609.

complete the story, it may be said that the councils of 829 and 836 expressed the hope of one day seeing the elections re-established. They desired the restoration of the former discipline, but they did nothing to realize it.[1]

In the Church of Lyons there was a man who shared the ideas of Wala, who had perhaps been inspired by those ideas, who in any case defended them, at the latest, in 824. This was the deacon Florus.[2] Florus endeavoured to convert the bishops in the neighbourhood of Lyons to his opinions, and he partly succeeded. The council of Valencia of 855 published the following canon (canon 8): "It pleases us to declare that when the bishop of a neighbouring diocese is about to die, the prince shall be asked to deign to grant to the clergy and people a canonical election, . . . and when the prince sends us one of the clergy of his own company to place him at the head of the diocese, the clergyman should be examined with prudence and with care as to his manner of life, and as to his knowledge."[3] At the assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle (818) a petition of the same kind had been addressed to the emperor Louis, but we do not know by whom. The council af Valencia (855) was the first, as far as we know, in which bishops dared timidly and respectfully to ask electoral liberty. It was from the Church of Lyons that the demand proceeded, and it was inspired by Florus. About the same time the "False Decretals" began to be circulated. They too had their effect in withdrawing the appointment of bishops from the civil power. Thereafter electoral liberty was definitely on the programme of the ecclesiastical party. And at the end of the ninth century the powerful metropolitans became earnest apostles of canonical principles, under cover of which they hoped to raise their candidates to episcopal sees.[4]

What was the result of these complaints, of this struggle for independence in the recruiting of the episcopate? Little,

[1] Hauck, ii. 529; Hinschius, ii. 524.
[2] Imbart, p. 180.
[3] Mansi, xv. 1; Imbart, p. 188.
[4] Hauck, ii. 529; Imbart, pp. 168, 175, 196.

very little, except formulas.[1] Following the example of Charlemagne, Louis the Debonnair, Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple granted charters of liberty, but in very small numbers. We know of seven, and it is very probable that we know of nearly all. These seven privileged churches themselves had the right to elect their chiefs, under the supervision of the prince; they enjoyed a liberty which was by no means absolute. The others remained under a protectorate. It was not that the elections were never held; they often took place, but they were almost always influenced by a candidature avowed or concealed. Hence the reproach made by Pope Nicholas to Lothair II.: "According to reports, you allow only your favourites to be elected as bishops."[2] Hence the complaint of Hincmar to Louis III.: "I am told that every time you grant the election which is demanded of you, the bishops, the clergy, and the people are obliged to choose the one whom you desire, whom you impose."[3] To be sure, Hincmar was not qualified to condemn the official candidacy, considering that he owed to Charles the Bald his elevation to the see of Reims. The same was the case with Nicholas, who was imposed on the Roman electors by the emperor Louis II. But with this reservation, it must be admitted that the observations had a foundation. Moreover, if the emperors or kings often took part in this comedy of election, they also often dispensed with it, and without regard to formalities made appointments to vacant bishoprics. Alberic of Langres, Thierry of Cambrai, Ebbon of Reims, owed their sees to direct appointment by Louis the Debonnair. Charles the Bald made appointments in the same way—Gotescalc of Châlons, Bernon of Autun, Hilmerad of Amiens, Wenilon and Egilon of Sens, Bertulf of Treves, Hilduin of Cologne, Oliba of Angoulême, Wulfad of Bourges.[4]

The Carolingian king thus held all the bishoprics in his hand. It was in vain that the metropolitans at the end of the ninth century sought to make him surrender his prey. They indeed succeeded in putting some restraint upon him.

[1] Hinschius, ii. 526; Imbart, p. 192.
[2] Migne, cxix. 869.
[3] *Ep.*, xix. 3; Migne, cxxvi. 111.
[4] Imbart, p. 81.

Hincmar, for example, when there was a question regarding the sees of Noyon (879) and Beauvais (881), thwarted the administration of Louis III. Foulques, his successor, imposed his candidate on Châlons, and maintained him in spite of the electors, the king, and the Pope.[1] But these were passing victories which had no lasting result. The archbishops soon gave up the struggle. The king continued to be the dispenser of bishoprics; and if Nicholas I. denied him this right, several of the popes recognized it. John VIII. explained to the inhabitants of Verceil that Carloman, who, without consulting them, disposed of their bishopric, had acted according to the custom of his predecessors. John X., learning that the bishop appointed to Liège by Charles the Simple had encountered considerable opposition, wrote: "We preserve the ancient custom whereby no one can confer the bishopric upon a cleric except the king, to whom the sceptre has been given by divine authority. No bishop can be consecrated in a diocese without the will of the king.[2]

All through the tenth century the Frankish king continued to grant bishoprics, and the dynastic revolution which in 987 entrusted a new family with the destinies of France, made no change in the state of affairs. Yet after the tenth century the relations between the French royalty and the episcopate were not quite what they had been before. They felt the influence of feudalism. On all sides arose counts and dukes who wished to be masters in their own domains, and acted accordingly. In other days bishoprics were conferred by the Carolingian prince; now the Carolingian and his successor the Capetian again distributed bishoprics in the domain which they had reserved; but the counts and dukes did the same at home.[3] In other days there was one master; now, there were several. That was one difference; this is another. Owing to the confusion which had been caused between the notions of authority and property, the noble was proprietor of the domain in which he had authority. He was proprietor of the buildings and lands, which had a concrete reality, but also of the functions per-

[1] Imbart, pp. 197, 200. [2] Jaffé, 3306, 3564. [3] Imbart, pp. 216, 294.

formed on these lands, and in these buildings. From this it followed that when he appointed a bishop, he granted him not only the material buildings of the bishopric, but also the dignity, the right to govern, and the jurisdiction. This grant was called the investiture, and was symbolized by various ceremonies, especially north of the Loire—either by delivery of the crozier or by the delivery of the crozier and the ring. The investiture with the crozier, or with the crozier and the ring, was general during the eleventh century in the northern countries. But it had an older origin. At the end of the ninth century we find Charles the Fat giving the crozier to Herifid of Auxerre; and before him, his father Louis Germanicus invested Rimbert of Bremen with the crozier. In Germany the investiture appeared for the first time when the country was still Frankish.[1] Thus it was the product of the Frankish Church. But it flourished especially in the German Church, as we are now to observe.

For two reasons the narrative can be brief: first, because the German was detached from the Frankish Church just before the tenth century; second, because this daughter was so surprisingly like her mother. Otto I. appointed Adalbert to Magdeburg, Hatton to Mayence, Wolfgang to Ratisbon, Hugue to Liège, his son William to Mayence, his brother Bruno to Cologne, his cousin Henry to Trèves, his relatives Poppon and Berenger elsewhere. Otto II. gave Mayence to Willigis, Cambrai to Rotard. Otto III. placed Gerbert at Ravenna, Erluin at Cambrai, Burchard at Worms. Henry II. appointed his chaplain Taginon at Magdeburg, Guibert, then Thietmar, at Merseburg, Eberhard at Bamberg, Menegard at Trèves, Arnold at Ravenna. Conrad II. fixed Azecho at Worms, Bardo at Mayence, Bruno at Würzburg, Rudolph at Paderborn. Henry III. gave Aquileia to Eberhard, Milan to Guy, Ravenna to Onfroy, Eichstadt to Gerhard, Verdun to Theodoric.[2] As a rule, and especially under Otto I., the imperial nomination was more or less masked with a pretended election. But no one was the dupe of this artifice.

[1] Hinschuis, ii. 529; Imbart, p. 345; Hauck, iii. 52–56.
[2] Hauck, iii. 31, 398, 546, 577; Hinschius, ii. 530.

It was really the prince who distributed the bishoprics. Moreover, he granted the investitures. In 1004, Henry II. delivered the crozier to Taginon, "and," says the historian Thietmar, "he set him in the episcopal see." This same Thietmar tells how he himself was invested with the bishopric of Merseburg: "I was led to the episcopal chapel where the king was. . . . The king caused me to be elected [a pretended election] and granted me the pastoral charge, with the crozier."[1]

In Germany things happened somewhat as they did in France; but there was a difference. In France the nobles appointed and invested the bishops in their own domains. They were rivals of the king. In Germany this rivalry did not exist. There the emperor's hand was powerful enough to prevent the nobles from usurping his rights. He alone appointed the bishops; he alone granted the investiture; he was exclusively master of the bishoprics.

We have now to set forth the laws which governed the recruiting of bishops in England and in Spain.

Augustine was only a monk when he appeared before the king of Kent (597). Directly after his first apostolic success he visited Vigilius, bishop of Arles, who consecrated him bishop.[2] Four years afterwards he received instructions from Pope Gregory whereby he was obliged to fix his see as metropolitan in London, to consecrate twelve bishops, to establish a second metropolitan see at York, and also to order the consecration of provincial bishops.[3] Nevertheless, the plan was not realized. Augustine fixed his see at Canterbury, and when he died (604) he had consecrated only three bishops, namely, Lawrence, his successor; Mellitus, bishop of London; and Justus, bishop of Rochester. Lawrence died (619), and was replaced in the see of Canterbury by Mellitus, whose successor was Justus (624).

Before setting out to evangelize Northumbria (625), Paulinus received episcopal consecration from Justus.[4] He in turn consecrated Honorius successor of Justus in the see of Canterbury (633). Honorius consecrated Ithamar the

[1] *Chronicon*, v. 25, vi. 27; M. G., *Scriptores*, iii.
[2] Bede, i. 27; Jaffé, 1518. [3] Bede, i. 29; Jaffé, 1829. [4] Bede, ii. 9.

successor of Paulinus (644), who consecrated Deusdedit the successor of Honorius (655). Pope Gregory declared that he himself had authorized Augustine to be consecrated as bishop. On the contrary, Bede relates that the episcopal consecration of Deusdedit was preceded by an election, concerning which he gives no details.[1] Except in these cases, the consecrating bishop also made the episcopal appointment.

During this period we meet with other examples of the same procedure. But the princes hastened to intervene. In 664, when the priest Wilfrid asked Agilbert, bishop of Paris, to consecrate him, he was, according to Bede, sent by king Alfred. And Ceadda, who during Wilfrid's absence became bishop of Northumbria, was commissioned by the king.[2] In 667 the two kings, of Kent and Northumbria, appointed the priest Wigard, archbishop of Canterbury, and sent him to Rome to be consecrated by Pope Vitalian; but as Wigard died on the way, the Pope himself chose the Greek monk Theodore, consecrated him (668), and sent him to Canterbury.[3] During his pontificate, which lasted twenty-two years (†690), Theodore founded dioceses and appointed bishops.[4] The kings, who at first gave him full freedom of action, did not long preserve this attitude of reserve. The bishops sought to arrest them, and they were momentarily led to believe that they were sure of success; for at the council of Beccanceld (694), Withred king of Kent agreed to respect the liberty of elections.[5] But the other kings paid no attention to this promise. In 705 we find Alfred, King of Northumbria, establishing the bishopric of Ripon. In 796, Offa divided the diocese of Canterbury into two parts. In 941, Odo was placed in the see of Canterbury by king Edmund. In 953, king Edred offered the bishopric of Crediton to Dunstan, who refused it, but had Elfwold appointed in his stead. In 960, Dunstan was placed by King Edgar in the see of Canterbury. Canute (†1035) chose his bishops from among the clergy of his palace. His sons Harold I. and Hardicanute sold the archbishoprics. In 1050, Edward appointed his

[1] Bede, iii. 20. [2] *Id.*, iii. 28, v. 20.
[3] *Id.*, iii. 29. [4] *Id.*, iv. 12. [5] Mansi, xii. 87.

councillor Robert, archbishop of Canterbury; but Earl Goodwin banished Robert and put in his place Stigand, who assumed the pallium of Robert. Harold II., the successor of Edward, followed the tradition of his predecessors. In short, England presented the same spectacle as did the Continent.

In Spain, the council of Barcelona (599) forbade the granting of episcopal consecration to laymen, even when they had been appointed by the king.[1] Hence we are justified in concluding that Reccaréde himself appointed bishops, at least from time to time, and that he sometimes appointed laymen. It is also evident that the council permitted the king to make provision for the recruiting for the bishopric, and only forbade him to choose foreigners for this ecclesiastical position.

The council of Toledo (633, canon 33) observed that the episcopate was often made an object of traffic, and that even when not purchased with money it was bestowed on unworthy men. To remedy these evils the council decided that in the future every episcopal consecration should be preceded by a regular election.[2] This rule, however, was so little enforced, that fifty years afterwards, it was ignored by the very persons whose duty it was to respect the law. The council of Toledo (681) was confronted by the following conditions: When a bishop died, the king appointed his successor, and gave notice of his choice to the bishops, who consecrated the nominee of the king. The council thought that this system prolonged excessively the vacancy of the episcopal sees.[3] This is the reform which it introduced (canon 6): Henceforth the bishop appointed by the king is to be consecrated by the bishop of Toledo, so that he can go at once to his post.

To sum up: in the eleventh century the bishoprics were frequently, and in every country, made an object of traffic. They were bought as one to-day buys a commercial share or a notary's office. Moreover, everywhere bishops were appointed by princes, and the elections, as they were ordinarily

[1] Mansi, x. 482; Thomassin, *Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ disciplina*, ii. 12, 15, Lyon, 1706.

[2] Mansi, x. 612.

[3] *Id.*, xi. 1023.

conducted, were vain pretences. Finally the royal appointment was followed by an oath of fidelity, taken by the bishop, and exacted by the prince. After the ninth century this oath, in France and especially in Germany, was materialized in the rite of investiture with the crozier, or with the crozier and the ring. Condemned by Gregory at the end of the sixth century, the traffic in bishoprics was subsequently condemned by several councils. Notwithstanding the anathemas pronounced against it, this abuse continued. Yet the emperor Henry III. opposed it with an energy which called forth the gratitude of Pierre Damien, of Humbert, and of Gregory VII. Henry III. persisted in appointing bishops. His zeal against simony—the name given in the canon law to the traffic in bishoprics—proves that the evil was not inherent in the system of royal nominations. Nor was it confined to that system, for numerous were the elections in which money had the last word. To sum up: simony, which for long centuries had vitiated the recruiting of the episcopate, might have been rather easily extirpated. That which seemed to be irrefragably established, was the system of royal nomination with the oath of fidelity and the investiture which accompanied it. In fact, the bishoprics were endowed by the generosity of the faithful and of princes owning vast domains, which bestowed on the holders considerable political powers. The bishops were real princes of the church, who at their pleasure could support the throne or overthrow it—as has been shown in the case of Louis the Debonnair. The king could not give up recruiting for the bishopric without suicide. The instinct of self-preservation obliged him to keep watch on those who were appointed to the episcopate, so that only faithful men should succeed, and to have the strongest guarantees, which at that time were the oath of fidelity, and investiture, for contingent failures or betrayals. In short, appointment of the bishops by the king, with the oath and investiture which completed it, was a social necessity.[1]

It was against this necessity that Gregory VII., with the

[1] Hinschius, ii. 544; Imbart, p. 109.

monks who had become all-powerful in the Church, directed his efforts. For Gregory was not alone: he had companions who marched at his side and supported him by word and pen. He had forerunners who prepared the way. He belonged to a party which from its internal origin was connected with the monks of the ninth century, and with Wala their leader, and which after slumbering long, was awakened by the power of Cluny. In the eleventh century he was the incarnation of the spirit of Cluny. Yet even at that period this was not the first manifestation of it. In 1046 the monk Halinard, who had been promoted to the archbishopric of Lyons,[1] refused to swear loyalty to the king. In 1049 Pope Leo IX., who was led by the monks, issued a decree at the council of Reims in favour of episcopal elections.[2] In 1058, Cardinal Humbert, formerly a monk, published a violent book attacking the investiture.[3] Gerbert and Abbon[4] had formerly protested, and it was repeatedly condemned by Leo IX. But it was Gregory VII. who fought the decisive battle. Without him the apostles of ecclesiastical freedom would have wasted their efforts in fruitless recriminations. History is therefore right in considering Gregory as the sole author of the dispute as to investitures.

Let us see him at work. His activity began during the pontificates of Nicholas II. and Alexander II., who were merely executors of his will. Then at the Roman council (1059) two decrees were issued: One was designed to withdraw the election of the Pope from the influence of the German court and of the Roman nobility; the other (canon 6), in terms which were purposely indefinite, denied to the laity the right to dispose of churches.[5] Then the French councils of Vienna

[1] Imbart, p. 374; see the letter of Halinard to Pope John XIX.; Migne, cxli. 1157.

[2] Mansi, xix. 741; Hefele, iv. 731.

[3] *Adversus Simoniacos*, in M. G., *Libelli de lite*, i. 100–253; see C. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.*, pp. 463–468, Leipzig, 1894.

[4] Imbart, pp. 370 373.

[5] Mansi, xix. 898; Hinschius, ii. 543; Mirbt, p. 475. Nevertheless the influence of Hildebrand during the pontificate of Leo IX. seems to have been considerable, and it is probably to it that the decree of the council of Rome should be attributed.

and Tours were held (1060), which were presided over by a pontifical legate. They took a step in advance, and defined precisely the legislation of the council of Rome, but reserved their threats for ecclesiastics, and prudently refrained from extending them to the laity. Next came the two affairs of Milan: that of 1060, in which the archbishop Guy, after an unfortunate dispute with the Roman Curia, capitulated and received investiture from Pope Nicholas II.; and that of 1068, in which the Roman Curia excommunicated archbishop Godfrey, who had been appointed by the court of Germany.[1] Some of these measures were definite, but local; others were of general application, but were enveloped in ambiguous formulas. All were intended to influence public opinion, to prepare it, and at the same time to avoid cataclysms. Hildebrand was tasting his power.

During the first two years of his pontificate, Gregory preserved this attitude of combined rudeness and prudence. He made vigorous efforts, especially against Philip, king of France, a weak prince from whom he had nothing to fear, and whom he freely insulted; but he took care not to go to extremes. At times he even made important concessions: for example, when he authorized Anselm of Lucques to receive the investiture from Henry IV., before the episcopal consecration.[2] At length, in the Roman council of February 1075, he laid aside the mask and made a declaration against lay investitures, a condemnation which he renewed in the council of 1078, and which received its final form in the decree of the council of 1080: "If any one receives a bishopric or an abbey at the hands of a layman, he is by no means to be reckoned in the number of bishops and abbots. We declare him, furthermore, to be excluded from the Church. . . . The same punishment will overtake any emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, any lay dignitary or any person who permits the investiture of a bishopric

[1] Mirbt, pp. 475, 476; Hauck, iii. 697; Delarc, *Saint Grégoire et la réforme de l'Église au xi^me^ siècle*, ii. 210, Paris, 1889.

[2] Jaffé, 4792, 4807, 4808, 4855; Mirbt, p. 491. In the beginning Gregory had very decided opinions, but he realized them progressively.

to be conferred by him or any other ecclesiastical dignity."[1]

Here we may pause, and ask: What exactly was the idea of Gregory? What did he intend? Whither was he going? These questions he answered in the councils; he also answered them in his letters. The councils give us official declarations; the letters put us in possession of the facts. Let us examine successively these two sources of information.

In the councils Gregory promulgated two laws. One condemned lay investiture, the other substituted election for lay investiture. He condemned lay investiture: not merely such manner of investiture, but investiture itself. What he forbade the laity was not only to commit the crozier and the ring to the bishop, but to grant the bishopric. The interdiction applied of what the council of Poitiers (1078) called the gift of the bishopric, *donum episcopatus*. Moreover, the decree of the Roman council (1080) which has just been noticed, was itself sufficiently clear. It condemned any one who "receives a bishopric" at the hands of a layman. Thus Gregory forbade laymen to grant bishops jurisdiction over souls. Did his interdict stop there? It did not; it went farther. It attained the temporal property belonging to the office. The distinction between the spiritual and the temporal was to be made later. The contemporaries of Gregory had no idea of it. Gregory himself did not recognize it. He declared to the laity that the churches were wholly removed from their control; that they had no right of property in them; and that they therefore could not, so far as these were concerned, claim to be their owners. To give greater weight to this measure, he presented it as an echo of regulations made by the Fathers.

While withdrawing the bishoprics from lay control, Gregory also took away the appointment of bishops from the laity. He decreed that all bishops were henceforth to be elected by the clergy and people. To obviate the abuses from which the elections in the past had too often suffered, he decided that the electoral assembly was to be presided

[1] Jaffé, pp. 634, 612; Mirbt, pp. 492, 497.

over by a delegate of the metropolitan, who was to have a supervisory right in it. In addition to this, he gave notice to the electors that if they made a bad choice their votes were to be annulled, and that the right of appointment was then to devolve upon the metropolitan. Finally, he ordered elections which were subject to metropolitan supervision. If it had stopped at this point, and had gone no farther, this would have been only the restoration of an ancient right.

But was it limited to these prescriptions? This is the moment to examine the legislation more closely. The following is the sixth canon of the Roman council (1080): "When at the death of the bishop of a church, one is obliged to grant him a successor according to the canons, the clergy and the people assembled, under the direction of the visitor sent by the apostolic see, or by the metropolitan, . . . shall elect a pastor, according to the mind of God, with the consent of the apostolic see or of the metropolitan. If, yielding to some blameworthy motive, they permit themselves to act otherwise, the election will be nullified, and the electors will forfeit the right to make a new choice. This right will then devolve upon the apostolic see or upon the metropolitan."

This mention of the apostolic see is to be noticed, which occurs three times, and which each time precedes the mention of the metropolitan. It was the Pope who through his delegate was to preside as a rule, to supervise and confirm the episcopal elections; he it was who, in case of abuses, possessed the right of devolution. The metropolitan intervened only when the Pope was not represented: he took the second place. In his legislation, Gregory, who seemed to wish the restoration of the ancient right, endeavoured actually to establish a new right. The tradition to which he appealed was a screen which served to hide his innovations.

Let us now examine his acts. In 1076—four years before the decree of 1080—he annulled the election of Gildwin, Bishop of Dol, and forthwith, in the name of the

law of devolution, which was not to be proclaimed for four years, he appointed in the place of Gildwin, Ives the abbot of St. Melaine of Rennes. In 1078 the election of Wigold of Augsburg took place under the direction of the Roman legate. In 1080 the people of Reims received from the Pope an order to proceed to the election of their archbishop under the direction of the legate Hugues of Die. The same year the bishop of Padua was sent as pontifical legate to Constance, being commissioned to preside at an episcopal election. Four years afterwards (1084) Otto, bishop of Ostia, went to the same city on a like mission. In 1080, Hugues of Cluny was informed that no election should be made in Spain without the assent of the pontifical legate. In 1081 the king of Castile received a notice of the same kind: he was even warned that foreign bishops might be sent to him.[1] As may be seen, Gregory in practice made generous use of his legislation concerning elections.

He went even farther. In fact, what do we witness? In 1073—at a time when Hildebrand, a simple cardinal, was already master of the Church—Hugues, the treasurer of the church of Langres visited, in passing, the city of Die, and was met by the pontifical legate, Gerald of Ostia, who said to him: "Thou comest, by the help of God, at a good time. We are about to take thee as bishop of this church." After a pretended election, Hugues was instituted bishop of Die, and in 1074 he received consecration at Rome from Gregory, who had become Pope.[2] A short time afterwards Hugues became the pontifical legate. As such, he appointed Gebouin archbishop of Lyons (1077). It was an appointment made at a session of the council of Autun, but which was the work of the legate, supported by the duke of Burgundy.[3] In 1080 the Roman legate, after a pretended election, appointed Richard, archbishop of Ravenna, and the

[1] Imbart, p. 419; Mirbt, p. 500; Delarc, iii. 407; Bernold, *Pro Gebhardo*, p. 7; Migne, cxlviii. 1242; *Regist.*, viii. 2, 19, ix. 2.

[2] Berthold, *Annales*, 1078; Migne, cxlvii. 409.

[3] Letter of Hugh to Gregory, Migne, cxlviii. 744. He admits that he has held the election "contra oblatrantes hæreticos." The name of the bishop-elect is known through Hugues of Flavigny (Delarc, iii. 347).

Pope knew very well the character of the election, for he congratulated the people of Ravenna on having received their pastor from the Roman Church.[1] The same year Dalmatius, archbishop of Narbonne, was appointed by Rome. In 1282 the legate Hugues received from the Pope an order to proceed to the election of the archbishop of Lyons, and in case there was a scarcity of capable candidates, to put himself at the head of that church. By carrying out this order, Hugues became archbishop of Lyons.[2] By the terms of the decree of the council of 1080, the apostolic see was not to substitute itself for the electors, unless in exceptional cases. Practically, Gregory himself appointed the bishops as frequently as he could. He preserved, indeed, the pretence of an election, but the princes too respected this formality.

So much for the elections: here are facts of another kind. After the ninth century the archbishops were obliged to ask the pallium at Rome, an obligation which they generally neglected to observe. After the pontificate of Nicholas II., an archbishop who neglected to procure the pallium, forfeited his powers; and in order to obtain it he was obliged, except in unusual cases, to go himself to seek it at Rome. Archbishops were therefore bound, in the three months which followed their consecration, to present themselves before the Pope.[3] The latter profited by the occasion to exact from them an oath, of which Cardinal Deusdedit preserved the form: "Henceforth I will be faithful to St. Peter, to the Holy Roman Church, to my lord the Pope, . . . and to his successors. . . . I will aid them to the best of my ability to preserve and to defend the Roman pontificate and the royal estates of St. Peter. . . . When I shall be called to a council, I will go, unless canonically prevented."[4] In 1073, that is to say, under the pontificate of Alexander II., Guibert of Ravenna pronounced this oath, which was almost identical with the oath of vassal-

[1] *Registr.*, viii. 13 and 14.

[2] Imbart, p. 420; Mirbt, p. 499.

[3] Hinschius, ii. 28; Imbart, p. 490; Mirbt, p. 482. See the letter of John VIII., Migne, cxxvi. 778.

[4] Hinschius, iii. 201, 202.

age sworn by Robert Guiscard. In 1079, Henry, archbishop of Aquileia, received the crozier and ring, after making the same pledges, and promising besides to help, in case of need, the Roman Church with "armed force." And it may be recalled that in 1060, Guy of Milan received the investiture from Nicholas II.[1]

Such are the facts. They complete and explain the legislation of the councils. In the councils, Gregory condemned lay investiture without explaining what he intended to put in its place; and he did not say what was to become of the bishops whom he removed from the authority of the princes. In his administration he substituted for the evicted princes the papacy, to which he granted the right of suzerainty over the archbishoprics. In the councils he contended for what he called "the liberty of the Church"; he laboured to make the bishops free. In the administration he subjected the archbishops to his domination —and, by means of them, the bishops also whom he had taken from beneath the yoke of the princes. In the councils he concealed his plan of campaign, which his administration alone revealed. This apostle of freedom was simply an autocrat who wished to hold the episcopate in his hand.[2]

Gregory died in 1085. At this date, what had become of his programme, this double-faced programme which had caused the Church to rise up against the princes, only to come under the control of the papacy? In Germany, which now engages our attention, Henry IV. was crushed for having resisted the Pope. Rudolph the anti-Cæsar submitted to Gregory, and swore to respect the pontifical legislation. It was only a temporary triumph. Henry lifted up his head, and succeeded in installing the anti-Pope Guibert at the Lateran. When Gregory died, Germany was closed to his programme, which had momentarily gained ground there. It was a failure.

The failure was even greater in England, which after

[1] Hinschius, ii. 545; Hauck, iii. 764, 697; Delarc, ii. 524.
[2] Mirbt, pp. 499, 501, 537, 539.

1066 was in the power of William the Conqueror. This crafty Norman, full of deference for Roman legislation when it served his policy, when it interfered with him, treated it with a contempt which he hardly took pains to conceal. In 1070 he summoned the pontifical legates and gave them full power to examine into the canonical situation of the clergy. The delegates of the Pope held a council at Winchester.[1] There they made a strict inquiry as to the manner in which bishops undertook their duties, noticed that several of them had been irregularly elected, and pronounced the penalty of deposition against them. William hastened to execute the sentences, which freed him from the Saxon clergy. But here the pontifical decrees stood in his way. He forbade his bishops to go to Rome, and he made episcopal appointments himself, in England as well as in Normandy. As to the question of investitures, he pretended to ignore it. In 1080 he called a council at Lillebone, which made no mention of investitures. In 1081 he forbade the Norman bishops to attend a council in which Hugues, the pontifical legate, intended to proclaim the decrees of the Roman council. Furious at this, Hugues suspended the bishops, and Teuzon, another representative of the Pope, took the liberty of blaming William. But Gregory moderated this excess of zeal. He wished William to be treated with consideration, and he treated him with consideration himself. When he wrote to him, he took pains to be amiable.[2] He displayed his indignation to the archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc. In 1079 he wrote to him: "Thy fraternity hath never taken thought of coming to see us, since the day when, notwithstanding the affront, we were obliged to submit to the sacerdotal yoke of the supreme pontiff. . . . We have felt this neglect."

Two years later there were fresh complaints, coupled with threats: "In the name of apostolic authority, to come within four months. . . . At the end of which time, if

[1] Mansi, xix. 1080, xx. 4; Delarc, ii. 454.

[2] *Registr.*, vii. 23, 25, ix. 5, x. 1. Gregory says that William is the pearl of princes (*gemma principum*).

thou hast not come, all episcopal functions will be interdicted."[1]

These were empty words. At this date Henry IV., upon whom fortune had begun to smile, was in Italy with his Pope Guibert, whom he sought to enthrone at the Lateran: and Lanfranc, who thought that he saw the finger of God in the victory of the German king, consented—without making a decided stand—to regard Guibert as the true Pope.[2]

Let us now turn to France. Hugues of Die, the pontifical legate, convoked near that country the two councils of Autun (1077) and Lyons (1080). He even solemnized one in France at Poitiers. At these he made laws concerning the liberty of elections, concerning investitures; and he deposed archbishops and bishops. He disorganized the Church of France. The weak and indolent Philip I., who sought to preserve his kingdom from pontifical agitation, did not succeed. It might have been thought that France accepted the pretensions of Gregory; but such was not the case. One fact is sufficient to inform us on this point. In 1090, Ives of Chartres received the investiture from Philip, with crozier and ring, and received it before his consecration.[3] In France, even as in Germany and England, Gregory was defeated.

But before his death, Gregory infused a new spirit into the papacy, a spirit of domination and of conflict. He transformed it. The Popes who succeeded him continued the struggle. The episcopal elections entered upon a new phase, in which they were for some time to be associated with the problem of investitures. Let us first notice what became of the latter; we shall speak afterwards of the elections proper.

As might have been expected, the storm raised by Gregory passed beyond the limits of the political world and penetrated into the sanctuary of theology. The doctors discussed the problem of investiture. It was solved in various ways. There were three parties. There were the friends of

[1] *Registr.*, vi. 30, ix. 20. [2] Lanfranc, *Ep.*, 59; Migne, cl. 548.

[3] Ives, *Ep.*, 8; Migne, clxii. 20: "Cum virga pastorali a rege mihi intrusa." See also *Ep.*, 22.

the emperor Henry, who justified the investitures by referring to the usage of the Christian emperors, to the example of the Maccabees, to the conduct of the kings of Israel. Moreover, like Guy of Ferrara, they declared that unction was conferred upon the emperors, which placed them above the laity, above the priests.[1] Opposed to these were the friends of Gregory, who denounced in lay investiture the crimes of simony, sacrilege, and heresy. Geoffroy of Vendôme wrote: "The investiture of which we are speaking, is a sacrament, that is to say, a sacred sign which separates the prince of the Church, the bishop, from other men. . . . The ring and crozier, when granted by those who have the right to grant them, are sacraments of the Church, like the salt, the water, the oil, the chrism, and certain other matters."[2] From these premises the author had no difficulty in concluding that the prince who granted investiture with ring and crozier usurped a strictly ecclesiastical function, was guilty of heresy, and committed sacrilege. Between these two extremes there was a moderate party, which was recruited especially from the French episcopate, and the principal representative of which was Ives of Chartres.[3] Certainly Ives wished the suppression of lay investitures; but he noticed that this question had nothing to do with dogma, that it was purely disciplinary in its nature, and that tolerance was necessary in dealing with it. According to him, the prince granting investiture did not profess to confer a spiritual gift, but only to put the bishop in possession of the property of his bishopric, that is to say, it granted him this property. He concluded: "Whether this concession is made by hand, by a sign of the head, by a word, by the gift of the crozier, what difference does it make, since kings do not profess to grant anything spiritual?"

While theorists were disputing, the papacy remained as

[1] Mirbt, p. 506.

[2] M. C., *Libelli de lite*, ii. 685: "Investitura enim de qua loquimur, sacramentum est"; Imbart, p. 404; Mirbt, p. 599; A. Esmein, *La question des investitures dans les lettres d'Ives de Chartres*, Bibliothèque de l'école des Hautes Études, *Sciences religieuses*, i. 152, Paris, 1889; Hinschius, ii. 554.

[3] Ives, *Ep.*, 60 and 236; Esmein, p. 166; Mirbt, p. 513; Hinschius, ii. 553.

bellicose as at the beginning of the war. Victor III. condemned lay investitures at the council of Benevento (1087); Urban II. condemned them at the councils of Melfi (1089), Clermont (1095), Tours (1096), Nîmes (1096), Bari (1098), St. Peter's, Rome (1099). There were fresh condemnations at the council of Poitiers (1100), presided over by the legates of Pascal II.; at the council of Troyes (1107), which was held under the presidency of the same Pope; and at the council of Reims (1119), presided over by Calixtus II. And this list is not complete. The popes did not wish to forsake any of the claims of Gregory VII. On the contrary, they accentuated them. In the councils of Clermont, of St. Peter's, Rome, of the Lateran, not satisfied with proscribing the investitures, they interdicted the homage. They forbade the ecclesiastics to place hands which consecrated the sacred Eucharist into the soiled hands of the laity, or to be subject to the laity.[1]

Under the influence of these aggressive measures hostilities extended the radius of their activity and penetrated into England. Up to the end of the eleventh century the kingdom of William the Conqueror was not aware that the question of investitures existed. The pious and learned Anselm, appointed by William Rufus to the Archbishopric of Canterbury (6th March 1093), received investiture with the crozier; subsequently he did homage to the king. He become "the king's man," which gave him the seizin of the property of the archbishopric. But in 1097, Anselm went to Rome, came into contact with Urban II., and became imbued with the pontifical ideas. When he returned to England (1100) he refused to do feudal homage to the new king, Henry I., and rebelled against a practice which his predecessors had respected, which he himself had followed in the reign of William Rufus. The war of investitures had reached England.

It cost Anselm exile, and the king, four embassies charged to treat with the Pope; but at the end of seven years, peace was restored; and under what conditions? Pope

[1] Esmein, pp. 151–175.

Pascal II., who was inflexible as to investiture with crozier and ring, yielded on the question of feudal homage. The king, for his part, surrendered the granting of investiture, and was satisfied with his right to homage, which Rome recognized. The council of London (1107) took note of the arrangement. The dispute ended in a compromise.[1]

Moreover, a compromise put an end to the German conflict. But in this country the struggle had begun much earlier, and it did not come to an end until much later; it was of a more tragic kind. An account is given elsewhere[2] of the events of 1111—the ceremony of the coronation of Henry V. at St. Peter's, Rome, and the reasons why it was interrupted, the captivity of Pascal II., and his capitulation. Mention has also been made of the feeling aroused by this concession. The Gregorian party exclaimed that it was heresy. The council of Vienna assembled by Guy, the archbishop of that city—who was afterwards Calixtus II.—made a declaration to that effect, and sent Pascal a threatening letter (1112). But this unhappy Pope had already made amends in the Lateran council (1112). For some years the theses of Gregory VII. and of Urban II. were most rigorously imposed upon the Emperor, who always contemptuously rejected them. At length, in 1122, Calixtus II. and Henry V. signed the concordat of Worms on the following basis: the emperor gave up granting investitures with crozier and ring, but was authorized by the Pope to grant investiture with the sceptre, and, except in Italy and Burgundy, to grant it before consecration. Here is to be found, under another form, the distinction made at the council of London between investiture and feudal homage. The prince no longer delivered the crozier and ring to his bishops, but guaranteed to them the temporal authority in their bishoprics, and bound them to vassalage.[3]

[1] Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, i. iii. iv.; Migne, clxix. 372, 454, 466, 469: "Nam papa concesserat hominia quæ Urbanus papa æque ut investituras interdixerat," Stubbs, iii. 303; Hinschius, ii. 584, 585.

[2] See chapter on "Papacy and Empire."

[3] Esmein, pp. 155–173; Hefele, v. 316, 363; Hinschius, ii. 555.

With some slight differences, the same state of affairs was established in France, but gradually and without formal agreement. In 1090, as has already been stated, Ives of Chartres received from Philip I. investiture with crozier and ring; and in spite of the anathemas pronounced by Gregory VII. upon those who were guilty of this crime, asked episcopal consecration of Urban II., who bestowed it on him. Five years later, Ives made arrangements to consecrate Daimbert archbishop of Sens. Being reproved for this by the pontifical legate, Hugues of Lyons, who remarked that this Daimbert, having received investiture from the king, had rendered himself unworthy of consecration, made the well-known reply. He said that investiture, even when granted with crozier and ring, was in itself a matter of small importance. He was soon informed that his language had wounded the Pope, and after that he spoke less slightingly of investiture. But he continued to regard the condemnations pronounced against it as purely disciplinary measures, which could be legitimately disregarded when obedience would be attended by unpleasant consequences. Supported by this principle, in 1108 he authorized Raoul le Vert, appointed bishop of Reims, to swear allegiance to king Louis the Fat, who exacted it.[1]

The French king, therefore, as we learn from Ives, imposed an oath of vassalage upon his bishops. This oath was to be taken when he delivered the property annexed to the bishopric, which was later known as the "temporality," and which was already called the "regality"; for the king claimed the right of eminent domain over this property. He took possession of it when the bishop died, and it was he that gave it to the successor. In what way, or rather by what ceremony, was this cession made? In 1119, William of Châlons declared to the German emperor, Henry V., that the king of France had not granted him the crozier and ring. About 1115 then, this rite was no longer performed. The details that we have concerning the affair of Raoul le Vert, authorize the conjecture that it was already abolished in 1108. Nevertheless accuracy is here impossible. It may merely be

[1] Ives, *Ep.* 2, 60, 190.

said that Ives of Chartres was one of the last French bishops to receive investiture with crozier and ring. Between 1100 and 1120, investitures disappeared; or rather, while still maintained, they were in different form. They were transformed. The kings invested the bishops with the prerogatives of bishoprics, imposing upon them an oath of vassalage. For some time this investiture preceded episcopal consecration; but during the twelfth century its place was changed, and it was subsequent to the consecration. In his ordinance of 1190, Philip Augustus said that the bishop should receive the replevin of the prerogative after he had been consecrated. Moreover, the oath taken by the bishop very soon lost its feudal character and became merely an oath of fidelity.[1]

Let us now consider the election. If one may judge by the canon of the Lateran council (1123), it again assumed the place which it formerly had: "No one should consecrate a bishop who has not been canonically elected." But was this canon observed? History alone can answer this question: it is of history that the question must be asked.

The spectacle that history first presents to us is this. The composition of the electoral body during the twelfth century underwent a thorough transformation.[2] The majority of its members were eliminated: it kept only a very small minority, and was greatly reduced. The reduction occurred in this way. The electoral body at first included "the clergy and the people." Afterwards the people were excluded from the election, and a majority of the clergy was also discarded. The electoral body was made up only of the chapter—except in England, where in most of the churches at the end of the twelfth century the election was in the hands of the monks. This transformation was not the work of Gregory VII., who, on the contrary, wished the people to take part in the episcopal elections. It was slowly accomplished. The clergy, while leaving the people to arrange the election, gave them only the right to approve and confirm it, and diminished the rôle of the laymen. The latter therefore lost interest in the elections,

[1] Esmein, p. 175; Imbart, p. 448; Hinschius, ii. 581.
[2] Imbart, pp. 513–533.

in which they had no concern. An analogous procedure permitted the elimination of priests attached to inferior positions, or strangers to the episcopal city. It was not so easy to eliminate the monks, who resisted and defended their traditional rights, sometimes by force, sometimes by diplomacy. They appealed to the people, and the people came to their aid. They appealed to Rome, and Rome supported them, especially in the Lateran council of 1139, which ordered the canons not to proceed to an election without the co-operation of *viri religiosi*. It was in vain. From the second half of the twelfth century the chapters alone—except in England—elected the bishops, and that which at first was an encroachment, became a right recognized by the popes.

We know the electoral body; let us observe it in the performance of its functions. Canons and monks endeavoured to conduct the business of elections with entire independence, But they were singularly impeded, sometimes by the prince, sometimes by the Pope, sometimes by both at once. And the history of episcopal elections after Gregory VII. is hardly anything but the manifestation of different tactics which kings and popes adopted in order to direct or to suppress the elections at their pleasure.

Until the middle of the thirteenth century the influence of the popes, although considerable, was not equal to that of the princes. It was the princes especially who, with success which varied according to circumstances, laboured to control the elections.

In England their success was complete.[1] The English king appointed his bishops, and the election was only a formality which followed the royal appointment. Anselm was appointed archbishop of Canterbury by William Rufus (1093); Thomas á Beckett received the same see from Henry II. (1162); Richard I. gave the archbishopric of York to Geoffrey, his bastard brother (1189). In 1243, Henry III. appointed to Canterbury Boniface, an uncle of the queen. The electors had only to record the act.

[1] Hinschius, ii. 585–588.

They had another rôle in mind, and at times they played it; for example, in 1191, when the monks of Canterbury refused to accept the candidate of Richard I.; in 1205, when the same monks elected an archbishop without the knowledge of John Lackland, and sent privately to Rome, to assure the confirmation by the Pope. But these attempts at independence were rare; and they failed. About 1240 there was an eloquent acknowledgment of this from the pen of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, who asked Pope Gregory IX. to protect the freedom of elections against the king.

In Germany and in France, with relation to the civil power, the elections played a less humble part than they did in England. Nevertheless, they were far from being independent. At first they were held only by the permission of the prince. The French electors could not meet without having received from the king the authorization to elect.[1] In Germany the subjection was even greater. There, the choice of a new bishop had to be made in the presence of the Emperor or of an imperial delegate. Such was the order of the concordat of Worms. Under these conditions the election was necessarily under the influence of the will of the prince. That was generally the case. The electors found themselves with an official candidate whom they accepted, whether they wished it or not: moreover, they gained nothing by braving authority; for by refusing the investiture the prince could practically always nullify an election which displeased him.[2] In opposition to the royal action a pontifical action was displayed which was progressive and varied. Let us study it.

During the whole of the twelfth century the popes did not think of imitating the bold method of Gregory VII. Their rôle was limited to examining and judging the elections which were referred to their tribunal. From a theoretical point of view it was a modest rôle, since it consisted only in setting aside unworthy or incapable candidates. But it was a laborious rôle; for there were many irregular elections,

[1] Imbart, pp. 441–447.

[2] Hauck, iv. 117, 146, 195, 276, 297.

and there were many, too, disputed because they were in the interests of a clique. It may be added that this intervention, which was theoretically unimportant, had practically considerable importance. As supreme arbiter of elections, the Pope by his sentence ended disputes. The candidate in whose favour he decided, was "confirmed," that is to say, was assured of the possession of the bishopric guaranteed against any attack. And this confirmation was so valuable, that even those whose appointment was undisputed, were in the habit of asking confirmation at Rome. An election which was not confirmed was always precarious, was always subject to attack on the part of envious persons. The pontifical confirmation guaranteed its stability. It was an insurance against shipwreck.[1]

From the thirteenth century the electoral action of the Holy See assumed a new character. Until that time, popes confined themselves to annulling irregular elections, and confirming choices which were beyond reproach. After this they did not fear to take the place of the electors, and themselves to appoint the bishops. The author of this arbitrary evolution was Innocent III.[2] It was this pope who, by transforming the audacious precedents set by Gregory VII. into juridical maxims, arrogated to himself the right to make episcopal appointments. His most famous intervention of this kind was that by which he settled the Canterbury affair.[3] In 1205 two candidates for that see arrived at Rome. One had been elected by the monks of king John Lackland, the other was supported by the king himself. Innocent annulled both elections, and put Stephen Langton in the place (1207). Moreover, he made use of his right only rarely, and with much discretion, and he did it with great skill. For example, he concealed the appointment of Stephen Langton behind a pretended election which he caused to be held at the Lateran; subsequently he thought himself authorized to say that Stephen had been canonically elected.

As might have been expected, the tree planted by

[1] Imbart, pp. 482–499; Stubbs, iii. 310. [2] Hauck, iv. 728–730.
[3] Matth. Pâris, *Chronica majora*, 1205; Luard, ii. 492; Hefele, v. 819.

Innocent III. grew, was developed, and sent forth vigorous branches, especially from the time of Innocent IV.

All the popes in the second half of the thirteenth century, themselves appointed many bishops in Germany, Italy, Sicily, and England. They chose them chiefly from among the Dominicans and Franciscans.[1] During his conflict with Philip le Bel, Boniface VIII. subjected France to this system—a country which until that time had escaped. Then came Clement V., who reserved for appointment by the Holy See all the bishoprics the titularies of which died at the court of Rome (1305). Then came John XXII., Benedict XII., and Clement VI., who extended the principle laid down by Clement V.[2] In short, in the fourteenth century the popes controlled a considerable number of bishoprics. They were formidable rivals of the chapters and kings.

This rivalry continued without serious hindrances throughout the fourteenth century; yet it soon caused lively dissatisfaction in England.[3] In 1307 the English parliament uttered complaints, which it renewed in 1343, in 1351, in 1365, in 1376, and in 1390. In consequence of these complaints were passed the "statute of Carlisle" (1307), and the "provisor's statute," which revived the electoral right. But the popes soon won over the kings by giving certain bishoprics to the favourites of the latter. Assured of royal protection, they could disregard the opposition of parliament. They did not retract until the Great Schism. Then the scene changed. The papacy was weak and could only indulge in empty threats. The law of the strongest did its work. Kings once more seized upon the bishoprics; they gained slowly, but progressively, the ground they had lost.

The French and the Germans themselves took advantage of the Great Schism and sought to escape the encroachments of the pontifical authority. The Germans acted with moderation.

[1] Hinschius, ii. 574, iii. 127, 129; Hauck, iv. 838; P. Viollet, *Hist. des constitutions, etc.*, ii. 330.

[2] Raynald, 1303, 39; Hinschius, iii. 130; Stubbs, iii. 316–320; F. Rocquain, *La Papauté au moyen âge*, p. 215, Paris, 1881; C. Eubel, "Zum päpstlichen Reservations- und Provisionswesen," *Römische Quartalschrift*, viii. (1894) 173.

[3] Stubbs, iii. 321, 338, 340.

They did not wholly object to the Pope reserving to himself the appointments to certain bishoprics. They asked him to confine himself within the rightful limits fixed by John XXII. and Benedict XII. Martin V. gave them satisfaction, and, in accordance with their wishes, granted them the concordat of Constance (1418).[1] The French were more radical. In the national councils of 1398 and 1406 they declared what is known as "the withdrawal of obedience"; they refused submission to the French Pope, to him who, in their eyes, was the true Pope. They therefore put into full force the system of episcopal elections, supervised and confirmed by the metropolitan.[2] At Constance, when the Pope proposed a concordat to them, analogous to the concordat accepted by the Germans, they refused it. Unfortunately at this time the English were masters of a part of France. The duke of Bedford, who ruled in the name of the young king, Henry VI., and who wished to have the sympathy of Rome, authorized the Pope to choose the bishop from a list of three candidates presented by the civil power (1425). The feeble Charles VII. then yielded for fear of being sacrificed to the English by the Pope.[3] Martin V. triumphed in France even as he did in England.

But the battle was not over. In 1433 the council of Bâle suppressed all the rights which the Holy See had assumed with respect to conferring bishoprics, and established again the system of elections. The decree of Bâle was accepted successively by the States-General of Bourges (1438) and by the diet of Mayence (1439). It entered into the Pragmatic Sanction of the Gallican Church, and into the *Instrumentum acceptationis* of the German Church.[4] At the end of twenty years there was nothing left of the victories won by Martin V., all had to be begun again.

[1] B. Hübler, *Die Constanzer Reformation und der Concordat von 1418*, pp. 115, 192, 205, 315.

[2] Noël-Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme*, iii. 164, 607, 614; iv. 178.

[3] Hübler, 284, 292, 298; Noël-Valois, iv. 420–435; *Id.*, *Hist. de la Pragm. Sanction de Bourges*, vi, xxxiii, Paris, 1906.

[4] Noël-Valois, *Hist. de la Pragm. Sanction*, lxxviii–xcii; Pastor, i. 252; Hinschius, iii. 138.

The papacy began it again, and laboured energetically to rebuild its crumbled fortunes. In Germany, several years were sufficient to achieve a satisfactory result. By the concordat of Vienne, which Pope Nicholas V. signed with the emperor Frederick III. (1448), and which once more enforced the convention of Constance, the papacy achieved it.[1] And it will be remembered that this convention confirmed the juridical situation created by John XXII. and Benedict XII. In France the condition was much more difficult. For more than sixty years the popes uttered the most lively protests against the hated Pragmatic Sanction, without succeeding in abrogating it.[2] At length, in 1516, Leo X. obtained from Francis I. the much-desired abrogation. That was the purpose of the concordat of Bologna. But the crafty king of France, in making the convention, had thought only of his own interests. He had surrendered the Pragmatic Sanction, only in order to be the master of the Gallican Church, to take from that church the independence which the Pragmatic Sanction assured it. Therefore it was with great parsimony that he gave Rome a share in the recruiting of the bishops. He reserved to himself and to the kings of France his successors, the appointment of bishops. He left to the Pope only the right to confirm the choice of the king. After this, France no more received its bishops from the chapters, but neither did it receive them from Rome. The Gallican Church, deprived of its episcopal elections and partly freed from the protectorate of Rome, was to be ruled by kings.[3]

[1] Hinschius, iii. 138.

[2] Noël-Valois, *Hist. de la Pragm. Sanction*, cxxviii, clii, clxxxv, clxxxvi; J. Combet, *Louis XI. et le Saint Siège*, pp. 2, 16, Paris, 1903.

[3] Madelin, *De conventu bononiensi*, p. 65, Paris, 1900; Pastor, iv. 578–591.

CHAPTER XI

Ecclesiastical Celibacy

The feverish expectation of the end of the world inspired the early Christians with a mystical exaltation which, among the most ardent, paralyzed the lust of the flesh and produced a kind of aversion to married life. Those chaste persons exercised a considerable influence. They were admired for their virtue. It was from them especially that the clergy of the primitive communities were recruited. After some generations the mystic intoxication which characterized the beginning of the movement was calmed; but the work was continued and developed by the Gnostic agitation which from the opening of the second century invaded the Church, imparted to Christians a hatred of matter, and gave them the disposition which was the source of the monasticism of the fourth century. The usage was established, the tradition was created. The bishops, priests, and even the deacons could not obtain popular veneration unless they practised, or at least pretended to practise, continence. The celibacy of the clergy was introduced into the Church by the excitement concerning the end of the world; it was supported by the Gnostic movement and by the allurement of prestige. About the year 300 A.D. the council of Elvira made the practice obligatory for the Spanish clergy. Nevertheless in 325 the council of Nicæa, being urged to apply this local decision to the Church universal, refused to do so. Until the end of the fourth century the celibacy of the clergy, whether sincere or feigned, was a matter of choice, except in Spain. It was submitted to in the large towns, where there were many candidates for the episcopate, and where it was important to

win the first prize for virtue; but where there was no such rivalry, no pains were taken to preserve appearances, and natural inclinations were followed without pretence.

After the closing years of the fourth century the bishops of Rome took the cause of celibacy in hand. Then appeared the decretals of Lirice, of Innocent, and of Leo, which forbade the marriage of bishops, priests, deacons, and, after Leo, of sub-deacons. At this time the Roman Church had to impose its will on all the bishops of the Latin world, a right derived from Valentinian I., from Gratian, and lastly from Valentinian III. Moreover, the councils of Carthage (390), Hippo (393) in Africa, the council of Toledo in Spain (400); in Gaul, the councils of Orange (442), Angers (453), Tours (561), and Vannes (465) obeyed the orders of the Pope, which were also those of the emperor. In 476 the western empire disappeared; but celibacy was prescribed in the ecclesiastical legislation, and there it remained. The councils of Agde (506), Orleans (511), Tarragon (516), Epaone (517), Toledo (527), Auvergne (535), Orleans (538, 541, and 549), Eauze (551), Tours (567), Auxerre (about 580), Lyons (583), Mâcon (583), Toledo (589, 633, 653, 655), Paris (after 614), Châlons (648), Bordeaux (about 663), St. Jean de Losne (673), adhered to the Roman discipline. This discipline, which on the one hand was severe, on the other was rather lenient. It removed from the surroundings of the clergy all women who were "strangers," exception being made of the mother, the sister, and the aunt. But it authorized those who before taking orders had married—until the seventh century this was almost universally the case—to keep their wives on condition that they treated them as sisters. In other words, in the matter of wives, it permitted a common dwelling, but not a common bed.

The law of ecclesiastical celibacy was promulgated by numerous councils in the sixth and seventh centuries. Difficulties arose when it was enforced. We may first mention the work of Pope Gregory and its results. The possessor of vast estates in Italy and the islands adjacent, in Dalmatia, and in southern Gaul, invested throughout his domains with almost

royal authority, Gregory exercised that authority in the enforcement of discipline. His officials were commanded to watch closely both the higher and the lower clergy, and to denounce ecclesiastics who were notoriously scandalous, to suspend them from their functions, to banish them, and if necessary to put them in prison. Of course, this inquisitorial police could not, save in exceptional cases, supervise the relation of wives to their former husbands whose dwelling they shared. But it concerned the wives who were "strangers." Gregory thus put into force, so far as possible, celibacy in the real sense of the word, or at least outward decency. He also endeavoured to act upon the Frankish Church. Not being able to interfere authoritatively in that territory, he became a suitor. He wrote to Brunehaut, to Thierry II., to Clotaire II., and to certain bishops. He demanded various reforms, among which celibacy was discreetly mentioned. But his efforts encountered a malevolent indifference, and he failed.

Since the sixth century the Frankish Church, which Pope Gregory depicts in rather dark colours, had made a serious attempt at celibacy by instituting the "canonical life," or life in common. The clergy of the episcopal city lived in the bishop's house, into which no woman might enter; they ate at his table, lodged in his room. This community of life, to which witness was borne by the council of Tours (567, canon 13) and by Gregory of Tours, permitted the clergy to have an eye upon their bishop, who for his part watched his clergy.[1]

Under this régime the genuine practice of celibacy had reassuring guarantees. It need not be said that the canonical life did not prevail in the country, where priests, in conformity to Roman discipline, lived in the same houses with their wives. Was it practised in all the cities? Was it adopted by all the bishops? There is no proof of it. Indeed, even

[1] M. G., *Concilia ævi merovingici*, p. 125; Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, vi. 36; *Vitæ Patrum*, ix. 1. Nevertheless it may be seen by *Hist. Franc.*, i. 39, iv. 4, viii. 19; *Gloria confess.*, 76, 78; *Vita Remigii*, 42 (by Hincmar, Migne, cxxv. 162), that delinquencies were not uncommon.

where it was in force, there were certainly deception and delinquencies. The reality was not conformed to the ideal: but it felt the influence of the ideal. After the middle of the sixth century the Frankish Church practised celibacy sincerely but imperfectly. From this point of view it was superior to the Italian Church. What has been said of the Frankish, is equally true of the Spanish Church, where, as we are informed by canons 22 and 23 of the council of Toledo (633), the priests as well as the deacons lived in the neighbourhood of the bishop, and slept in his dormitory. The same was true of the Anglo-Saxon Church of the seventh century. There the bishop was a monk, and lived with his priests, who were monks like himself. The clergy lived under the régime of a monastic life. Founded by a monk, Augustine, the Anglo-Saxon Church bore the imprint of its founder. This seems to have been imported to the Irish Church, where ecclesiastical celibacy did not seriously take root until the seventh century.

At the beginning of the eighth century Charles Martel distributed bishoprics and abbeys of the Frankish Church to his companions in arms. The régime had its inevitable consequences. The discipline which the bishops for four or five centuries had found difficulty in preserving, went to pieces. The clergy afforded a spectacle of thorough-going immorality. They shook off the yoke, not merely of celibacy, but of the commonest decency. The decadence had been speedy, but was not permanent. In the middle of the eighth century a powerful reform movement was planned and progressively accentuated. The impulse was given by the monk Boniface and by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz. Boniface laboured to introduce good behaviour and dignity of life among the clergy. Chrodegang regarded it as his mission to restore the life in common, "the canonical life" as it was then called, and to transform the clergy into "canons." The following is one of the articles of this rule: "All the clerical canons shall sleep in one dormitory, excepting those whom the bishop has permitted to sleep in separate houses, situated, however, in the interior of the cloister. Each one

will have his separate bed. The beds will be assigned without reference to the age of the canons, so that the young will be associated with those who are older. . . . No woman and no layman shall enter the cloister without the permission of the bishop, the archdeacon, or the director."

Left to their own resources, the reformers would have reached no result: besides, Chrodegang had legislated only for his own clergy at Metz. But they were not left to themselves: the civil power lent them ardent and eager aid. Carloman and Pepin executed the measures instituted by Boniface or under his influence, in the Frankish councils of 742–744. They scourged profligate priests unto blood; they imprisoned and deposed them. In 789, Charlemagne commanded his bishops to introduce the rule of Chrodegang into their dioceses, to subject their priests to the canonical life and carefully to guard their behaviour. In 813 he repeated his injunctions. Besides, he endeavoured to permit only honourable men to become bishops. All these efforts were not ineffective. Of course, perfection was not attained. In a letter to the English archbishop Egbert, we learn from Boniface that the latter was obliged to close his eyes to many abuses, and often to practise indulgence. At least the immorality which shamelessly prevailed in the time of Charles Martel disappeared. Moreover, the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (816) at this time bore witness to the canonical life which was almost everywhere practised. It may therefore be concluded that the clergy of Charlemagne generally observed the law of celibacy. This was especially true of the clergy in the episcopal cities; for the country priests, who were ruled from a distance, lived as they pleased, under the sole condition that they should avoid scandalous debauchery.

Scarcely had Louis the Debonnair ascended the throne when he found that his clergy fell far short of perfection, and he put forth all his energies to reform them. By his orders the bishop of Metz, Amalaire, inspired by the model of Chrodegang, drew up a new rule for the canonical life, which was promulgated in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (816). The canons would have been as innocent as angels, had

they but followed the instructions which were given them in the name of the emperor. But they did not follow them. Indeed, it was not long before the bishops permitted themselves to be absorbed with political preoccupations which led them to forget their religious mission. Pretending to watch over the destinies of the Frankish empire, they left their clergy without supervision. Moreover, the invasions of the Normans began the work of disorganization which was to persist for a century. Clerical discipline did not resist these two trials, one of which alone would have been enough to defeat it. The canons—it is needless to mention the country priests—surrendered themselves to all kinds of excesses. The devout Louis the Debonnair tried to put an end to the evil. He convoked the councils of Paris (829) and Aix-la-Chapelle (836), and begged them to legislate. His son Charles the Bald imitated him, and convoked the councils of Ver (844), Meaux (845), Paris (846). These venerable assemblies met, and recognized the fact that the morality of the clergy left much to be desired. To remedy the evil they found nothing better than to enforce the old rules. They therefore issued a serious decree that the bishop should always have in his chamber, clergy to be witnesses of his conduct (council of Paris, 829, canon 20), that his canons should pass the night in a common dormitory (council of Paris, 846, canon 53), and that the priests should always be separated from women (council of Paris, 829, canon 42; Aix-la-Chapelle, 836, canon 6). The councils of Mayence (847) and Worms (868) expressed their opinions after the same manner. During this time the torrent of clerical licence overflowed its banks. The council of Trosly (909), after observing that many houses of the canons had been destroyed by the barbarians, admitted that in those that remained there was a reign of disorder and immorality.

All these ecclesiastics whom celibacy threw infallibly, and in a certain way necessarily, into debauchery, would have found a safeguard in the bonds of matrimony. Lawfully joined to a wife, they would have led the lives of good laymen, they would not have yielded to the caprices of carnal lusts.

Marriage contracted according to the laws of that time seemed the only escape from the conditions with which the clergy were grappling. That was understood by righteous men. About 893, Angelric, a priest of the diocese of Châlons, married in the presence of his parishioners.[1] His example was contagious. Soon on all sides the marriages of bishops and of priests took place. Thébaud, bishop of Rennes, married the daughter of an archdeacon of Nantes. When he became a widower, he took a second wife. Before his death he granted his bishopric to Gauthier, one of his sons, who received episcopal ordination, married, became the father of a family, and was succeeded by his son Guérin.[2] This happened between 950 and 1027. At Dol, the bishop Eveno (about 1070) married, then gave his daughters in marriage, and paid their dowry with Church property.[3] At Rouen, at Quimper, at Le Mans, and elsewhere, during this period bishops contracted regular marriage relations.[4] It need not be said that the priests readily imitated their leaders. Piligrim, bishop of Passau, declared that in Germany, priests were publicly married.[5]

The history of the Frankish clergy is that of the clergy elsewhere. In 701, Witiza, king of Spain, ordered his priests to give up celibacy.[6] His orders were at once executed. Thereafter the Spanish clergy openly practised concubinage and marriage. The Arab invasion, which occurred in 711, only aggravated this state of things. In England the monastic régime instituted by Augustine continued — not without serious abuses, which are noticed by Bede[7] — until

[1] Letter of Mancion, bishop of Châlons, to Foulques of Reims, Migne, cxxxi. 23.

[2] Du Paz, *Histoire généalogique de plusieurs maisons illustres de Bretagne*, p. 47, Paris, 1620.

[3] Letter of Gregory VII. to William the Conqueror, *Extrav.* 28 ; Jaffé, 5005.

[4] Orderic Vital, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 12 ; Migne, clxxxviii. 403 ; A. de La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, iii. 168, Rennes, 1896 ; "Actus pontif cennoman," in *Historiens de France*, x. 384.

[5] Piligrim published this letter with the name of Pope Leo VII. ; Migne, cxxxii. 1086 ; Jaffé, 3614.

[6] Hefele, iii. 356 ; see J. Tailhan, *Anonyme de Cordoue*, pp. 146–159, Paris, 1887.

[7] See above, Chapter III.

the arrival of the Danes (about 850). The disorder caused by these barbarians was fatal to ecclesiastical discipline. The monasteries disappeared, and the clergy, deprived of their institutions, gave themselves up to every kind of disorder. As time passed, the evil increased instead of diminishing. In the English council (969), king Edgar declared that the houses of the clergy were dens of debauchery.[1] In the council of Enham (1009) it was remarked that many of the priests had two or even three concubines, and that they frequently changed wives.[2]

At the end of the eighteenth century the Roman Church was exposed to criticism. In 778, Charlemagne learned that evil reports were current concerning the behaviour of the priests of Rome. He informed Adrian I. of this, who exclaimed against the calumny and guaranteed the virtue of his subordinates. Twenty years later, public rumour attacked not only the clergy, but Pope Leo III. himself, who was accused of adultery. Charlemagne went to Rome, summoned a council to throw light on the affair, then, fearing complications, he saved the Pope by asking him to swear that he was innocent.[3] But these incidents were as nothing, compared with the spectacle offered by the Church at Rome during the tenth century. Then appeared Sergius III. (904), the lover of Marozia; John X. (914), the lover of Theodora; John XII. (955), who passed his life in debauchery, and was killed by an outraged husband; and Boniface IX. (1033), who, after giving himself over to all sorts of lewdness, sold the papacy, contracted a regular marriage, and reascended the pontifical throne.[4] Emperor Henry III. went to Rome to depose this infamous person, and put the bishop of Bamberg to succeed him, with the name of Clement II.[5] (1046). The monk Bonizo, in giving the story of the latter's election, declared that this foreigner was chosen because it was difficult to find

[1] Mansi, xix. 15; Hefele, iv. 630; Lea, i. 193. See in Jaffé, 3753, the letter of John XIII. to King Edward.

[2] Mansi, xix. 297; Hefele, iv. 667; Lea, i. 200.

[3] See above, "Papacy and Empire."

[4] Baronius, *Annales*, 908, 2; 912, 7; 963, 16; 964, 17; 1044, 2.

[5] Hauck, iii. 589.

among all the Roman clergy a single priest who was without a concubine.[1] But in reality most of the Roman priests were married, like those in France and Germany. They did not have concubines, according to the exact meaning of the term. That is proved by the following passage from Didier, who was afterwards Pope Victor III.[2]: "The mass of the clergy cast off all restraint. The priests and deacons, disregarding purity of heart and of life, which are requisite for celebrating the sacraments of the Lord, married like laymen, and bequeathed their property to their children. There were even bishops who trampled modesty under foot and took wives. This accursed custom continued to flourish especially at Rome, the city which the Apostle Peter and his successors had formerly made the home of religion."

Celibacy was thus abolished at Rome in the tenth century. It disappeared also in the churches of northern Italy. In the tenth century Rathier, bishop of Verona, stated that the *mulierositas* (the love of woman) prevailed among all the clergy.[3] "They were publicly married," he said; speaking of his priests, "they professed to have the right and even the duty to marry, and they suspected those who did not marry of practising pæderasty." In the eleventh century Pierre Damien remarked that in all the states of Adelaide, duchess of Burgundy, and especially in the diocese of Turin, priests contracted regular marriages, taking an oath of fidelity and sealing the agreement before a notary: he observed that the bishops, far from opposing these unions, approved them. Furthermore, in one of his opuscules he states that bishops themselves had wives.[4] About this time Landulf, a priest of Milan, wrote as follows concerning the clergy of that city:[5] "Every priest had his own wife. He

[1] *Ad amicum*, v.; M. G., *Libelli de lite*, i. 586: "Ut in tanta ecclesia vix posset unus reperiri qui non . . . esset concubinatus."

[2] *Dialogi*, iii.; Migne, cxlix. 1002.

[3] *Discordia*, i.; Migne, cxxxvi. 619. See also *Serm.*, xi. *ib.* p. 752.

[4] *Opusc.*, xviii.; Migne, cxlv. 398, 412, 416; *Opusc.*, vi. pp. 18, 127.

[5] *Historia mediolanensis*, ii. 35; M. G., *Scriptores*, viii. 70; Landulf adds (iii. 5) that Anselm of Lucques is said to have confessed: "The priests of Milan were all respectable, if they had not had wives."

was revered as if he had no wife. Those who were in the priesthood, and apparently practised celibacy, were always suspected of leading a disordered life. . . . This was for a long time the custom in the Latin as well as in the Greek Church, where, when the faithful saw that a priest was married, was a good father of a family, they chose him as bishop, with deep feelings of reverence and joy."

These married priests of Milan lived the lives of good fathers of families. That was not everywhere the case. The council of Enham showed that many of the English ecclesiastics supported several concubines. Was marriage responsible for these sorry practices? Public opinion did not think it. On the contrary, it laid the responsibility for all the disorders from which the clergy were suffering upon celibacy. The people suspected the celibate ecclesiastics of shameful habits, and saw in married life a guarantee of morality, awarding to married priests an esteem which sometimes amounted to veneration. As witnesses to this may be cited the bishop of Fiésole, Rainbald, and the priest Marinus, who, although married, were regarded by the people as workers of miracles.

The marriage of priests met with popular sympathy, but had its adversaries. How should this not have been so? Such marriages were a condemnation of monachism which had just been renewed at Cluny and was advancing to the attack. Marriage inspired the priests with the pre-occupations of fathers of families, anxious to assure the future of their children. For this reason it endangered ecclesiastical property. The kings, who were the guardians of this property, were therefore obliged to fight for it. In fact, monks and kings, the former impelled by mystical motives, the latter governed by economical motives, made efforts to restore ecclesiastical celibacy. The monks took the lead. In the middle of the tenth century Cluny, through the medium of Fleury on the Loire, one of its annexes, made its action felt in England. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan his successor, Æthelwold, bishop of Winchestor, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, all friends of Fleury on the Loire, and all

inspired by it—Oswald had been a monk in that abbey—laboured to bring back the clergy under the yoke of celibacy.[1] After monachism, politics exercised its influence. The emperor Henry II. was its interpreter. Observing that the priests transferred ecclesiastical property to their children, Henry II. resolved to put an end to this disorder, and asked Pope Benedict VIII. to aid him in curing the evil. A common soldier who had found his way to the throne of St. Peter, Benedict would never have thought of reforming the clergy had he been left to himself. But he had a debt of the papacy to pay to the emperor, and he could not refuse his benefactor. Thus in agreement with Henry II., he called the council of Pavia, which forbade concubinage and the marriage of priests.[2] This measure was enacted with heavy penalties. Priests who had wives or concubines were deposed; their children were made serfs of the churches, without hope of freedom. In order to justify these severe measures the Pope vehemently opposed the sons of priests, whom he accused of ruining the Church. He could not more plainly announce that he adopted a utilitarian point of view, and that for him the celibacy of priests was a question of economic order.

About 1030, William, the abbot of St. Benigne of Dijon, wrote to John XIX.:[3] "We wish that you would display more energy in correcting abuses and maintaining discipline." William was a son of Cluny, and it was Cluny, through him, which called the Pope to order. But it soon became unnecessary for Cluny to administer reproof, for the papacy was its docile servant. The monk Hildebrand, educated in the monastery of Sancta Maria of Aventinus, where he learned the principles of Cluny, had considerable influence upon Leo IX. During the reigns of Victor II., Stephen IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II., he was the real Pope, until he was made the legal Pope.[4] Under his direction the

[1] Lea, i. 194. [2] Mansi, xix. 343; Hefele, iv. 670; Hauck, iii. 528

[3] Migne, cxli. 1157.

[4] C. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.*, p. 601, Leipzig, 1894, made with reservations so far as Leo IX. and Victor II. are concerned; Delarc, *St. Grégoire VII. et la reforme de l'Église au xi^me siècle*, i. 105.

papacy worked energetically to impose celibacy upon the clergy.[1] The Roman council (1049) condemned to slavery all the wives of priests who lived at Rome. A second Roman council (1050) forbade the laity to come into contact with priests who were married, or who had concubines. In 1059 a third Roman council forbade them to be present at mass said by these priests. A fourth council (1063) renewed the prohibition. In this period Anselm, a young enthusiast, spoke in public at Milan against the incontinence of the priests, caused an uprising of the people against the clergy: in a word, began a revolution. To be freed from this disturber, the archbishop of Milan had him appointed bishop of Lucques (1056). But this expedient did not still the storm. Two fanatics, Landulf and Ariald, continued the revolutionary movement of Anselm, and appealed to the worst passions of the populace, which, excited by these agitators, invaded and pillaged the houses of the priests. Very soon the *Pataria*, the name given to the anti-clerical revolution caused by Landulf and Ariald, received the support of Hildebrand. It then became formidable. Incapable of resisting the storm, the clergy were forced to capitulate. They capitulated, and agreed to give up marriage (1059). The course of celibacy was everywhere triumphant, and its success seemed to be permanent, for the Roman council (1059) renewed the legislation of the Carolingian period, and required the priests to live a life in common: "We order the clergy . . . to have a refectory and dormitory in common, situated near the churches to which they are assigned." The institution of canons was, by this decree of the council of 1059, enforced, or, what was the same thing, restored to its ideal state. The marriage and concubinage of priests was therefore about to disappear for ever. That, at least, was what might have been expected.

This expectation met with a cruel disappointment. At Milan the *Pataria* took advantage of its triumph and gave itself over to excesses, which made it odious to the people.

[1] Lea, i. 218, 249–264; Hauck, iii. 599, 696; Delarc, i. 119, 191, ii. 58, 107, 184.

A first reaction, which occurred in 1066, failed. But in 1075 a second reaction took place, and this time the *Pataria* was drowned in blood, and the clergy returned to their former practices.[1] In England something of the same sort occurred. King Edward having been indoctrinated by Dunstan, for some time after the council of 969 treated harshly the priests who had concubines, but the latter quietly resumed their traditional manner of life.[2] In England and at Milan the law of celibacy became obsolete after it had begun to be enforced. Elsewhere, even the beginning of this enforcement was wanting. Councils legislated, prescribed ecclesiastical celibacy, adopted appropriate measures, inflicted terrible punishments upon the delinquents; yet all this was a matter of theory. And when Hildebrand, who had become Gregory VII., ascended the pontifical throne, the marriage of priests was as common as ever.[3]

Gregory VII. continued the work begun by Hildebrand, and having in the Roman council of 1074 promulgated the legislation of 1059, he took pains to have it enforced. At Rome he deposed the recalcitrant priests. In the rest of the Church there was more difficulty. The legates sent to Germany to enforce celibacy, drew upon themselves indignant protests from the episcopate; but, undiscouraged, they were lavish in threats and promises, and then certain bishops ventured to prescribe the Gregorian rule to their priests. They nearly paid for this audacity with their lives. One of them, Altmann of Passau, assembled his clergy and read to them the pontifical decrees.[4] "Then," says his biographer, "cries of fury were heard on every side, and the servant of God would have been slain forthwith had not Divine Providence, seconded by the courage of some great personages, released him from the hands of these enthusiasts."

[1] Delarc, ii. 202, iii. 140.

[2] Lea, i. 203.

[3] For example, the Council of Bourges (1031, canon 19) says: "No one shall give his daughter in marriage to a priest, to a deacon, to a sub-deacon, or to their sons"; Delarc, iii. 66.

[4] *Vita Altmanni*, M. G., *Scriptores*, xii. 226; *Acta sanctorum*, ii. 366, Migne, cxlviii. 878; Hefele, v. 32; Delarc, iii. 83; Lea, i. 271.

At Erfurt, the archbishop of Mayence received a like welcome.[1] The German clergy did not desire celibacy.

Nor did the French clergy. Here is what a contemporary writer said of the council of Paris[2] (1074): "A council assembled at Paris to determine whether obedience should be rendered to the orders of the Lord Pope Hildebrand of holy memory, with regard to ecclesiastical celibacy, and to his prohibition to hear mass said by a priest having a concubine. Almost all the bishops, abbots, and clergy who composed the assembly declared that the orders of the Pope were absurd, and they concluded that they could not, and should not, be obeyed. Gauthier, abbot of Pontoise, then arose and protested against the decision which had been made. . . . The words of Gauthier caused a fearful disturbance in the assembly. He was attacked from all sides, was unmercifully beaten, spit upon, and dragged into the king's prison, from which his friends subsequently released him."

The legate Hugues of Die, selected by Gregory to go through France in order to awaken a sentiment in favour of celibacy, only encountered insults. The king and the nobles, upon whom he relied for support, did what they could to interfere with his work. The bishops, sure of impunity, insolently repudiated the pontifical proposal. Hugues was determined to show equal audacity, and convoked a council at Poitiers[3] (1078). There he was insulted, spurned by the prelates, especially by the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Rennes. But Gerard, bishop of Cambrai, was zealous to secure the favour of the Pope, and promulgated the law of celibacy in his diocese. It was labour lost. His clergy denounced him throughout all the province of Reims in a letter of protest from which the following is an extract[4]: "The Romans carry their insolence so far as to revolutionize

[1] Hefele, v. 31; Delarc, iii. 81.

[2] Mansi, xx. 437; *Acta sanctorum*, Avril, i. 753; Hefele, v. 34; Delarc, iii. 86.

[3] Mansi, xx. 499; Letter of Hugh to Gregory, Migne, clvii. 509; Delarc, iii. 356; Hefele, v. 115.

[4] M. G., *Libelli de lite*, iii. 574.

everything. . . . They have forbidden all the clergy to marry, while according to our rules the clergy are not obliged to observe continence, and may marry, provided they marry only once. . . . Our pastors conform to these manœuvres in order to appear to be submissive to Roman authority. Governed by fear, they endeavour to load us with heavy burdens, while with a light heart they lend themselves to the degradation of our order. They, whose behaviour is far from being blameless, do not cease to oppose our manner of living, as if they themselves were good. . . . If you have any feeling, and if you wish to behave like men, you should despise these councils, which only expose you to public scorn. . . . As for us, we are firmly decided to preserve in its integrity the usage which up to this time has been in force among us, which the wisdom of our fathers established. We utterly repudiate dangerous innovations."

We may now consider England. The reform movement, which after the middle of the tenth century spread throughout that country, wholly failed; and when William the Conqueror took possession of the island, he found a clergy either married or living with concubines (1066). One of his first administrative acts was in the council of Winchester (1070) to cause the deposition of the most powerful of the Saxon clergy, and to fill their places with Normans.[1] The undertaking confided to the Norman legates was carried out according to the requirements of canon law. The victims were accused of violating either the law of celibacy or the law of elections. The bishop of Lichfield, for example, lost his see because he had taken a mistress and had a family. William thus made use of Roman discipline to further his political interests. When he was rid of the Saxon clergy his zeal for ecclesiastical celibacy vanished, and after 1070 the marriage of the clergy went on as before. Upon arriving in England (1070), Lanfranc found that the practice prevailed to such an extent that he did not think he could suppress it, at least directly. In the council of Winchester (1076)

[1] Mansi, xix. 1080; Hefele, iv. 886; Delarc, ii. 453 [important]; Lea, i. 329.

he promulgated the following discipline:[1] "The canons may not have wives: as for the priests who are in the castles or in the villages, if they have wives, they are not obliged to put them away; if they have none, they are forbidden to marry. For the future, the bishops are to ordain as priests or deacons only those who have promised not to marry." Lanfranc, except so far as the canons were concerned, accepted the conditions as he found them. His hope was for the future.

The hope was excessive. The rule of Lanfranc remained a dead letter. All the priests, the canons themselves, continued to have wives. And when, thirty-six years later, Anselm of Canterbury undertook to subject the English clergy to the rule of celibacy, he aroused a storm of protest.[2] It was pretended that celibacy was a novelty, a practice against nature, an immoral thing. Anselm, supported by the king, successfully resisted the storm, and set out to execute his plan. To avoid deposition certain priests, especially among the dignitaries and canons, put their wives away. But the king soon lost his interest in ecclesiastical discipline. The priests then took their companions once more. Anselm, who was in exile, ordered his archdeacon to excommunicate those who were guilty. The latter derided the excommunication. The council of London (1108) observed that the decrees of 1102 were not enforced, and it renewed them,[3] but it was almost in vain. At the council of London (1126) the pontifical legate who presided, admitted that marriage was as prevalent as ever in the English Church.[4]

We shall see hereafter what was the condition of the churches of Spain, Hungary, Poland, Scotland, and Denmark. Yet a word may be said concerning the Irish clergy. St. Bernard[5] affirms that throughout Ireland ecclesiastical dis-

[1] Mansi, xx. 449; Hefele, v. 110; Freeman, *Hist. of the Norman Conquest*, iv. 422; Delarc, 378; Lea, i. 330.

[2] Mansi, xx. 1150; Migne, clix. 95; Hefele, v. 268.

[3] Mansi, xx. 1229; Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, iv.; Migne, clix. 470; Anselm, *Epist.*, iii. 109, 110, 112; Hefele, v. 292.

[4] Mansi, xxi. 327; Lea, i. 338.

[5] *Liber de Vita Malachiæ*, x. 19; Lea, i. 360.

cipline was decadent from the time when the archbishop Malachi assumed the see of Armagh (1130); and he gives an explanation of this decadence. Malachi was the successor of Celsus, and his eight predecessors were married men. The bishops of Armagh were the primates of Ireland. Their example could not fail to be contagious. Bernard confesses that in 1130 the Irish clergy contracted marriages. Moreover, this was an old state of things; the decrees proceeding from Rome had made no change.

Instead of being discouraged by the uselessness of its legislation concerning celibacy, Rome continued to make laws. With unwearied perseverance Urban II. in the councils of Amalfi (1089) and Clermont (1095), Pascal II. in the council of Troyes (1107), Calixtus II. in the councils of Reims (1119) and the Lateran (1123), Innocent II. in a second Lateran council (1139), Eugenius III. in the council of Reims (1148), required their clergy to be continent. The old decrees were renewed, or rather they were made stricter For during a long period the legislation which condemned the marriage of priests, recognized its validity. Only enthusiasts of the school of Pierre Damien pretended to confuse the marriage of priests with concubinage. The pontifical decrees finally declared that priests could not contract valid marriages. Thereafter married ecclesiastics were regarded as having concubines. The legislation was agreeable to those enthusiasts. To this evolution the Lateran council of 1139 bears plain witness in canon 7, where it is said:[1] "Bishops, priests, deacons, regulars canons and monks, professed monks, who have relations with women should be separated from these persons; for we think that these unions, made contrary to the rules of the Church, are not marriages." They "are not marriages"; and so the wives of ecclesiastics were degraded to the rank of concubines, even though the marriages had been regularly performed. Nevertheless, the Lateran council (1123) presided over by Calixtus II., expressed the same germinal

[1] Mansi, xxi. 523; Hefele, v. 441.

idea;[1] for, without making any declaration as to unions contracted by the clergy, it ordered that these unions should be dissolved. It was therefore Calixtus II. who affirmed that priests could not be married. It was he who made the celibacy of the clergy more severe.

We may now observe the practical working of this legislation. What results were achieved by it? What influence had it on the life of the clergy?

In England for a whole century it was a dead letter. The priests continued to be publicly married. The sons of priests were still admitted to the ecclesiastical profession, and succeeded to their fathers. Everything went on as before. Popes Innocent II. (1138), Alexander III. (1171), Lucius III. (1182), protested, threatened, even sought to use violent means. It was of no avail. In 1202, Innocent III. learned that in the diocese of Exeter the sons of priests inherited the benefices and functions of their fathers. In 1203 he discovered the same state of things in the diocese of Norwich, and also in 1205 in the diocese of Winchester. At this time, Giraud de Barry, bishop of St. David, admitted that almost all the English priests had wives, transferred their functions to their sons, and married their daughters to the sons of priests. Notwithstanding the legislation, the English priests led respectable lives as fathers of families. This was freely done, without molestation. Pope Gregory IX. put an end to this condition. Being all-powerful with Henry III., king of England, who needed the support of Rome to oppress his subjects, Gregory used his influence to serve Roman discipline. By the pope's order, his legate Otto presided over a council at London (1237), where severe measures were adopted against married priests and their sons.[2] These measures, which ordered priests to put away their wives under penalty of deposition, and which, except in the case of a dispensation, forbade their sons to assume ecclesiastical office (canons 15, 16), contained nothing

[1] Mansi, xxi. 277; Hefele, v. 381; Lea, i. 385-388; Hefele (v. 290) is wrong in discovering the same idea in the council of Troyes of 1107.

[2] Mansi, xxiii. 441; Hefele, v. 1057; Lea, i. 350.

new. The only thing new was the manner in which they were executed. Whether they liked it or not, the bishops were forced to obey, and to act as police in their dioceses. Doubtless some prelates were reluctant to take up this work, and their priests had little to suffer. But others worked zealously, and were terrible. No one was more so than the famous Robert Grosseteste, who was bishop of Lincoln.[1]

Marriage did not resist the persecutions, or at least the annoyances to which it was subjected. It gradually disappeared. Of course, celibacy gained nothing from this defeat. The priests continued to have wives, and even children. Yet they could not have the conjugal union blessed at church. Their children were no longer their heirs, nor could they take orders. The clergy practised concubinage.

In Ireland, archbishop Malachi from the year 1130 until his death was an ardent advocate of ecclesiastical celibacy. His zeal had its effects. From the middle of the twelfth century the Irish clergy acquired a reputation for chastity, which at the beginning of the thirteenth century was recognized by Bishop Giraud de Barry. In 1171, Henry II., king of England, undertook the conquest of Ireland, and brought English priests into that country. Thereafter there were two kinds of clergy in Ireland: one was Irish, the other, Anglo-Saxon. The latter were married, and made themselves known as married in the council of Dublin (1186). For some time these two classes of clergy were distinguished by their morals. But gradually the Irish took the Anglo-Saxon priests as their models. In 1205 Innocent III. observed that the hereditary transference of benefices was a common practice among the Irish clergy. He ordered his legate to stop this abuse. In 1219 Honorius III. indignantly protested against the laxity of the Irish Church. In 1250 Innocent IV. endeavoured to effect the reform attempted in vain by his predecessor. He failed; and the council of Ossory of 1320 confessed that the Irish priests openly supported concubines.

[1] Lea, i. 356.

In Scotland, King David, obedient to the legate Jean de Crème, endeavoured to suppress the marriage of ecclesiastics, but without success (1125). Throughout the twelfth century the Scottish clergy married, just as did the English clergy, to whom they belonged, since Scotland was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York. In 1188 a decree of Pope Clement III. freed the Church of Scotland from this subjection, and placed it under the direct control of the Holy See. In the thirteenth century this measure had an unexpected effect. While the English bishops, subservient to the orders of Rome, endeavoured to abolish the marriage of priests, the Scottish bishops, who were less supple, rebelled against the pontifical commands. There was therefore this difference, that while the English clergy were obliged to resort to concubinage, the Scottish clergy were free to marry.

The popes of the Gregorian school, in the middle of the eleventh century, sought to introduce their plans into Spain. Hence were held the councils of Saint Jacques de Compostella (1056) and Gerona (1068 and 1078), which assumed to subject the clergy to the law of celibacy. These assemblies achieved no result. At the beginning of the twelfth century Diego Gelmirez, archbishop of Compostella, who made serious attempts to raise the moral standard of the Spanish clergy, prudently abstained from opposing marriage. He attacked those who were dissolute, particularly the Benedictine abbot of St. Pelayo of Antealtaria, who had seventy concubines. He permitted his priests to have mistresses. During the thirteenth century the councils of Lerida (1250), Valencia (1255), Gerona (1257), and others took various measures in conformity to the Roman rule. Their decisions were supported by the king of Castile, Alfonso the Wise, who endeavoured to impose celibacy upon his clergy. But at the beginning of the fourteenth century the people, in spite of the existing laws, obliged the priests to marry, in order that they might be sure of their morality. The priests, even the bishops, therefore married: they had children; they were present at the baptism and marriage of their children; they transferred to them their ecclesiastical

property. The council of Valladolid (1322) noted this state of things (canons 6–8), and, as its president was a pontifical legate, it endeavoured to employ force.[1] Fifty years later, no change had taken place, and the council of Palencia (1388), under the presidency of a pontifical legate, made another unsuccessful attempt at reform.[2] In 1330 the Spaniard Alvarez Pelayo, the confessor of John XXII., said to his countrymen:[3] "God be praised that they have never promised to be continent, especially in these provinces of Spain, where the children of the clergy are almost as numerous as those of the laity. . . . They often sin with their penitents. . . . Many of the priests in Spain, in the Asturias, in Galicia and elsewhere, swear fidelity to women, who for the most part are of noble origin. They take the vow publicly, and sometimes register it before a notary. And, in token of it, they give ecclesiastical property. They marry publicly in the presence of their relatives and friends, and they complete the ceremony with a sumptuous feast."

In Germany, when Henry V. rebelled against his father, one of his first acts was to convoke the council of Nordhausen[4] (1105), which, among other measures favourable to Roman discipline, condemned married priests to be deposed. Henry, who at that time needed the papacy, sought to win its favour. The zeal which he displayed for reform was a mere manœuvre, and was not sincere. Futhermore, the council of Nordhausen left the German clergy just as they had been before. In his commentary on the Apocalypse, written about the year 1120, Rupert reproaches the priests of his country for marrying wives whom they subsequently abandon, without taking account of the bonds of matrimony.[5] In 1128, Meinhard, archbishop of Trèves, desiring to discipline his clergy, caused such indignation that he was obliged to take flight.[6] In 1131, Pope Innocent II.,

[1] Mansi, xxv. 695; Hefele, vi. 612; Lea, i. 380.
[2] Mansi, xxvi. 735; Hefele, vi. 866.
[3] *De planctu ecclesiæ*, ii. 28, 1517, p. 131
[4] Hefele, v. 279; Hauck, iii. 880.
[5] *In Apocalyp.*, ii. 2; Migne, clxix. 878, 879.
[6] *Gallia Christiana*, xiii. 419; *Ecclesia trevirensis*, 58.

seeing that Lothair, king of Germany, was the humble servant of the papacy, whose help he needed, profited by this favourable occasion, and at Liège held a council in which the laity were directed not to attend masses celebrated by priests who had concubines.[1] This law, like all those which preceded it, remained a dead letter. Some years afterwards (1135), Albero, bishop of Liège, authorized his priests to marry publicly.[2] About 1170 the archdeacon of Salzburg wrote:[3] "The evil is such that a priest is revered when he has but one wife, and respects other married women." And about 1150, Gerhoch, in complaining of the morals of the clergy, observes that they were, with very few exceptions, inferior to those of the laity.[4]

Gerhoch desired the re-establishment of life in communities.[5] It was the dream of a monk. The common life, which for centuries had been rejected by the secular clergy, was an institution which had been abolished for ever. Men of experience generally appreciated this. During the thirteenth century, several German councils legislated with respect to the morals of the clergy. Only one, the council of Cologne (1260), which was probably merely a diocesan synod, revived the old system of a common dormitory.[6] Others had more modest ideas. They forbade priests to bequeath church property to their wives and children, and in connection with this they condemned the practice of concubinage. Such were the councils of Mayence (1225 and 1261), Fritzlar (1243), and Bremen (1266). But even these acts were not confirmed. In 1260, as we know from the council of Cologne of that year, priests married their children with great pomp. Twenty-four years later, the

[1] Mansi, xxi. 473; Hefele, v. 413; Hauck, iv. 139.

[2] *Gallia Christiana*, iii. 871, *Ecclesia leodiensis*: "Horrenda vigebat non in plebe tantum sed in clero et in cleri principe morum corruptela. . . . Civium plerique viris e clero non minus imo et libentius quam e populo filias suas dare non erubescebant."

[3] *De calamitate ecclesiæ Salisburgensis*, 9, Migne, cxcvi. 1551.

[4] *In ps.*, lxiv. 49; Migne, cxciv. 38 and 40.

[5] *In ps.*, lxiv. 30 and 35; *De ædificio Dei*, 26, Migne, cxciv. 1264.

[6] Mansi, xxiii. 1012; Hefele, vi. 63.

council of Passau[1] (1284) took notice, with regret, of the same custom. In 1296, Boniface VIII. reproached the priests of Utrecht for being publicly married and for bequeathing church property to their families.[2] And in 1359 the emperor Charles IV. urged Pope Innocent VI. to suppress the profligate morals of the German clergy.[3]

This is the place to refer to the churches of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Sweden—all daughters of the German church, from which they had become detached at various times. The Hungarian clergy had no acquaintance with the discipline of celibacy until 1092. Their first action was to enter into negotiations with Rome and obtain a dispensation. Hence the following canon of the council of Szaboles (1092):[4] "Priests who are regularly married and for the first time, for the sake of peace, are to be treated with indulgence provisionally until the advice of the Holy Father has been taken concerning them." We do not know what answer was made by Rome. What we do know is, that the council of Gran, held about 1110,[5] authorized (canon 31) priests who had been married before their ordination, to keep their wives. This situation continued until 1267. Then the Roman legate succeeded in imposing the discipline of celibacy (council of Vienna). The Hungarian clergy, which up to that time had been regularly married, took concubines. This was done officially, but as a matter of fact the Hungarian priests continued to be married in public, even as their German colleagues did.

The history of Bohemia, with some shades of difference, was that of Hungary. In Bohemia, too, the clergy married long after the promulgation of the Gregorian legislation. There, too, a Roman legate upset their usages. About 1192, Cardinal Peter, sent by Celestine III., came to Prague and

[1] Mansi, xxiv. 570; Hefele, vi. 232.

[2] G. Digard, *Les registres de Boniface VIII.*, i. 348 n., 1001, Paris, 1884.

[3] Raynald, 1359, 11–23; Hefele, vi. 701.

[4] Mansi, xx. 751: "Presbyteris autem qui prima et legitima duxere conjugia indulgentia ad tempus datur . . . quousque nobis in hoc Domini Apostolici paternitatis consilietur."

[5] Mansi, xxi. 97; Hefele, v. 323.

endeavoured to impose celibacy on all candidates for the priesthood. Meeting with insults from the older priests, he had the most recalcitrant of them arrested by soldiers, sent some into exile, and left the rest to die in prison. This energetic policy was efficacious.[1] Thereafter celibacy was the official régime of the clergy in Bohemia, even as it was in Germany.

The Polish clergy lived their married life in peace until the end of the twelfth century—more exactly, until the year 1197, when the Roman legate, Peter of Capua, called the council of Lenczig, and made celibacy obligatory.[2] Peter did not achieve any result; for in 1207, Innocent III. bitterly reproached the Polish bishops because their priests were married, and had children, to whom they bequeathed their functions.[3] Did Innocent succeed in suppressing regular marriages? The council of Breslau (1279) gives reason to think that such was the case, for it dealt severely only with the concubinage of the priests. In any case, the victory of the Pope, if it was a victory, was only temporary. In fact, the council of Breslau (1416) showed that ecclesiastical functions were at that time hereditary in Poland, from which it follows that sons of priests were regarded as born in lawful wedlock.

The first serious attempt to introduce celibacy into Sweden was made about 1204 by the archbishop of Lund, at the instance of Innocent III. It had no result. The Swedish priests refused to leave their wives; they even pretended formerly to have received from the Holy See an indulgence authorizing them to live in the bonds of matrimony, and Innocent III., disconcerted by this response, left them in peace. In 1239, Gregory IX. renewed the attempt of Innocent III. with no greater success. At length, in 1248, Cardinal de St. Sabina, a legate of Innocent IV., returned to the attack in the council of Skening. This time Rome was supported by the civil power, which crushed all opposition. The Swedish priests gave up their lawful wives and were content with concubines: their celibacy consisted in that.

[1] Lea, i. 294. [2] Mansi, xxii. 673; Hefele, v. 1178. [3] Potthast, 2967.

It remains for us to speak of Italy and of France. In the second half of the twelfth century Pope Alexander III. was informed that the priests of Calabria were being publicly married. He made laws against this abuse, but without avail; for the council of Melfi (1284) remarked that the discipline of celibacy was disregarded by all the clergy of southern Italy. Moreover, the following is the judgment which St. Bonaventura pronounced on the morality of the Italian priests of the thirteenth century:[1] "Many of them are so vicious that a virtuous woman would fear to be compromised by going to them for private confession. . . . The members of the clergy are for the most part notorious adulterers. They have concubines, sometimes at home, sometimes elsewhere."

In France the public and regular marriage of priests had not disappeared at the beginning of the twelfth century. This is proved by two letters from Ives of Chartres; one (ccxviii.) relative to a canon of Paris who married a wife, and gave her a regular marriage contract; the other (cc.), wherein a dignitary of the Church at Sens was shown to be already bound by contract of marriage to a woman whom he had just espoused. Nevertheless, at this time the regular marriage of the French clergy was the exception; every day it happened less frequently, and the councils of Calixtus II., Innocent II., and Eugenius III. were about to abolish it. It was concubinage and debauchery which were in vogue. There were some priests whose lives of disorder were a scandal to the people. Such an one was the dignitary of Sens, just mentioned, who before his regular marriage kept two concubines; such an one was Adalbert, bishop of Le Mans, around whom, according to Ives of Chartres, moved a whole band of women who were his concubines,[2] and children whose father he was. And these clerical debauchees, to judge by the complaints of Honorius of Autun,[3] of Abelard,[4]

[1] *Opusculum: Quare Fratres minores prædicent et confessiones audiant.*

[2] *Ep.*, cclxxvii. [3] *De offendiculo*, 16, *Libelli de lite*, iii. 42.

[4] *Sermo* 29, Migne, clxxviii. 563: "Sæpe ut audio, earum ori hostias porrigitis manibus, illis quibis ipsarum nates vel obscenas partes contrectare soletis."

and various other writers of the twelfth century, were numerous. Yet are we to believe that the majority of the French clergy led such a life? It seems that such was not the case. The first biographer of St. Bernard relates that the illustrious abbot, when upon a journey, stopped at the house of a priest who went to the church every day to say matins, but who, "like many other priests, had a concubine" and children. This priest, who was the father of a family, lived with his concubine "like many other priests";[1] he was the representative of a common condition in the middle of the twelfth century. At this time the French clergy, which had in its ranks a fair minority of debauchees, ordinarily lived an orderly life. It was orderly not because of marriage, but because of concubinage. Priests, with very few exceptions, were not regularly married, but had wives; they brought up children, were fathers of families, and the public found no fault with it.

Popes Alexander III. (council of Avranches, 1172) and Innocent III. (councils of Paris, 1210, 1212; of Montpellier, 1215) issued, through their legates, reformatory measures which the councils of Rouen (1231), Saumur (1253), Sens (1269), and Bourges (1286) repeated. Priests were forbidden to keep their own children; legislation was especially directed against the concubines, whom the council of Rouen ordered to be shaved in public and afterwards to be cast into prison. But in 1259, Pope Alexander IV. admitted that the wound of concubinage was everywhere;[2] and doubtless he did not refer specially to France; neither did he except it from his observations. About 1307 the Frenchman, Pierre Dubois, a counsellor of Philip le Bel, declared[3] "there are very few" priests who observe celibacy; and about 1330, Alvarez Pelayo, the confessor of John XXII.,

In *Ep.*, i. 13, he says that each of the monks of St. Gildas had several concubines ". . . unus quisque se et concubinas suas cum filiis et filiabus sustentaret."

[1] *Sancti Bernardi abbatis vita*, i. lib. vii. 21.

[2] Raynald, 1259, 22.

[3] *De abreviatione*, an unedited treatise from which an extract is cited by Langlois in his edition of the *De recuperatione terre sancte*, p. 51, Paris, 1891.

who lived in Avignon, exclaimed: "Few of the clergy in God's Holy Church practise chastity."[1]

We come now to the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding the immense effort made by the papacy to impose a superhuman life on the priests, the priests continued to live as other men. Everything went on as it did when Hildebrand began his chimerical project of suppressing marriage among the clergy; or rather, two new events had occurred, one among the clergy, the other at Rome.

In the eleventh century, priests were regularly married. At their death they bequeathed their property to their families—the property of the Church; their sons went into the Church; the priesthood was hereditary. In the fourteenth century the marriage of the clergy was suppressed, not everywhere, but in several countries. The priest could no more have a family; he could no more bring up children, nor bequeath to them his property and his functions. He made up for this by surrendering himself to the caprices of passion, by living the life of a libertine. In the fourteenth century licentiousness was the wound of the clergy. And this wound, which was already great, would have been still greater had it not been for the ingenious contrivance of the law of *collagium*. Under pretence of attacking concubinage, the bishops and archdeacons often employed it as a source of revenue. They imposed fines on priests who had concubines. The priests paid, and were no longer disturbed. Now, the faithful purchased every year, by means of an offering, a dispensation from abstaining, and the right to eat meat on days of abstinence. In the Middle Ages, priests, when their finances permitted it, purchased a dispensation from celibacy and the right to have a concubine. Such was the right of *collagium* which made its appearance in the eleventh century.[2]

This practice was condemned by several councils, notably

[1] *De planctu ecclesiæ*, p. 131, 1517.

[2] Lea, i. 309; Nicolas de Clamanges says (*De corrupto ecclesiæ statu*, 22): "Plerique in diocesibus rectores parochiarum ex certo et conducto cum suis prelatis precio passim et publice concubinas tenent."

by those of Mayence (1261), Bremen (1266), and Melfi (1284); but it remained in force. And Pope John XXII. was not ashamed to feed the pontifical treasury with taxes levied on concubinage. We learn this from his confessor, Alvarez Pelayo, who tells us: "He sent by me many letters to the clergy of Spain who had concubines, to authorize their bishops to dispense them from the irregularity with which they were afflicted."[1] In short, the right of *collagium* must have been extensive. Yet nothing justifies the idea that it was universally put into practice. It remains true that in the fourteenth century the marriage of priests, where it was abolished in principle, was at least often put into practice. This was a first contrast to the eleventh century, when the clergy were generally married.

A second contrast followed from this, and that is to be found in the attitude of Rome. From Hildebrand to Innocent III. the papacy laboured untiringly to impose celibacy on the clergy. During the thirteenth century, that is, following the fourth Lateran council, it lost its former zeal and gave the matter only intermittent attention. In the fourteenth century, when it was occupied with the concubinage of priests, that is under John XXII., in order to exploit it financially and acquire revenue from it; it did nothing to stop the current. At times it even went with the current, as is testified to by Clement VI., who, to excuse his relations with women, answered those who were scandalized:[2] "I acted on medical advice." Moreover, from the time of Urban VI. it was struggling amid the convulsions of the Great Schism. Though it would have liked to reform the clergy, yet it

[1] *De planctu ecclesiæ*, p. 102, 1517: "Multas literas dedit clericis concubinariis Hispaniæ ut cum eis sui episcopi irregularitate sic contracta auctoritate mea dispensarent."

[2] Burton, *Chronicon monasterii de Melsa*, iii. 89, London, 1867: "Quando juvenis fuimus hoc usi sumus et quod facimus modo, facimus ex consilio medicorum . . . (then names are cited), summorum pontificum qui lubrici et incontinentes fuerunt, demonstravit ex factis ipsorum . . . quod ipsi melius rexerunt ecclesiam et multa plura bona fecerunt quam alii continentes." Concerning Boniface VIII., see Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.*, pp. 245–247; Finke believes that certain accusations made against this Pope during the latter's lifetime are worthy of belief.

could not do so, for it could not exercise a control which belonged to the episcopate.

At the time of the Great Schism the episcopate, being master of the Church's destinies, addressed itself to the work which the popes of Hildebrand's school had vainly desired to accomplish. At Constance and at Bâle, the immorality displayed by the clergy was deplored, and edicts were issued intended to bring it to an end. The celibacy of the clergy was discussed, lively sympathy with it was expressed, and it was decided that the clergy should practise it. There were high-sounding declamations, but there was nothing further. In reality the reform was desired by an élite of virtuous men, such as Gerson, Peter of Ailly, and Nicholas of Clamanges. The body of the clergy had no desire to change their habits; they seemed to have lost the sense of decency. On the eve of the council of Constance, bishops assembled at Pisa, elected as pope, John XXIII., one of the princes of debauchery, the man who had gratified his luxurious instincts with hundreds of women. And while the council of Constance was in session, an army of courtezans, more than four hundred, say some, more than seven hundred, say others, descended upon the city and plied their trade. At length the bishops ceased to pretend to govern the Church, and the papacy, restored to its former privileges, was confronted with the moral reformation of the clergy.

Unfortunately, since the evil days of the tenth century the papacy was never more incompetent for its mission. It was a period during which Paul II., who occupied the papal throne, kept a mistress; when Sixtus IV. was surrounded by dissolute cardinals; when Innocent VIII. had more than half a dozen bastards, possibly a dozen; when Alexander VI. transformed the Vatican into a palace of orgies; and when Julius II. had three daughters, and a shameful disease.[1] It may be easily imagined of what a kind the College of Cardinals was which

[1] Lea, i. 428; concerning Paul II., see Mansi-Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iv. 519, 1761; concerning Alexander VI. and Julius II., see the admissions of Pastor, iii. 320, 475–478; iii. 282.

elected such men, of what a kind the clergy were which accepted them. For they were accepted, and among all the clergy there were only two monks to denounce their vices and those of the Roman Curia. The Carmelite Thomas Connecte, and the Dominican Savonarola, who had a wonderful influence in northern Italy, had only a passing success. Both failed, and both paid a cruel price for their audacity. Connecte was burned by order of Eugenius IV. (1433).[1] A half century later Alexander VI. inflicted the same punishment upon his enemy Savonarola.[2] During this time the corruption of the clergy, encouraged by the example of Rome, followed its course. And that nothing might be wanting to this distressing spectacle, Popes Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Julius II. added a ludicrous element. They gravely elaborated plans of reform, the first two of which never saw the light, and the third of which, promulgated in the fifth Lateran council, called forth a burst of laughter.[3] It was not that the laity looked upon this licentiousness of the clergy with indifference. They murmured and uttered their complaints in France[4] (States-General of Tours, 1484), in England[5] (Henry VII., 1485), in Germany[6] (Gravamina of 1510), and everywhere. But these complaints had been made for so long a time that they did not excite attention.

The thunderbolt of Protestantism effected a terrible awakening. When it was perceived that a part of Christendom was in revolt, there was a tardy searching of heart. In 1524 the pontifical legate, Campeggio, observed that the Lutheran heresy owed part of its success to the disordered morals of the clergy.[7] And in 1523, in a memoir read by the nuncio Cheregato at the diet of Nürnberg, Pope Adrian VI.

[1] Cosme de Villiers, *Bibliotheca carmelitana*, ii. 814, Orleans, 1752.

[2] H. Lucas, *Savonarola*, pp. 232, 300, 372, Edinburgh, 1906.

[3] Pastor, ii. 632–642; iii. 379, 388–392, 740.

[4] *Journal de Masselin*, "Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France," p. 167; *Cahier des États Generaux*, Paris, 1835, p. 662.

[5] Lea, ii. 16.

[6] E. Münch, *Vollständige Sammlung aller älteren und neueren Konkordaten*, i. 94, 108, Leipzig, 1830.

[7] Raynald, 1524, 26.

made this admission:[1] "God has permitted this persecution (the Lutheran) to come upon the Church on account of the sins of men, especially on account of the sins of priests and prelates. . . . We know that not long ago abominable things took place in this Holy See; . . . everything there has been profaned. The evil, beginning at the head, has passed to the members. This is not surprising. We all, prelates and clergy, have left the strait way, and for a long time there has been not one among us that doeth good." No one could now close his eyes to the scandal caused by the depraved lives of the clergy. It was understood that this evil should be promptly uprooted.

But where was a cure to be found? For a long time the more serious minds were inclined to think that the disorders of the clergy had their origin in celibacy itself, and that priests would lead a moral life if they were permitted to have families. In the twelfth century Pope Alexander III., after vainly forbidding priests to have mistresses, thought of abolishing ecclesiastical celibacy—that is, at least, the testimony of his contemporary Giraud, archbishop of St. David, which we have no reason to suspect.[2] At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Durand, bishop of Mende,[3] discreetly advised that there should be introduced into the West the discipline of the Eastern Church, which permitted priests to marry. Gerson, a witness of the licentiousness of those parish priests who had no concubine at home, wished to have the public concubinage of the clergy tolerated as a lesser evil.[4] Pope Pius II. was not afraid to say: "In other times they did well to deprive priests of the right to marry; but it would be

[1] Raynald, 1522, 66; extract in Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsthums*, p. 187, Tübingen, 1901. See the note of the nuncio Aléander, Döllinger, *Das Papsthum*, p. 484, München, 1892.

[2] Lea, i. 402.

[3] *De modo concilii generalis celebrandi*, ii. 46, Paris, 1671, p. 157. See extracts from this book, Fleury, *Histoire eccl.*, Liv. xci. 52.

[4] *De vita spirituali animæ*, lectio iv. coroll. 14, prop. 3; iii. 51–52, Anvers, 1706: "Scandalum certe magnum est apud parochianos curati apud concubinam ingressus, sed longe deterius si erga parochianas suas non servaverit castitatem."

better if it were restored to them to-day."[1] And Erasmus wrote: "Celibacy is a very noble thing, but considering the life actually led by priests and monks, at least in Germany, the remedy of marriage would be far preferable for them."[2] This opinion, which had spread even before the appearance of Protestantism, gained new support after Luther's revolt. As priests were seen to profit by the general disorder, and to marry, it was difficult not to perceive that celibacy was chimerical. In 1541, therefore, the Emperor Charles V., in a memoir presented to the diet of Ratisbon, declared that he favoured the marriage of priests.[3] In 1548, when he published the *Interim*, he authorized married priests to keep their companions provisionally, that is to say, until the council should pronounce a definite opinion concerning celibacy.[4] In 1560, emperor Ferdinand sent to Pope Pius IV. a memoir designed to present marriage as the only remedy for the corruption of the clerical world. Shortly afterward the duke of Clèves and the duke of Bavaria supported the opinion of Ferdinand[5] (1562).

Rome did not yield. When Charles V. published the *Interim*, the pontifical throne was occupied by Paul III. This pontiff, like all the prelates of his time, had passed a dissipated youth—it was known that he had four bastards.[6] Becoming Pope, he obstinately defended the institution of celibacy in opposition to the emperor, to whom he addressed protests, and whose edict he would have publicly condemned had he not been restrained by his advisers. In 1563, at the twenty-fourth session of the council of Trent, the bishops, whom the pontifical legates influenced as they chose, made ecclesiastical

[1] Platina, *De vitis pontificum Romanorum*, p. 329, A., Cologne, 1600: "Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias, majori restituendas videri." (This assertion forms part of a collection of maxims of Pius II.) Concerning Innocent VIII., see Pastor, iii. 269.

[2] *Epist.*, xxxi. 43.

[3] Goldast, ii. 199; Pastor, vi. 306.

[4] *Interim*, xxvi. 17, in Raynald, 1548, 59; Goldast, i. 518.

[5] Pallavicini, *Histoire du concile de Trente*, xiv. 13, 18 (edit. Migne, 1844, ii. 907); xv. 5, 9 (p. 963); xvii. 4, 8 (p. 1161); Fleury, Liv. cliv. 118.

[6] Pastor, vi. 16, which proves that these children were illegitimate.

celibacy an article of faith (canon 9). This was the response of the papacy to the requests of emperor Ferdinand and of the Catholic princes of Germany. In spite of this rebuff, Ferdinand was not discouraged. When the council dispersed he demanded of Rome, not the abolition of celibacy, but an authorization for the German priests who were already married, to keep their wives. After his death, which occurred in the meanwhile, his son Maximilian II. renewed this demand. It was in vain. Pius IV., without a formal refusal, let the negotiations drag on in order to gain time. Pius V., his successor, frankly declared (1566) that the legislation promulgated at Trent was forthwith obligatory.[1]

[1] Raynald, 1564, 29, 38; 1565, 1; Döllinger, *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Kulturgeschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte*, i. 588–635, Ratisbon, 1863; Lea, ii. 213, 223.

CHAPTER XII

Speculative Heresies

Until the time of Charlemagne, the doctrinal disputes which disturbed the West were imported from the East. After the Carolingian period, the Latin Church, without ceasing to be tributary to foreign countries, engaged in theological quarrels on its own account. They were quarrels which at first were limited to the metaphysical domain, which for the most part were of no interest to the people, but which from the eleventh century, raised by the hatred of the clergy, had a revolutionary character, and at times shook Christian society to its very foundations. The heresies of the Middle Ages may, therefore, be divided into three classes. In the first place were those which came from the East, and which the West knew only by their effects; in the second place, we meet with purely dogmatic theories, which interested only the clergy; in the third place, antisacerdotal and revolutionary theories made their appearance. The last of these will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. For the present, the first two classes will engage our attention.

The Eastern controversies, an echo of which reached the West, were four in number: the affair of the Three Chapters, which had as its final result the dispute concerning Adoptionism; Monothelism; the question as to the worship of images; and the Filioque clause.

By the affair of the Three Chapters is meant the condemnation of Theodore Mopsuestius and of his works, certain writings of Theodoret, and of a letter of Ibas. These writings were condemned first by the emperor Justinian (A.D. 544), then by Pope Vigilius in the *Judicatum* (548), and

finally by the Council of Constantinople (553), with the consent of Vigilius, who had previously made a retraction, and who in a declaration, well known as the *Constitutum*, withdrew his sentence of 548. The Western bishops refused to subscribe to this condemnation, in which they saw—and they were right—a manœuvre inspired by the Monophysites to oppose, without appearing to do so, the decisions of Chalcedon. The attitude of Vigilius and his successors provoked a feeling which almost produced a schism. Africa, northern Italy, Dalmatia—as we have already seen—severed relations with Rome. The Frankish Church did not display the same animosity; it did not banish Pope Pelagius I. from its communion, but it subjected him to an investigation. It charged King Childebert that he should obtain information as to the orthodoxy of the Roman pontiff. And on two different occasions Pelagius was forced to give an account of his faith to the Frankish prince.[1] He did not dare to compel Childebert and his bishops to submit to the fifth council. He confined himself to affirming his fidelity to the council of Chalcedon. In short, he confused the matter, as far as possible, by equivocations and concealments. Forty years later St. Gregory employed the same tactics.[2] Thanks to these contrivances, and to the conciliatory spirit of the time, the troubles in Gaul, northern Italy, and Dalmatia gradually came to an end. In Africa, Justinian promptly drowned the schism in blood. Hence persecution and subterfuge were proceedings which acclimatized in the West the condemnation of the Three Chapters, which temporarily put an end to the dispute raised by the Council of Constantinople (553).

Peace achieved by such means was artificial. Actually the West rejected Monophysitism, to which the East remained steadfastly attached. Nevertheless, even factitious peace cannot be secured without some compromises. In this case the compromises were in the nature of formulas. Rome

[1] Jaffé, 942, 946; see also the letter of Vigilius to the bishop of Arles, *ib.* 925.

[2] Jaffé, 1214, 1273, 1275, 1309.

adopted certain expressions of Monophysite origin which did not seem to endanger the doctrine of the two natures of Christ.[1] From another point of view it perceived that certain technical phrases formerly employed by the doctors had a Nestorian savour more or less pronounced, and it abandoned them. After the sixth century the vocabulary of Roman Christology began to be evolved. It was this evolution which, during the last years of the eighth century, gave rise to the Adoptionist controversy. It occurred in the following manner.

The Church of Spain, having no close relations with Rome, paid no attention to the scruples of Roman Christology, and relied on the texts of Tertullian, Ambrose, and Augustine, where the distinction between the natures of Christ is placed in bold relief. Isidore of Seville did not fear to say that the only-begotten Son of God, desiring to make us His brethren, took a man and adopted him. The composers of the Spanish liturgy made use of the same language, and in the Mazarabian missal Jesus was represented as a man, adopted by the divine Word.[2] Spain remained in peace, preserving its usages, until the end of the eighth century. At that time Roman formulas, admitted by the Frankish Church, crossed the Pyrenees and found their way into the Iberian Peninsula. Then Elipand, the metropolitan of Toledo, and Felix, bishop of Urgel, took the cause of tradition actively in hand: "Since Jesus has two fathers," they said, "Almighty God and King David, we should find in Him two sons." In fact, they distinguished in Christ, two sons of God: a real son, who is the Word, and a son by adoption, who is the man adopted by the Word.

This caused a dispute which was to last for nearly fifteen years. The priest Beatus and the bishop Heterius wrote a long treatise to prove that as man, Jesus was, strictly speaking, the Son of God. Their voices found hardly an

[1] In 534, Pope John II. accepted the theopaschitical formula: "Unus de Trinitate carne passus est." Jaffé, 884, 885; Gunther (*Collectio avellana* in the *Corpus* of Vienne), p. 320

[2] Hefele, iii. 650.

echo in Spain, where the Adoptionist Christology was respected; but it had an effect beyond the Pyrenees. Pope Adrian I. heard it, and at once sent a letter to the bishops of Spain, in which, according to the custom of his predecessors, he set forth the importance of the Roman Church, and proved to them that Jesus was really the Son of God[1] (785). Charlemagne was also informed, probably by Adrian, that a theological dispute had arisen in one part of his realm. He wished to throw light on the matter, and called the council of Ratisbon, at which he presided (792).[2] Felix, whose episcopal see belonged for some time to the Frankish kingdom, was summoned, and appeared. Finding no defender at hand, he retracted. Charlemagne then sent him to Pope Adrian, who subjected him to an examination. Felix reiterated his retraction to the Pope. He swore on the holy mysteries, and on the body of St. Peter, that he would never again call Christ the adopted Son of God. After this oath he was authorized to return to his episcopal city. The Adoptionist dispute seemed to be ended.

But Felix had been playing a part. His submission was not sincere; and after returning to his country he hastened to preach Adoptionism. When complaint was made to Charlemagne, he crossed the frontier and went among the Moors. Elipand, who was under Frankish control, could afford to be brave without fear of punishment. Through his influence the Spanish bishops held a council, made the Adoptionist Christology a dogma, and communicated to the Frankish bishops as well as to Charlemagne the result of their labours. Charlemagne was not in the habit of letting his adversaries have the last word. In reply to the profession of faith of the Spanish bishops, he again convoked his own bishops at Frankfort, attacked the danger which the Adoptionist heresy was causing to the true faith, and without difficulty had it condemned.[3] He also asked men of learning to aid him with their writings. By his order, Alcuin wrote a treatise against Felix and another

[1] Hefele, 658.
[2] Mansi, xiii. 875; Hefele, iii. 672.
[3] Mansi, xiii. 873; Hefele, iii. 678.

against Elipand (about 799). Paulinus of Aquileia, who after the Council of Frankfort refuted Adoptionism, was for a second time urged to write in favour of the Franco-Roman orthodoxy. Charlemagne went farther. He caused the condemnation of the Spanish heresy in a Roman council (798).[1] He was especially preoccupied in bringing Felix to Aix-la-Chapelle. This plan, which required diplomacy in its execution, had a good effect. Felix came to the court of the powerful monarch for the second time, made a retraction, and was then committed to the care of Leidrade, bishop of Lyons. The second retraction was no more sincere than the first. Felix privately propagated his Christology at Lyons. When he died (818), he left behind him certain partizans whom the archbishop Agobard took pains to convert. Thereafter Adoptionism disappeared from the Frankish Church. The Church of Spain remained faithful to it; but, overcome by the Moors, it soon afterwards ceased to think; it almost ceased to live. Five centuries later, when it awoke from the long slumber in which it had been plunged, it had forgotten many things—especially Adoptionism.

Monothelism is a theory which attributes to Christ only one will and a single principle of action, although out of respect for the council of Chalcedon it recognizes the fact that He possesses two distinct natures, one divine, the other human. This doctrine, propagated by Sergius, bishop of Constantinople, and Cyrus, archbishop of Alexandria, with the support of the emperor Heraclius, was in 634 brought to the attention of Pope Honorius. The Roman pontiff received it favourably; in fact, he wrote two letters to Sergius,[2] one of which, the most famous, developed the three following conceptions: 1. In Christ, divinity and humanity were united so as to form one person; 2. From this unity of person it follows that Christ had but one will; "Hence (*unde*) we admit that only one will existed in Christ"; 3. In

[1] Mansi, xiii. 1030; Hefele, iii. 721.

[2] Mansi, xi. 537, 579; Jaffé, 2018, 2024; Hefele, iii. 146, 166.

Christ there was but one principle of action; nevertheless, to avoid vain cavil, the formulas "one operation" and "several operations" should be avoided.

The Roman Church thus greeted with sympathy the appearance of Monothelism, that is to say, a doctrine which secretly, without professing to do so, abolished the work of Chalcedon. Let us hasten to add that it made a retraction. John IV., at the beginning of his pontificate (the early part of the year 641), proclaimed the distinction between two wills, two principles of action in Christ, repudiated the inconvenient texts from Honorius his predecessor, affirmed that this pontiff had remained faithful to the law of Chalcedon, and condemned the *Ecthesis*, the symbol of the Monothelite Christology drawn up by Sergius, and promulgated by the emperor.[1] Two years later, Theodore, the successor of John IV., ordered Paul the patriarch of Constantinople to suppress the *Ecthesis*, and after several useless injunctions issued a sentence deposing Paul (648).[2] It was a sentence which was not executed, and which ended in reprisals. For Paul, not content with keeping his throne, dealt rigorously with the pontifical *apocrisarii*, and drew up a new Monothelite confession of faith, the *Type*, which was promulgated by the emperor. Pope Martin I. endeavoured to reply. Hardly had he ascended the pontifical throne when he held a council in the Lateran palace, in which he heaped anathemas upon the Monothelite Christology, upon the bishops of Constantinople, upon the other prelates who had defended it, upon the "most impious *Ecthesis*," and upon the "abominable *Type*."[3] The emperor repaid this audacity by sending him to die miserably in the Chersonesus (655). Martin's successors, Eugenius I. and Vitalian, who did not feel that they had the vocation of martyrs, made great concessions. The papacy seemed to be crushed. It was saved by the people, or rather by the monks of Rome, and also by

[1] Mansi, x. 607; Hefele, iii. 183; Jaffé, 2040, 2042.

[2] Mansi, x. 702; Hefele, iii. 186; Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Theodori*; Jaffé, 2049, 2052.

[3] Mansi, x. 863; Hefele, iii. 213.

circumstances.[1] Already in 656, Eugenius I. had been constrained by popular murmurs to display energy and to reject the synodical letter of the patriarch of Constantinople. Vitalian, indeed, hastened to make a public apology for this (657); but the death of Constantius II. (668), and the difficulties which then assailed the empire, fortified his weakened courage. He severed communion with Constantinople. His successor, Adeodatus, adopted the same attitude—an attitude which under other circumstances would have been dangerous, but which at this time was adroit. The sympathies of Italy were with the Papacy, not with Constantinople. The emperor Constantine Pognatus, thought that the best means of pleasing the Italian people was to flatter Rome, and this he did. He called a council at Constantinople (the sixth œcumenical council), the debates of which he directed himself or through his officials, in which he made the Latin theology prevail (680).[2] However, in order to console the Eastern theologians, he caused Pope Honorius to be inscribed on the list of Monothelite heretics: "We stamp with our anathema and our exclusion, Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Paul, Pyrrhus, and Peter, as well as Cyrus, and with them Honorius, once bishop of Rome, who followed them."[3] After the time of John IV., Rome was bent upon saving the honour of Honorius. Pope Agathon, in a letter read by his legates before the sixth council, did not fear to say: "My predecessors have always defended the true faith."[4] The anathema pronounced upon Honorius by the council was thus a painful humiliation for the apostolic see. But how could a protest be made at the moment when Latin theology was triumphant? Pope Leo II. yielded respectfully to the condemnation pronounced against his predecessor; but by adroit interpretation he endeavoured to lessen its effect, and in his letter to the king of Spain, and to the bishops of that country, he explained that the unfortunate Honorius had not exercised the diligence necessary to avoid error.[5]

[1] Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Eugenii, Vita Vitaliani.*
[2] Hefele, iii. 250, 262.
[3] Mansi, xi. 554; Hefele, iii. 277 (see also 291).
[4] Mansi, xi. 242; Hefele, iii. 256.
[5] Mansi, xi. 726; Hefele, iii. 289, 294.

Finally, it may be added that in their conflict with Monothelism the popes were sustained by the sympathies of the Western churches. About 646 three African councils plainly arrayed themselves on the side of John IV. and of Theodore. The Latin theology was likewise defended by a council of Orleans, concerning which, however, we have little sure information.[1] The Lateran council of 649 included one hundred and five bishops who came from Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia.

On the eve of the sixth œcumenical council (680), one hundred and twenty-five bishops gathered about Pope Agathon at Rome. And in 679, divers councils at Milan, Heatfield in England, and possibly elsewhere, proclaimed their belief in the two wills of Christ.[2]

During the time of St. Gregory (the end of the sixth century) images of Christ and of the saints were admitted to the churches of Rome for the instruction of the faithful, but they were not worshipped.[3] A century later Roman theology underwent an evolution through the inspiration of the Eastern spirit. Rome was dominated by the Byzantine emperors, and the majority of the popes came from the East. The East authorized the worship of images. Thus when Leo the Isaurian engaged upon his iconoclastic campaign, popes Gregory II. and Gregory III. resisted him, gave legal sanction to the religious worship of images, and anathematized the iconoclastic doctrine[4] (Roman councils, 727 and 731). To have his revenge, Leo confiscated a part of the patrimony of St. Peter, and took away some provinces from the Roman patriarchate.[5] Copronymus finished this paternal undertaking by calling the Eastern council of 753, which ordered the suppression of images. This was successful, but the price paid for it was dear. Under Stephen II. the papacy became

[1] Hefele, iii. 205, 212. [2] Mansi, xi. 174, 175, 186; Hefele, iii. 250.

[3] J. Turmel, *Histoire de la theologie positive des origines au Concile de Trente*, p. 174, Paris, 1904.

[4] Mansi, xii. 267, 299; Hefele, iii. 405.

[5] Hefele, iii. 407; H. Hubert, "Étude sur la formation des états de l'Église," *Revue historique*, lxix. 22 (1899).

free from the yoke of Constantinople, and made an alliance with the Franks. Undismayed, Constantine Copronymus endeavoured to win to his iconoclastic theology the Frankish king, Pepin the Short. The latter convoked the assembly of Gentilly (767), which took the side of the papacy. The court of Constantinople then yielded to the inevitable and capitulated. The empress Irene restored the worship of images. After an agreement with pope Adrian I., she convoked the seventh œcumenical council—the second council of Nicæa, at which pontifical legates were present, which made the worship of images a dogma.[1]

Encouraged at the success which the papacy achieved at Nicæa, Adrian sent immediately to Charlemagne the act of the council of 787, translated into Latin. To this translation he added his letter to the empress Irene, and sent these documents to Charlemagne, who referred them to his theologians. The pontiff had not foreseen what would happen. In France, the question as to images had not been raised; the doctrine of St. Gregory remained in force. The worship of idols was repudiated, and they were regarded merely as a means of instruction. The Frankish theologians read with indignation the documents which came from Rome, including the Pope's letter to Irene. Charlemagne had a reverence for the Church of Rome, which in his eyes was primate of all the churches and the bond of Christendom, but he placed the science of his own theologians above that of the Pope. Besides, from the political point of view, he had to complain of the court of Constantinople, and he was pained to see the apostolic see come into close relations with that court. He resolved to give Adrian, as well as Irene, a lesson in orthodoxy. He gave it haughtily and severely in the *Carolingian Books*, which were written at his request by the theologians about him, in his name, on his responsibility, of which he was the official author, and of which the following are the data. 1. The council held at Nicæa (787, the seventh general council) is as criminal (*compar flagitio*) as that of 753. 2. The presence of images

[1] Mansi, xii. 951; Hefele, iii. 458; Hauck, ii. 308.

in the churches as ornaments is lawful but not obligatory. 3. Worship offered to images is a superstition which cannot be justified either by Scripture or tradition; for neither Scripture nor the Fathers permit the worship of images.[1]

The *Carolingian Books* were long. When they were completed, Charlemagne caused eighty-five propositions contained in them to be published. He then required his friend Angilbert to bring them to Rome (about 792).[2] Adrian took up the propositions one at a time and refuted them. His refutation, although not exempt from vivacity (we read somewhere: *6 insania frementium contra fidem*), was on the whole written with great calmness and praiseworthy courtesy. The Pope made a point of pleasing his powerful friend; yet he could not permit attacks upon the faith for which his predecessors had fought and suffered. He attempted to prove that the council of 787, "a council with whose decisions we agree," as he said, was faithful to the teachings of Scripture and tradition. His plea was useless, for the council of Frankfort (794, canon 2) solemnly rejected the dogma proclaimed by the second council of Nicæa.[3] The Frankish clergy would not hear of the worship of images.

Thirty years later their opinions were the same.[4] Urged by the court of Constantinople to study the question of images, the emperor Louis the Debonnair convoked his bishops and the most famous theologians at Paris, and asked their opinion. Such was the origin of the *Assembly of Paris*, 825. In conformity to the emperor's will, the bishops and theologians drew up a statement in which the following ideas were presented. 1. Pope Adrian had acted imprudently in ordering a return to the superstitious worship of images (*indiscrete noscitur fecisse in eo quod superstitiose eas adorare jussit*). 2. The letter of the Pope to the empress Irene is an endeavour to legalize the worship of images by an appeal to the authority

[1] M. G., *Epist.*, iii. 449; Hefele, iii. 694; Turmel, pp. 350, 481; Hauck, ii. 316; A. Gasquet, *L'Empire byzantin et la monarchie franque*, p. 274, Paris, 1888.

[2] Hauck, ii. 324.

[3] Mansi, xiii. 899; Hefele, iii. 689, 712; Hauck, ii. 329.

[4] Mansi, xiv. 421, 461; Hefele, iv. 42; Hauck, ii. 487.

of the Fathers; but it cites absurd proofs which are quite irrelevant (*valde absona et ad rem de qua agebatur minime pertinentia*). 3. Being refuted by Charlemagne, Adrian answered that prince with whatever happened to come into his mind, but his response was unimportant (*respondere quæ voluit non tamen quæ decuit conatus est*). 4. He acted in good faith, thinking that he was following the teachings of Pope St. Gregory. 5. We know that at Rome images are the object of superstitious veneration (*illorum erga imagines superstitiosam venerationem*). The error should be corrected; but this must be done with caution. The Pope (Eugenius II.) must be flattered, the Holy Roman Church must be praised, and truth must be introduced adroitly, by referring to the authority of Scripture and of the Fathers.

Louis the Debonnair followed the advice of his bishops, and sought to convert the apostolic see to the Frankish doctrine concerning images. We do not know what reception Eugenius II. gave to the envoys. It is certain that Rome did not modify its usages. In the end it even imposed them upon the Frankish Church. But this victory was the work of time. The dissertations of Jonas of Orleans, Agobard, the monk Dungale, the monk Walafrid Strabo, written after 825, were faithful to the teaching of Pope Gregory. And in 867, Enée, bishop of Paris, was still opposed to the worship of images.[1]

From the time of Augustine there was a latent conflict between the East and the West as to what conception should be formed of the origin of the Holy Ghost. In the seventh century two theologies were on the point of coming into collision. It was during the Monothelite controversy. The orientals—already disputing the Christological question with Rome—read in the letters of Pope Martin that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son, and they disputed about this formula.[2] But the chief preoccupation

[1] Turmel, pp. 354, 483.

[2] M. Lequien, *Dissertationes damascenicæ*, i. 10, at the head of his edition of Saint Jean Damascène; Migne, *Pat. gr.*, xciv. 51.

of the moment was to determine whether one will or two wills should be attributed to Christ. The language of Pope Martin diverted attention only momentarily from this point. The dispute became warm only when it was taken up on the liturgical field.

During the later years of the fifth century, Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch, caused the creed of Nicæa-Constantinople to be sung at mass.[1] Peter was a Monophysite; his appointment was intended as a protest against the dogma defined at Chalcedon. It was agreeable to the people of the East; and about the middle of the sixth century the symbol of Nicæa was sung at mass throughout the Greek Church. During this period the bishops of Spain were disputing with the Arian Visigoths, and were endeavouring to maintain among the Spanish people belief in the divinity of Christ. They thought there was no better way to obtain this result than to adopt the liturgical usage introduced by Peter the Fuller.[2] Thus the symbol of Nicæa-Constantinople, which in the East was sung at mass, to protest against the doctrine of Chalcedon, was in Spain sung to protest against the Arian heresy.

The Spaniards intended not only to defend their belief in the divinity of the Son; they wished also to prove it. They thought that a decisive proof was furnished in the Augustinian doctrine of the *Filioque*; and they were right. The Son should be equal to the Father in order to be united to the Father in effecting the procession of the Holy Ghost. The council of Toledo (589), therefore, proclaimed the *Filioque*, and in order to engrave this peremptory proof of the divinity of Christ on the minds of the faithful, it decided to insert the term *Filioque* in the symbol.[3] The Spanish usage gradually spread; and in the eighth century the symbol of Nicæa with the *Filioque* was sung at mass in a part of the Frankish Church.

[1] Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, xvi. 376.

[2] Mansi, ix. 978; Capit, i.; Hefele, iii. 50.

[3] Mansi, ix. 977; Hefele, iii. 49. The *Filioque* is to be found already in the profession of faith of the council of Toledo (446), but it was probably inserted there at a later date. See Hefele, ii. 307.

Thus, thanks to a vexatious concourse of circumstances, the opposition, which for a long time existed between the Western and the Eastern theology on the subject of the Holy Ghost, ended by taking a conspicuous place in the liturgy, that is to say, a place where the least clairvoyant eyes could perceive it. A conflict was bound to arise sooner or later. We have a vague knowledge that it broke out in the council assembled by Pepin the Short at Gentilly to receive the embassy of Constantine Copronymus (767).[1] The envoys of the emperor came to seek the support of the Frankish king in the dispute concerning images. They also had the mission to arrange certain political difficulties. But in the course of their discussions they were occupied with the divergence of opinion of the East and the West with respect to the *Filioque*; and the problem of the procession of the Holy Ghost, which had no place on the programme of the Byzantine ambassadors, was discussed. The chroniclers have unfortunately failed to report any details of this incident. It is certain, however, that the Occidentals remained even more than ever attached to the term in dispute; for some years later (796) Paulinus of Aquileia, in the council of Frioul, proclaimed the truth of the *Filioque* and the legitimacy of its introduction into the symbol.[2]

In the first years of the ninth century the dispute, which had been temporarily extinguished, was rekindled. It occurred in the following manner. At Jerusalem there was a community of Frankish monks who, faithful to the custom of their country, sang the symbol of Nicæa at mass, with the addition of the *Filioque*. Being accused of heresy, and even persecuted by the neighbouring Greeks, the Frankish monks wrote to Pope Leo III., assured him of their attachment to the doctrine of the Fathers, and called his attention to the *Filioque*. The Pope sent their letter to Charlemagne, who charged Theodulph of Orleans to study the question, and ordered the Frankish bishops to assemble in council at Aix-la-Chapelle (809). Theodulph gathered from the works of

[1] Hefele, iii. 432.

[2] Mansi, xiii. 830; Hefele, iii. 718; see also the *Carolingian Books*, iii. 3.

the Fathers all the texts favourable to the *Filioque*, read the compilation to the bishops assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the addition made to the symbol of Nicæa was confirmed by the council.[1]

Sixty years later, the question of the *Filioque* was again agitated under graver circumstances. This was in 867. Photius had issued a violent indictment of the Latin Church, in which the origin of the Holy Ghost had the most important place. Photius reproached the Latins for holding that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father. Moreover, he reproached them for having been so impious as to insert the *Filioque* in the symbol. Pope Nicholas I. at once informed Hincmar of Reims of the peril which threatened the Church, and charged him to entrust to learned men the refutation of the haughty Greek patriarch. Hincmar communicated to his colleagues the Pope's letter. Then from various quarters, writings to refute Photius were published. Three of these apologetic treatises have come down to us; the authors were Ratramne, Enée of Paris, and one of the bishops who took part in the council of Worms.[2] Two centuries later, Michael Cerularius renewed the accusations brought by Photius against the Latins, and he too denounced the *Filioque* as blasphemy. St. Anselm took up the defence of the Latin dogma, and by a series of metaphysical considerations proved that the third person of the Trinity proceeded from the two others.[3] This was in vain; the Greek Church remained separated from the Latin Church. Later, at Lyons, then at Florence, repeated efforts were made to bring them together, efforts in which the *Filioque* question had the foremost place. These had only a passing success.[4] The two branches, artificially united, separated once more, and the Latin Church retained a monopoly of the *Filioque*.

Let us return to the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (809). Charlemagne sent a deputation to convey to the Pope the

[1] Lequien, i. 13–15; Hefele, iii. 750.
[2] Hefele, iv. 362; Turmel, pp. 259, 368.
[3] Hefele, v. 254; Turmel, pp. 261, 370.
[4] Turmel, pp. 262, 374.

acts of this assembly.[1] Naturally Rome had for some time been won over to the doctrine of the *Filioque*. But the question, as it was here presented, was not merely dogmatic. The Frankish bishops, not content with believing that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and from the Son, sang the symbol of Nicæa-Constantinople at mass, and sang it with the *Filioque* clause. Now, in spite of the admiration bestowed on the liturgical institution of Peter the Fuller in the West as well as in the East, Rome had not yet introduced the symbol into the mass, and therefore had never been tempted to add to it the *Filioque* clause. Without doubt this double innovation caused no difficulty to the envoys of Charlemagne, but the Pope did not see the matter from the same angle of vision. The singing of the symbol at mass was looked on by him as an innovation in which Rome had taken no part, and the *Filioque* as an alteration in a text clothed with the authority of holy councils. Could the Roman Church, without lowering itself, follow in the wake of other Churches, and borrow their usages—a Church which should give the tone to the whole Christian world? Could it, the guardian of canons and discipline, without being false to its mission, modify a text of the council? This was what the Frankish delegates did not understand, but which the Pope, regarding the matter from a loftier point of view, could not fail tc perceive. A courteous discussion took place beween Leo III. and the envoys of Charlemagne. The latter set forth to the Pope the reasons which made it necessary to add the *Filioque* to the symbol, and which rendered its suppression impossible. It was wholly in vain; the Pope refused to agree to the innovation.

Two centuries passed before the pride of Rome yielded to the imperial power. In 1014 the emperor of Germany, Henry II., came to Rome. Observing that the Roman Church did not sing the symbol at mass, he expressed his surprise to the Pope. Pope Benedict VIII. endeavoured to justify the usage of his Church. The emperor would not listen; and

[1] Mansi, xiv. 18; Hefele, iv. 756; Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Leonis III.*; Lequien, i. 15.

intimated to the pontiff that he should conform to the universal custom. Benedict VIII. did so, and introduced the symbol into the liturgy of the mass. And he did it in the form in which it was everywhere sung, that is to say, with the addition of the *Filioque*.[1] Thus ended the petty conflict between Rome and the Churches of the West, the subject of which had been the problem as to the source of the Holy Ghost.

We now pass to the disputes of a purely dogmatic kind which arose in the bosom of Western theology. They may be reduced to five principal ones—certain skirmishes without significance may be disregarded—which concerned Grace, the Eucharist, the Trinity, Mariology, and the precise time of the Beatific Vision.

The controversy concerning grace arose in the middle of the ninth century, at the instigation of Gottschalk; but preparation had for a long time been made for it, through differences of ideas, which it is indispensable to notice.

From the fifth century three doctrines contended in the West as to the solution of the problem of salvation: the absolute predestinarianism derived from St. Augustine, the moderate predestinarianism of Rome, and the Semi-Pelagian system. This last, advocated by the monks of Lerins, and notably by Faustus, was made an article of faith in the councils of Arles and of Lyons (about 475). Up to the end of the fifth century it represented the official doctrine of the Gallican episcopate. But at that time it encountered a formidable opponent, Cæsarius of Arles. Thoroughly attached to the apostolic see, of which he was the vicar, Cæsarius laboured ardently to introduce the Roman faith into Gaul. He therefore constituted himself the teacher of prevenient grace, and collected in a book the texts of the Fathers which supported it. This undertaking did not fail to provoke certain protests. The bishops of the Burgundian countries assembled at Valence, took up the defence of Faustus, and

[1] Bernon, *Libellus de quibusdam rebus ad missam spectantibus*; Migne, cxlii. 1060; Lequien, i. 28.

taught that faith precedes grace. But they had not taken into account the energy of the bishop of Arles. Cæsarius at once appealed to the apostolic see, which sent him his instructions. Then, armed with orders from Rome, he summoned the bishops of his province to Orange, and caused them to condemn the doctrine dear to the Gallican bishops.[1]

The council of Orange dealt Semi-Pelagianism a mortal blow. From 529 there remained only two solutions of the problem of salvation: the doctrine of absolute predestination as conceived by St. Augustine, and the moderate doctrine of predestination held by Rome. These two doctrines did not meet until the middle of the ninth century. At that time the archbishop of Mayence, Raban Maur, learned that the monk Gottschalk attributed to God the will to predestinate certain men to hell. Gottschalk followed faithfully the teaching of St. Augustine. Raban Maur took Gregory as his guide. It was these two rival doctrines which now met for the first time.[2]

The encounter was by no means friendly. Uneasy at the harm caused to souls by the disquieting preaching of Gottschalk, Raban Maur summoned the importunate monk to appear before the Council of Mayence (848), commanded him in vain to retract, and then as a last resort sent him to his colleague Hincmar, who at once called the council of Kiersy. At Kiersy, Gottschalk was judged, scourged, and condemned to prison (849). The affair seemed to be ended. On the contrary, it then assumed unforeseen proportions. Gottschalk had partizans who disclosed themselves and took up his defence. Ratramne, abbot of Corbie, Loup, abbot of Ferrières, Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, pleaded the cause of Augustinianism. They proved that, far from willing the salvation of all men, God predestinated some among them to hell, and that Christ did not shed His blood for all men. Hincmar took up the pen to refute this theory, which seemed to him horrible. Others followed his example. But one of his allies, John Scotus Erigena, employed language so

[1] Turmel, "La Controverse semi-pélagienne après Saint Augustin," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, ix. (1904), 497–518.

[2] Turmel, "La controverse prédestinatienne au ix^me^ siècle," *loc. cit.* x. 47–69.

strange—he denied eternal punishment, the fire of hell, etc.—that he compromised the archbishop of Reims, and provoked new adversaries, notably Rémi, archbishop of Lyons. For a time it might have been thought that the greater part of the Church of France was attached to the doctrine of predestination; for the councils of Paris (849), Sens (853), Valence (855), Langres (859), arrayed themselves with Prudentius against Hincmar. But their votes did not truly represent the state of opinion. In reality, many of those who had shown themselves favourable to Gottschalk held to the universality of redemption, and Prudentius attained success only by cunningly leaving in the background the theory of limited redemption. A majority acquired in this way could be reversed without much trouble. Hincmar reversed it. In the national council of Tusey (860) he caused the doctrine of universal redemption to be adopted by the majority of the bishops. The war was ended, but decidedly Augustinianism had lost the day.

The eucharistic controversy was provoked in the ninth century through a book by Paschase Radbert; two centuries later it was reopened by Berenger. It went through two stages.

In its first phase it was only a pen polemic, and the following are the chief incidents in it.[1] Paschase Radbert, a monk of Corbie, wrote for one of his disciples a book entitled *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, designed to prove that the eucharist contains the flesh of the Saviour, not flesh indefinitely, but his historic flesh, that is, "that which was born of Mary, which suffered on the cross, and which rose from the tomb." The thesis of Paschase Radbert gained many supporters, but it also encountered opponents. "Never," exclaimed Raban Maur, "have I heard such language, never have I met with such ideas."[2] And the learned theologian opposed to Radbert the following

[1] J. Bach, *Die Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i. 176–203, Wien, 1873; Turmel, *Histoire de la théologie positive*, i. 306, 432; Schnitzer, *Berenger von Tours*, p. 133, München, 1890.

[2] *Lettre à Egil*, Migne, cxii. 1513. See the letter to Héribald, M. G., *Epist.*, v. 513, in which Raban alludes to the letter to Egil.

principles: Christ has three bodies, the first is born of the Virgin Mary; the second is formed of the eucharistic elements upon which the blessing of the Holy Ghost has descended; the third is constituted by the Church. These three bodies are three distinct substances. The body formed in Mary (historic body) is by no means to be confused with the body formed of the consecrated bread and wine (eucharistic body), nor with the Church (mystical body). But the divinity of the Word which dwells in all three serves as a common bond, and gives them a certain unity. These three bodies are bodies of the same Lamb. The unconsumable flesh (the risen Christ) gives his consumable flesh (the eucharistic bread and wine) to his corruptible flesh (the Church) in order to render the latter incorruptible. Raban Maur was not alone in refuting the eucharistic theory of the *De corpore et sanguine Domini.* The monk Ratramne also opposed a refutation to it, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the eucharist contains the body and blood of Christ, "in mystery, not in verity"; that the bread and wine are "figuratively" the body and blood of the Saviour.[1] Another opponent was John Scotus Erigena.[2] About 845 the monastic world was excited by the problem of the real presence of Christ. But the excitement did not pass beyond the limits of the monasteries. The bishops—Raban Maur was at that time only a monk—did not think it proper to intervene in the dispute. Each one could then believe if he liked that the eucharist contains the historic body of Christ, or that it possesses only the divine Word. There was complete freedom, and use was made of it. It is this which explains the fact that one hundred and fifty years afterwards, about 1000, we see the monk Hériger take up on his own account the formulas of Raban. Nevertheless Paschase Radbert gained ground continually. New recruits constantly joined him. About the middle of the eleventh century his eucharistic system fixed the law, and the opposite opinion began to fall into disrepute. Berenger had experience of it.

[1] *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, 5, 10, 21, etc., Migne, cxxi. 129, 131, 137.
[2] Schnitzer, p. 180.

Berenger[1] was a pupil of Ratramne—whom he confused with John Scotus Erigena—and he regarded Ratramne as the faithful interpreter of Scripture and the Fathers. On the contrary, Paschase Radbert was in his eyes an innovator; he deplored the error of simple souls who, seduced by this man, imagined that in the communion they received "a fragment of the flesh" of Christ, and believed that the body of the Saviour could be "broken with the hands, masticated with the teeth." But he soon perceived that the theory of Paschase had become profoundly rooted in the Christian consciousness. From 1047 intimations came to him from various directions that he should be guarded in his language, rectify his ideas, and avoid the abyss of heresy. In 1050 the council of Rome,[2] at the instance of Lanfranc, passed a sentence of condemnation against him, which six months later was confirmed by the council of Verceil. At the council of Tours (1054) the legate Hildebrand treated him with benevolence which, while tempered with diplomacy, was nevertheless of great use to him, and permitted him to extricate himself with advantage.[3] But at the council of Rome (1059), Pope Nicholas II., urged by Cardinal Humbert, obliged him to avow that the eucharist contains the true body of Christ, which "is touched materially by the hands of the priest, broken and masticated by the teeth of the faithful."[4]

Perceiving that his life was in danger, he made all the retractions required of him, then declared that retractions obtained by force were null, and inveighed once more against the "insanity" of the common belief. As might have been foreseen, hostilities were revived. Berenger, on the point of falling into the hands of opponents who were furious for his destruction, was saved by Gregory VII., who took him under his protection, made him come to Rome, and was satisfied

[1] Bach, i. 370; Schnitzer, p. 297.

[2] Mansi, xix. 744; Hefele, iv. 741; Schnitzer, p. 24.

[3] Mansi, xix. 839; Hefele, iv. 777; Schnitzer, p. 52; H. Sudendorf, *Berengarius Turonensis*, p. 130, Hamburg, 1850.

[4] Mansi, xix. 841; Hefele, iv. 826; Schnitzer, p. 65.

with his equivocal profession of faith, which had satisfied him twenty-four years previously (1054) at Tours[1] (council of Rome, November 1078). But powerful though he was, Gregory could not altogether evade the requirements of this ambient character. He was therefore obliged to make Berenger appear before a fresh Roman council (March 1079). This assembly assured the triumph of the common opinion by making the definition that the bread and wine, by means of consecration, "are changed substantially," and that the body of Christ is present in the eucharist "according to its veritable substance." Berenger submitted to the definition, and returned to his country with a benevolent letter from the Pope.[2]

He was conquered. With him succumbed the theology of which he had constituted himself the belated defender. Yet his defeat was not complete. From the end of the eleventh century the triumphant disciples of Paschase Radbert ceased to say that the eucharist body of Christ is masticated by the teeth of the faithful. They subjected this carnal body to the laws which govern spirits. These alterations were devised to do justice to the objections of their adversaries. While powerless to put an end to the realistic theology of the eucharist, Berenger at least succeeded in purifying it.

In the early Middle Ages the dogma of the Trinity was quietly accepted in the form which Augustine had given to it.[3] One lived on the thought of this doctor, or rather on his formulas, which had been partially collected at the opening of the sixth century in the so-called symbol of St. Athanasius. As philosophical culture had long since disappeared, no attempt was made to investigate the problem of the three divine persons. It was regarded as a mystery

[1] Martène, *Thesaurus novus anecdotum*, iv. 103, Paris, 1717; Mansi, xx. 516; Hefele, v. 126; Schnitzer, p. 99.

[2] Martène, iv. 103; Mansi, xx. 523; Hefele, v. 129.

[3] J. Turmel, "The Dogma of the Trinity in St. Augustine," *The New York Review*, ii. 86 (1906).

upon which the eye of the reason should not be fixed Moreover, the Athanasian symbol had been composed in precisely this state of mind. The antitheses of ideas were there accumulated at will, as though the better to convince the reason of its helplessness in the sphere of faith, and to discourage in advance all attempt at speculation. Metaphysical study, which at the end of the eleventh century made its appearance, and asserted itself in the discussion about universals, was a formidable trial of the traditional faith. Indeed, so soon as one dealt with the concepts of essence, of nature, of the individual, one was in danger of upsetting the arrangements so delicately fixed by St. Augustine. But it was especially at this moment that the Athanasian symbol made its beneficent influence felt. Thanks to it, the explanation of the Trinity had been so completely given up, that it was placed beyond the circumference of philosophical discussion. The divine persons being in a sphere superior to human concepts, it was thought possible to study the latter without touching the former. This respectful attitude attenuated the crisis with which dogma was threatened. It might even have conjured it, if the scruples against introducing metaphysics into the realm of dogma had been universal. But there were some exceptions.

The first was the Breton Roscelin. Roscelin was a nominalist. According to him, the universals have no reality, and are merely products of the human mind. He extended his philosophical theory to the Trinity, and arrived at the following conclusions: "The essence common to the three divine persons is a pure abstraction; consequently these three persons are three beings as separate as three angels or three souls; if it be insisted that the same essence should be attributed to these persons, it should be admitted that the Father and the Holy Ghost became incarnate with the Son."

Roscelin was condemned by the council of Soissons (1092), but this did not prevent him from continuing to spread abroad his doctrine.[1] Then Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] Mansi, xx. 742; Hefele, v. 202.

undertook to refute him in a book wherein he declared the unity of the substance of the divine persons (1094).[1] A quarter of a century later, Roscelin saw a fresh adversary arise, who was none other than Abelard. He replied to him in a violent and vulgar letter.[2] Subsequently he disappeared from view; the Trinitarian controversy was extinct.

It was not long before it was rekindled. It was in fact perceived that the unity of the substance of the divine persons had as its adversary him who had set himself up as its defender. Yes, it was said, Abelard had fallen into the error with which he had reproached Roscelin. Called to appear before the council of Soissons (1121), he endeavoured to justify himself. His mouth was closed, and he was asked to cast his book forthwith into the flames. He obeyed. He was commanded to recite the Athanasian symbol, and he recited it, weeping. He was subsequently imprisoned in the monastery of St. Médard at Soissons.[3] He was considered a heretic, and was treated as one; but he judged himself differently. Sincerely attached to the substantial unity of the divine persons, he repudiated the error of which he was accused. Therefore, having been set free—his captivity was not prolonged—he wrote two theological syntheses in which reappeared the ideas contained in the book which he had burned at Soissons, developed, and explained, with a recital of his motives.

New trials awaited him. These writings were minutely examined by the monk William, who discovered several heresies in them, and denounced them to St. Bernard. As to the Trinity, William accused Abelard of teaching that the Father alone is omnipotent, and that the Holy Ghost does not issue from the substance of the Father and of the Son. Bernard endeavoured to avert the conflict. He visited Abelard and urged him to correct his writings. Abelard returned an energetic refusal, and demanded a council. His demand was complied with. The council which he asked

[1] *Liber de fide Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Verbi*, Migne, clviii. 262.

[2] Migne, clxxviii. 357 (among the letters of Abelard, *Ep.* xv.).

[3] Autobiography of Abelard, entitled *Historia calamitatum* (*Ep.*, i. 9; Migne, clxxviii. 146); Mansi, xxi. 265; Hefele, v. 358.

met at Sens in the presence of the king, and of almost all the bishops of the province. A memorable duel between Abelard and Bernard was expected. Hence the pupils of the illustrious victim, sure in advance of their master's success, assembled in crowds to be present at the spectacle. There was universal disappointment. Abelard doubtless despaired of enlightening judges who were prejudiced against him, and he did not deign to begin a useless pleading. He simply declared to the bishops that he made his appeal to the Pope. Then he went out brusquely, leaving the assembly stupefied (1141).[1]

These were clever tactics. In reality, whoever had recourse to Rome was sure to find support and protection. St. Augustine in the affair of Apiarius, Hincmar in his disputes with Rothad, and with his nephew, and others besides, learned to their cost with what partiality the apostolic see decided cases which were submitted to it. The accused, even though he were a miscreant, became a sacred being so soon as he appealed to Rome. The Pope, careful to reward the homage rendered to his supremacy, regularly annulled the sentence of the bishop, and proclaimed the innocence of the accused. The appeal to Rome, therefore, seemed to afford a plank of safety to Abelard. His judges well understood this. They believed that their victim was about to escape them, and so their uneasiness was great. What increased it the more was that the ideas of the innovator had partizans, it was said, even at the Roman court, and in the College of Cardinals.[2] At this difficult juncture Bernard displayed great activity. He sent the Pope a list of Abelard's errors, accompanied by a long refutation filled with sarcasms and insults directed at his adversary. Would he have succeeded by this literary procedure in moving the Pope and his council? No one knows; but in his portfolio there was a more overwhelming document.

[1] Mansi, xxi. 559; Hefele, v. 457; St. Bernard, *Ep.*, 189, 326, 330, 337; Tractatus, xi.; E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, i. 118, Paris, 1895.

[2] St. Bernard, *Ep.*, 191; *Ep.*, 193: "Cardinales et clericos curiæ se discipulos habuisse gloriatur."

For some years Italy had been greatly disturbed by the preaching of a revolutionary monk. Arnold of Brescia —that was the agitator's name—had caused an uprising of the people against the clergy. He subsequently retired to escape reprisals from the hierarchy. Now Arnold was a friend of Abelard, and being driven from his country he went to the illustrious master. Bernard cleverly exploited this circumstance. "Abelard," said he, "advances like a new Goliath, preceded by his squire Arnold of Brescia. No union more intimate than that of those two men can be imagined. They might be called the two shells of an oyster which permit no air to enter in to separate them."[1] The man whose name could be coupled with that of Arnold, the knight to whom the revolutionary Italian served as squire, was unavoidably lost. Upon the requisition of Bernard, without awaiting the arrival of the accused, who had appealed to the apostolic Pope, Innocent II. condemned the "perverse dogmas" of Abelard, ordered his books to be burned, and decided that he and Arnold his accomplice should be separately imprisoned in a monastery.[2] Abelard was proceeding towards Rome, and had arrived at Lyons when he learned the news. Stunned and overcome, he asked advice of Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluny. Peter retained him near him, consoled him, and to his wounds applied the balm of benevolence and goodness. But this profound shock coming suddenly after so many others, ruined the health of the great combatant. Abelard died shortly afterwards (21st April 1142). He died after having protested that he was orthodox, and after having declared that he was innocent of the heresies with which his enemies had charged him.[3]

Innocent he was, but only partially so. No doubt he believed firmly in the substantial unity of the divine persons, and his adversaries could not impute to him the heresy contrary to this belief, except in subjecting his writings to

[1] *Ep.*, 189, 3.

[2] Jaffé, 8148, 8149; Hefele, v. 483.

[3] See his apology (*Fidei Confessio*), Migne, clxxviii. 105, and his letter to Heloïse, *ib.* 375.

malicious mutilation which distorted their meaning. But he believed the human reason capable of reconciling the unity of the divine essence with the trinity of persons, and he endeavoured to effect this reconciliation. This chimerical undertaking led him, without his being aware of it, to obscure the two terms that he intended to unite. Thus he erred, but he erred unconsciously, through excess of faith.

Another victim of the reconciliation was Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers.[1] In philosophy Gilbert was at the antipodes of Roscelin, the nominalist; he believed in the objective reality of the universals. Nevertheless he reached almost the same result as Roscelin did—so true is it that the danger of heresy lay not in such or such a solution of the problem of universals, but in the application of metaphysics to dogma. He separated the divine persons, and thus obtained three or even four gods. Denounced by his archdeacons to Pope Eugenius III., he was commanded to appear before the council of Reims (1148). There he had to account for his doctrine to the great champion of orthodoxy, St. Bernard. For a moment he sought to hold his own against this formidable adversary, but was soon forced to give up the fight and to acknowledge that he was vanquished. The Pope was present at the debates, and he forthwith condemned the doctrine of Gilbert, who signed everything that was required of him. Some time afterwards Bernard, encountering the theory of the bishop of Poitiers, refuted it anew; but he rendered homage to the humble submission of its author.

After the condemnation of Gilbert de la Porrée, the dogma of the Trinity went on its way without hindrance, and encountered no other enemies than the enemies of the Christian faith.[2] It was understood that between the two concepts—substantial unity and plurality of persons—there was an ir-

[1] Mansi, xxi. 724; Hefele, v. 520.

[2] Notice, however, the condemnation of Joachim of Flase by the Lateran council (1215), cap. ii.; Hefele, v. 881: The affair in litigation was, moreover, a pure subtlety, and the council was especially preoccupied with proclaiming the orthodoxy of Peter Lombard against the attacks of Joachim.

reconcilable antinomy for the human mind, and that to wish to unite both in the categories of the reason was to sacrifice one to the other, or to reform both at once. Therefore in principle it was assumed that the dogma of the Trinity was above the reason, that it was an object of belief, and not of philosophical speculation. In truth, this assumption was not new. It had been proclaimed by St. Anselm ; before St. Anslem, it inspired the Athanasian symbol, and already St. Augustine had taken it as his guide in researches concerning the relations of the three divine persons. But until about the middle of the twelfth century it had been several times eclipsed. After Gilbert de la Porrée, it was like a beacon towards which the theologians turned, the beneficent light of which enabled them to avoid the rocks.

During the early Middle Ages the doctors attached to the doctrine of the absolute virginity of Mary did not regard her impeccability as beginning until the day when the mystery of the Incarnation was accomplished in her womb.[1] According to them, the Holy Virgin, when once she became Mother of God, ceased to commit the lightest fault ; but up to that time she had fallen into actual sin ; she had remained under the dominion of original sin. So thought Bede, Paschase Radbert, Fulbert of Chartres, St. Anselm, Peter Lombard, Hugh of St. Victor. In short, up to the middle of the twelfth century Mariology did not advance beyond the point where St. Augustine left it. In order to reach its definitive form, it had to remove from Mary all actual sin, and relieve her from the law of original sin. There were thus two stages. The first was passed over without difficulty with the aid of the liturgy, which since the ninth century had celebrated the nativity of Mary. Setting out from the principle that the Church cannot honour any one who is not a saint, Bernard concluded that Mary was holy from the time of her birth, since this birth was the occasion of a festival. " Her nativity would not have been honoured," said he, " had she not been born holy." The deduction of Bernard was universally

[1] G. Herzog, *La Sainte Vierge dans l'histoire*, p. 68, Paris, 1908.

accepted, and the absolute holiness of the Mother of the Saviour, since her nativity entered into Christian dogmatics.[1]

It was also with the aid of the liturgy that the second stage was traversed, which had as its climax the Immaculate Conception.[2] Another festival was introduced, that of the Conception of Mary, which about the tenth century came into England from the East, and thence, in the twelfth century, entered France. The theological principle was recalled, according to which the Church honours only holy things, and from the festival of the Conception it was deduced that Mary had escaped the law of original sin. But difficulties quickly arose. The festival of the Conception, far from having the prestige which earlier times had given it, was in the twelfth century a novelty to the doctors in the Churches of France, Germany, and Italy. Moreover, it had against it the law of original sin, from which even Christ could not have escaped except by being born through the operation of the Holy Ghost. It was therefore vigorously opposed by St. Bernard, who treated it as a "superstition," and endeavoured to suppress it (*Letter to the Canons of Lyons*, Ep. clxxiv.). Bernard failed: his vehement protest could not stop the festival, which gradually gained ground. Then a curious phenomenon took place. Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura, in a word, all the doctors of the thirteenth century, like Bernard, arrayed themselves against the new belief, and demonstrated that Mary could not have escaped the taint of original sin. But in their time the festival of the Conception had assumed such proportions that they gave up trying to suppress it. They laboured only to neutralize it, to take from it its dogmatic meaning. Consequently they no longer said with Bernard that the festival of the Conception was a superstition; they said as follows: "The festival of the Conception does not prove that Mary was not subject to the law of original sin, but only that she was purified from the original stain during her intra-uterine life."

But this second dike had the same fate as that which

[1] G. Herzog, p. 84. [2] *Id.*, p. 98.

St. Bernard had constructed. It was carried away by the torrent of popular piety. The belief in the Immaculate Conception succeeded the festival of the Conception as a daughter succeeds her mother, and the subtilties imagined to separate mother and daughter were unsuccessful. Furthermore, in the fourteenth century a doctor, the English Franciscan, Duns Scotus, went over to the enemy and ranged himself on the side of popular piety. He drew in his train the whole Franciscan order, which thus became the bulwark of the new belief. Thereafter the ancient doctrine was an object of suspicion to the ecclesiastical authority. It would even have been condemned if it had not been able to claim the patronage of St. Thomas. Protected by this doctor, its agony was prolonged throughout the Middle Ages. It was only in the middle of the nineteenth century (1854) that it received its death-blow.

In 1331, on All Saints' Day, Pope John XXII. preached a sermon at Avignon, in which he taught that the saints in heaven now have imperfect happiness, and that until after the resurrection they will not have the plenitude of the beatific vision. This opinion, formerly supported by the greatest doctors, had long since been abandoned. The pontifical sermon on All Saints' Day—which was, however, twice re-edited at intervals of some weeks—created some excitement. The incident seemed to have been forgotten, however, when two years later the Dominican Thomas Waldeis, of English origin, dared to preach even at Avignon, in conformity to the scholastic opinion. John XXII. had this audacious preacher cast into prison, and then sent two monks to Paris to preach the postponement of the beatific vision. His orders were executed, but the scandal was such that he was forced to beat a retreat. This he did in a letter to the king of France, in which, after having justified his attitude by the authority of the Fathers—this plea was necessary to mask his defeat—he demanded that the doctors of Paris should be called upon to give their opinion as to the problem of the beatific vision. The king complied with the demand.

By his orders the Parisian doctors met in solemn assembly at Vincennes (December 1333), with a mission to fix the time of the beatific vision. All pronounced in favour of the scholastic doctrine. Nevertheless, out of gratitude to the Pope, who on every occasion had defended the interests of France against Germany, they declared that John XXII. had never taken into account the contrary opinion, but that he had acted only as a reporter. This fiction spared the pontifical self-respect, and permitted the Pope to submit without too great humiliation. John XXII. submitted. On 1st January 1334, he drew up a slightly embarrassed profession of faith against the postponement of the beatific vision, which he renewed on his deathbed (December 1334), giving it a more exact form.[1]

[1] The official documents in this affair are collected in Denifle, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, ii. 414–440, Paris, 1891, where it is reported that John XXII., in answer to objections made to him by the King of France against the incarceration of Thomas Waldeis (or Thomas the Englishman), replied : (*a*) This monk was arrested by the inquisitors ; as for me, I had nothing to do with this incarceration (p. 417) ; (*b*) Thomas was arrested, not on account of what he said as to the precise time of the beatific vision, but for divers heresies (p. 415). See also Baluze, *Vitæ paparum avenion.*, i. 182, 787 (notes of Baluze), Paris, 1693. Continuation of the *Chronique de Guillaume de Nangis*, édit. Geraud, ii. 127, 135 (or in the *Spicilegium Dacherianum*, xi. 753, 758).

CHAPTER XIII

Antisacerdotal Heresies

Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 Bände, München, 1890. H. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., New York, 1888. A. Hauck, *Dogmengeschichte Deutschlands*, 4 Bände.

During the Middle Ages the corruption of the clergy and the abuses of administration caused distress, which often amounted to indignation, in righteous souls. Numerous voices were raised to denounce the evil from which the hierarchy was suffering, to propose remedies, to demand reforms. Those who uttered the cry of alarm were, it need not be said, execrated by the clergy; yet several, supported by popular favour, succeeded in remaining in the Church. Others, on the contrary, more violent or less aided by circumstances, were excommunicated with much noise, and organized religious societies outside of the official Church. Thus arose the antisacerdotal heresies of the Cathares, of the agitators of the twelfth century, of the Albigenses, of Wycliffe, of John Huss, of Luther, and of his disciples.

The Cathares (pure)[1] appeared in the early years of the eleventh century. They are to be met with at Orleans in the year 1022. About the same time their presence was remarked in Champagne, northern France, Saxony, and the

[1] Döllinger, i. 34–51; Lea, i. 89–128; Ch. Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares*, 2 vols., especially ii. 252–270, Paris, 1849; C. Pifister, *Études sur le régime de Robert le Pieux*, pp. 325–331, Paris, 1885; J. Guirand, "Le consolamentum Cathare," in *Rev. des questions historiques*, lxxxv. 74–112 (1904); A. Molinier, "L'Église et la société Cathares," *Rev. historique*, xciv. 225–248, and xcv. 1–22, 263–291.

province of Milan. They also invaded Languedoc, where they were soon named Albigenses. According to a rather prevalent opinion, the Cathares of France came from Italy; those of Italy derived their origin from a Bulgarian pope of the ninth century named Bogomile, who was himself connected through one or more intermediaries with the Manichæans of the third century. Thus, in order to have the lineage of this sect, one must pass from Bulgaria and go back to Manichæism. Catharism professed dualism, it posited as the origin of things two principles, one good, the other bad: it is this—besides several doubtful testimonies—which connects them with the Manichæans. Nevertheless it is important not to forget that dualistic metaphysics were only an accessory element of Catharism. In fact the Cathares placed metaphysics in the background, as they were usually ignorant of them, and confined themselves to preaching morality, a morality of renunciation, of conflict with sensuality. They forbade the use of meat, were severe in their sexual relations, and recommended celibacy to such a degree as to condemn marriage. It was a purely theoretical condemnation, for in reality most of them married. Celibacy was required only of the "perfect," those who had received the rite of *consolamentum* (imposition of hands for imparting the spirit of consolation); the simple "believers" were not required to submit to this. For to be saved, it was sufficient to receive the *consolamentum* at the moment of death, and this was the practice of most believers. Those who submitted to this rite before the near approach of death formed an inconsiderable exception. Certain enthusiasts allowed themselves to die of hunger in order to shorten their life—a practice which was called the *endura*. But the *endura* was so rare that it does not appear in the list of crimes imputed to the Cathares by the Catholic controversalists of the period. If the *endura*, which was a product of some diseased brains, be excepted, the morality of the Cathares appears to have been ascetic, a morality of monks. The abominations of which they were subsequently accused, are ill-attested and should be regarded as legendary. As the Catharic movement was really only a moral life, its origin

should be sought, not in Bulgaria, but in the monasteries. The Cathares—the leaders—were monks who went through the world, missionary monks who made proselytes.

They were also anticlerical monks. They detested the clergy, whose worldly life was so far removed from the ascetic ideal. They denounced their vices, they accused them of having failed in their mission, they ridiculed them to the people. This hostility, which was a consequence of their rude asceticism, carried with it certain effects. The Cathares, adversaries of the corrupt clergy, were also adversaries of the rites which the clergy performed, of the sacraments which they administered, of the temples where they assembled, and especially of some of the dogmas which they taught. Nevertheless, they did not know how far these negations would lead. In those passionate minds everything was obscure, excepting two principles: (1) the true disciple of Christ is he whose life is poor, pure, and detached; (2) the clergy being corrupt, are not the representatives of God, and the rites which they perform have no value.

Being attacked, the clergy defended themselves. To the revolutionary preachers they opposed respectful preachers of the hierarchy. Of such was Bernard, the abbot of Cluny, who, at the request of Alberic the pontifical legate, preached the gospel in Languedoc (A.D. 1145). While the preachers did their task, the councils did theirs, which consisted in condemning. At Orleans (1022), Reims (1049), Toulouse (1119), the Lateran (1139), Reims (1148), Tours (1163), Verona (1184), and elsewhere, councils condemned the Cathares and banished them from Christian society. Finally, to these two means of defence the clergy added a third: they cast discredit on these their enemies. They represented them to the people as hypocrites, who under the cloak of virtue concealed infamous morals. They employed against them the arms which the pagans had formerly used to destroy the public reputation of the Christians. These clever tactics did not fail to be effective. Rendered furious by the stories told to them concerning the Cathares, the multitude attacked them and executed summary justice. The civil authority,

careful to please the multitude, approved this jurisprudence, and in its turn applied it when occasion demanded it. At Orleans (1022), thirteen Cathares were burned by the people in the sight of king Robert. Others were hanged at Goslar in Saxony (1051). Often fire took the place of hanging. Fire was in fashion, and resort was had to it. Cathares were burned at Monteforte, near Asti (about 1034), at Milan (same period), at Cambrai (1076), at Ravenna (same date), at Soissons (1114), at Cologne (1145 and 1163), at Reims (1148 and 1170), and elsewhere. Usually these unfortunates went to their punishment with courage, and even with enthusiasm; and the people, disconcerted at this spectacle, were disposed to attribute it to divine intervention. But Bernard reassured their troubled consciences. "It is the devil," he said, "which has inspired these people with firmness, even as he inspired Judas with the force to hang himself."[1] Nevertheless the stake had the better of Catharism, and stopped its development. Yet in Italy, and especially in southern France, the heresy continued its invasion. In order to conquer it, extensive measures had to be employed. Rome did not fail in this; but this brings us to the heresy of the Albigenses. Before touching upon it, let us consider some agitators of the twelfth century.

Account may be taken of five principal agitators: Pierre de Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, Tanchelm, Arnold of Brescia, Eon de l'Etoile. We have no information concerning them save that which comes from Catholic controversialists, who have blackened their characters and have probably distorted their doctrines. It has been often asked whether these revolutionaries adhered to Catharism, and this question has been variously answered. They were not Cathares, at least nothing proves that they were, if by Catharism is especially meant dualistic metaphysics. But if the heresy of the Cathares be conceived of as an effort towards the evangelical ideal, accompanied by a revolt against the Catholic clergy, then these strolling preachers were representatives of the Catharism of

[1] Bossuet, *Histoire des variations*, xi. 147.

the twelfth century. This having been said, attention may now be given to them.

Pierre de Bruys,[1] of unknown origin, preached the gospel for twenty years in Aquitania and Provence. According to Peter the Venerable, who is our only source of information, Pierre de Bruys taught: (1) that the baptism of infants is useless; (2) that churches should not be built, inasmuch as prayer at an inn is as good as it is before an altar; (3) that the cross, an inanimate object, which moreover was the instrument of the sufferings of Christ, is not deserving of worship; (4) that the sacrifice of the mass does not contain the body and blood of the Lord; (5) that prayers for the dead are useless. One day Pierre burned on the public place at St. Gilles certain crosses which he had collected. By this act he enraged the people and he was burned (1125).

Henry of Lausanne[2] was a monk who preached penitence with captivating eloquence. We learn of him for the first time at Le Mans, where he preached during Lent in 1101. He chastized the vices of the clergy with so much vigour that the priests became objects of contempt and execration to the people. From Le Mans, Henry went for a time to Poitiers and Bordeaux: he subsequently settled in Languedoc. In 1135 he was arrested by the archbishop of Arles and appeared before the council of Pisa, which imprisoned and then released him. Having regained his liberty, he resumed his anti-clerical preaching, and had immense success. At the request of the pontifical legate, St. Bernard made a tour in southern France to endeavour to win back to the Roman Church the population, which seceded in a body (1145). He preached a great deal, and achieved results which, if we are to believe his biographers, were marvellous, but which he thought himself were insufficient; for he made an appeal to the secular arm. Henry died in prison.

Tanchelm[3] began his apostolic career later than Henry

[1] Pierre le vénérable, *Epistola sive tractatus adversus petrobrusianas hæreticos*, Migne, clxxxix. 719; Döllinger, i. 75; Lea, i. 68.

[2] Döllinger, i. 75; Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, ii. 218–233, Paris, 1895.

[3] Döllinger, i. 104; Hauck, iv. 88; Lea, i. 64.

of Lausanne, and finished it far sooner. The scene of his preaching was Flanders. In 1112 he was at Utrecht; three years later we find him at Antwerp, then at Bruges. He denounced the vices of the clergy, and declared to the people that sacraments administered by the corrupt priests of the Catholic Church were valueless. The people had a respect and veneration for him which bordered on idolatry. The clergy were relieved by the assassination of this formidable adversary. At a date not precisely known (between 1115 and 1124), Tanchelm was killed by a priest.

Arnold[1] was born at Brescia about the year 1100, entered the order of regular canons, and became prior of his convent. Like Henry of Lausanne, and like Tanchelm, he rebelled against the corruption of the clergy. He did not stop there. Convinced that the source of the evil was in wealth, he believed that the only means of infusing an evangelical spirit into the clerical world was to bring the latter back to the primitive poverty. Endowed with great eloquence, which the austerity of his life enhanced, he won the people to his ideas, but drew upon himself the hatred of the clergy. Denounced by the bishop of Brescia, he appeared before the Lateran council (1139), which condemned him to leave Italy, and forbade him to return without the previous consent of the Pope. Arnold then went to France and joined Abelard, but for this reason was pointed out by St. Bernard to Pope Innocent II., who sought to imprison him in a monastery (1141). Arnold was not imprisoned, but he was expelled from France by a royal decree issued against him, at the instigation of Bernard. He then went to Zürich; but pursued by Bernard's hatred he was forced once more into exile. Received by Cardinal Gui, he remained with this benefactor until the day when the death of Innocent II. permitted him to return to Italy (1145). Eugenius III. obtained from him a promise of obedience, and reconciled him to the Church. The reconciliation was ephemeral. One or two years later, Arnold gave a political orientation to his activity, and endeavoured to found the Roman

[1] Lea, i. 72; Vacandard, ii. 235–258.

republic. He paid for his audacious undertaking with his life (1155).

Eon de l'Etoile[1] was a Breton gentleman who thought he was designated by the liturgical words: "Per eum (Eon) qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos," and from this concluded that God had chosen him to judge the quick and the dead. It was an idea which, to-day, could germinate only in an insane mind, but which at that time, when life was lived in the miraculous, could be adopted without extravagance. He recruited numerous partizans, with whose assistance he pillaged churches and monasteries; for his programme consisted in robbing the clergy of their property. Arrested with some of his disciples, he appeared before the council of Reims (1148). His strange answers—perhaps deliberately strange—caused the belief that he was a madman. He was treated as such, and put into prison, where he died. Several of his partizans, notably at Alet of Armorica, remained obstinately attached to him. They perished at the stake.

The clergy, which did not enjoy prestige in any quarter, were particularly despised and detested by the people in southern France. Profiting by the discredit which had fallen upon the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the heresy of the Cathares prospered in Gascony, Languedoc, and Provence more than it did elsewhere. Toulouse was its stronghold, its fortress; but later it was thought that this honour, or dishonour, belonged to Albi. Hence the heresy of the Albigenses. This inexact expression indicates the view taken of Catharism in southern France.

We have noticed the doctrines of the sect: we have now to speak of its history.[2] It embraces two phases, one anterior to Innocent III., the other inaugurated by that Pope.

Before Innocent III., the papacy elaborated legislation to exterminate—or, as it may be said, which exterminated

[1] Döllinger, i. 102; Lea, i. 66; A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, iii. 210–214, Rennes, 1905.

[2] Lea, i. 117–208; Luchaire, *Innocent III., La Croisade des Albigeois*, Paris, 1905.

theoretically—the heresy of the Albigenses. It was the council of Toulouse (1119), at which Pope Calixtus II. presided, which opened the way. Up to that time ecclesiastical legislation was enforced only by means of excommunication, the rest was the work of the people, or of the civil power desirous of satisfying the popular instinct. At Toulouse, Calixtus II., not content with excommunicating the Cathares, took a bold initiative and ordered "the secular power to suppress them." This order was repeated by the Lateran council (1139), at which Innocent II. presided. Nine years later, Eugenius III., in the council of Rome, forbade any one to protect the heretics of Gascony, Provence, or elsewhere, or "to receive them upon their lands." Alexander III., at the council of Tours (1163), denounced in vehement terms "the detestable heresy of the region of Toulouse," declared that the partizans of this sect should be deprived of protection, and published this decision: "Those who may be taken, will be imprisoned by the Catholic princes, and their property will be confiscated." The same Pope, in the Lateran council (1179), formulated the following propositions: (1) The Church does not inflict bloody executions; nevertheless it calls to its aid—as St. Leo enjoined—the laws of Christian princes, because the fear of corporal punishment often leads men to resort to a spiritual remedy. (2) Consequently, we pronounce an anathema upon the heretics scattered in Gascony, the region of Albi, the region of Toulouse, and elsewhere; and under pain of anathema we forbid any one to protect them, to hide them, to have any relations with them whatever. (3) As to the Braban, and other brigands who sow desolation around them, we desire that war should be made upon them, that they should be imprisoned, and that their property should be confiscated. To those who fight them, indulgences are granted proportionate to the duration of service. Those who die on the expedition will go directly to heaven. Finally, in the council of Verona (1184), Pope Lucius III. promulgated a series of decrees of which the following is the substance: (1) Heretics recognized as such shall, subsequently to the canonical penalties declared against them, be committed

to the secular power, which will inflict upon them the punishment due to their crime (*animadversione debita*). (2) They are to be denounced by the faithful; and the bishops twice a year are to go in person, or by their delegates through the dioceses, to receive denunciations. (3) The depositaries of the secular power (counts, barons, magistrates, etc.) should lend forcible aid to the bishops, and execute the orders proceeding from the Church, relating to heretics. Those who are refractory will be deprived of office, excommunicated, and an interdict will fall upon the places under their jurisdiction.

Pursuit of heresy, punishment of heretics, responsible executors,—everything is provided by the legislation of Lucius III., which was only the crowning of the repressive measures established by the papacy after 1119. From 1184 the machine to crush error was ready to be used. The only thing remaining was to make it work. But it remained motionless; it did not work. The depositaries of the secular power did not accept the rôle that had been assigned to them. They did nothing to suppress heresy: they left it in peace. There were some exceptions. The emperor Frederick Barbarossa put heretics under the ban of the empire. Peter II. of Aragon threatened to burn those who, within a given time, had not left his states. But these two edicts were almost the only ones which the ordinance of Verona provoked. And were they seriously executed? At any rate, heresy remained triumphant in its most important lair, where above all there was a desire to attack it, in the country of Toulouse, in the region which to-day bears the name of Languedoc. But an energetic Pope arose who was to set in motion the cruel legislation elaborated by his predecessors.

Innocent III. did not forge new weapons against the heretics, he did not lengthen the list of penalties enacted against them. He left as he found it, the penal code of orthodoxy. But he supervised the application of it. He made a practical, out of the theoretical condemnation of heresy. For the régime of complaints he substituted the régime of realization. It was this which gave peculiar importance to his pontificate.

Let us observe that he waited a long time for results; yet he set to work without delay.[1] Scarcely had he ascended the pontifical throne when, through the medium of the archbishop of Auch, he adjured the bishops of southern France to act vigorously against the enemies of the Church, to expel them from the country after having previously confiscated their goods, and, if needful, to resort to the secular arm.[2] Then he sent legates charged with stimulating the zeal of the counts, barons, and city magistrates, invested with full powers to take all useful measures in the interests of the Church. The bishops did not move. Some even showed ill-will. The legates—at first there were two, later three, who were seconded by preachers—were much disturbed. By means of entreaties and threats they extorted from certain counts and magistrates an oath that they would treat heresy with severity. But the oaths were not observed. Years passed, and there was no change in the situation. Decidedly the counts and nobles in the south of France were no better than their peoples: they therefore deserved a like punishment. But where could a judge be found strong enough to punish all these culprits? There was but one: the king of France. Innocent III. appealed to him.[3] "The time has come," said he, "when the spiritual and the temporal power should combine for the defence of the Church, to lend aid to each other. The secular arm should repress those who are unwilling to obey ecclesiastical discipline. . . . Your duty commands you to arise, to employ a power which heaven has confided to you, and if it is impossible for you to march in person against the evil-doers, to charge your son or some other powerful personage with this undertaking. You should also oblige the nobles to confiscate the goods of the heretics, and if they refuse to do so, you should take possession of their property for the advantage of your treasury."

[1] *Ep.*, i. 81, 94; Potthast, pp. 59, 95; Lea, i. 136; Luchaire, p. 69; Hurter, *Geschichte des Papstes Innocent III., und seiner Zeitgenossen*, ii. 276, Hamburg, 1841.

[2] *Ep.*, i. 81; Potthast, p. 69: "Etiam si necesse fuerit per principem et populum eosdem faciat virtute materialis gladii exerceri."

[3] *Ep.*, vii. 76, 77, 99; Potthast, 2225, 2373, 2404; Hurter, ii. 277.

Philip Augustus was deaf to the voice of the pontiff. In the course of the year 1205 a second letter was dispatched to him, and a third: it was in vain. Without being discouraged, Innocent III. excommunicated Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, who covertly protected the heretics: then he urged the king of France to send an army against the South (November 1207):[1] "Our efforts have been useless, threats are of no avail, kind words have no effect, spiritual penalties are despised. It now rests with the secular arm to do its duty." But Philip Augustus still refused to move. Meanwhile one of his legates died, another was forced to leave to attend to his own affairs; only one, Pierre de Castelnau, remained in the breach. As for the preachers who since 1206 had been associated with them, or had been sent to assist them, one, Diego, bishop of Osma, died, others became discouraged, Dominic of Guzman alone pursued his task. The pontifical undertaking made no advance.

So it was until the month of January 1208. At that time the legate Pierre de Castelnau was assassinated by an unknown man, who was reputed to be the agent of Count Raymond.[2] This murder changed the face of things. Innocent III. at once sent monks to preach a crusade against the heretics. He himself wrote vehement letters to the king, to the nobles, and to the bishops of France.[3] This time his call was heard, but not by Philip Augustus, who until the very end refused to embark on this adventure,[4] but by the nobles. Two hundred thousand men, led by the counts and by the bishops, marched upon Garonne. The war of the Albigenses had begun (June 1209).

It was not to end until 1229, and it included several campaigns. The first had the speed of a cyclone, and likewise had its destructive results. At the outset (18th June

[1] *Ep.*, x. 149; Potthast, 3223.

[2] Luchaire, p. 119 (on the murder of Pierre): "There is but one really explicit account, and it is the Pope who gives it. . . . All verification here is impossible."

[3] *Ep.*, xi. 26–33; Potthast, 3323, 3324, 3353, 3357, 3358.

[4] Luchaire, p. 128.

1209) Count Raymond, knowing that he could not resist, submitted to the humiliation of public penance—upon the place of St. Gilles, near Arles—and after promising to serve the Church in all things, received absolution. Led by him, the crusaders captured Béziers and massacred the inhabitants, which act, Arnaud in his report to the Pope described in these terms:[1] "Our men have spared neither rank, nor sex, nor age. About twenty thousand persons have been put to the edge of the sword. After the slaughter was finished, the city was first sacked, then burned. The divine vengeance has been admirably displayed" (22nd July 1209). Three weeks later (15th August) the turn of Carcassone came; the cities was given over to pillage, the inhabitants—at least those who had survived the horrors of the siege—were authorized to come out. The rest of the country, stricken with terror, offered no resistance. Then Simon, the earl of Montfort, received authority over the conquered territories—several other counts had refused this gift—and the crusaders, happy to have won indulgences, returned home. The campaign was ended (August 1209).

All was soon to begin afresh. After the troops of the crusaders had dispersed, there was a disturbance in the regions of Bézier and Carcassone: it became necessary to suppress the revolt, which gained ground every day. Raymond of Toulouse, in spite of the proofs of repentance which he had given, was excommunicated by the legates, who wished to dispossess him at any price (council of Avignon, September 1209). And this measure, with which at first the Pope had shown little sympathy, was confirmed by the council of Arles (1211). Simon de Montfort thus had two wars on his hands: one defensive, to maintain himself in the viscounties of Bézier and Carcassone which were in revolt; the other of conquest, to capture the lands of the count of Toulouse. The second war was particularly terrible, as Peter II., the count of Aragon, had undertaken the defence of Raymond. But Simon de Montfort took several of the rebel castles, burned many heretics, multiplied his pillages

[1] *Ep.*, xii. 108.

and massacres, and gained the brilliant victory of Muret over Peter of Aragon (1213). Two years sufficed him to crush the rebels and break the resistance of the count of Toulouse. The bishops assembled at the council of Montpellier (at the beginning of the year 1215) juridically sanctioned his victories, and adjudged the county of Toulouse to him. Innocent III., it is true, opposed the decision of the bishops. He endeavoured to maintain Raymond in the possession of his states. But he yielded to the formidable opposition which his project encountered at the Lateran council (1215). He therefore proclaimed the deposition of Raymond.[1] He resigned himself very reluctantly to this measure, and gave public marks of sympathy to the unhappy count as well as to his son.

The two Raymonds, father and son, were present at the Lateran council. Considering the sentence of forfeiture which had been pronounced against them to be unjust, and knowing, besides, that it did not correspond to the personal wishes of the Pope, they refused to submit. Then a third campaign was forced upon Simon de Montfort, the official master of Languedoc. It was a campaign of disaster. Simon had on his side Pope Honorius III., the successor of Innocent III., and the clergy—especially the bishop of Toulouse—who zealously endeavoured to collect soldiers for him. Against him he had the entire South, which the former conflicts had exasperated and inured to war. Resistance is of no avail against a people which is determined to conquer or die. Simon ravaged the country frightfully, especially the town of Montauban; but he met with defeat at Beaucaire, besieged Toulouse without effect, and was killed under the walls of that city, leaving his son Amaury to succeed him. Amaury de Montfort found a devoted protector in Honorius III. With indomitable obstinacy this energetic pontiff harassed the court of France with his requests, with his promises, even with his threats, in order to induce it to crush the heresy of Languedoc. In 1218 he asked Philip Augustus[2] to send a "powerful army" to

[1] Lea, i. 181; Hurter, ii. 567. [2] Raynald, 1218, n. 54; Potthast, 5889.

the South, and to fortify his demand he granted the king a half tithe, and the members of the expedition the indulgence of the crusade. The year following, a fresh demand was addressed to prince Louis, the son of Philip Augustus.[1] A third attempt was made in 1222. This time the tone was threatening:[2] "You are not ignorant that the secular power is obliged to repress rebels with the material sword when the spiritual power cannot arrest their malice, and that princes should banish the wicked from their states. If they are guilty of negligence, they can be rightly constrained to do this, by the Church." In 1223, Louis VIII., who had just ascended the throne, also received a reprimand:[3] "Kings and Christian princes are spiritual children of the Church. As such they are answerable to God for what they can do in its defence. You, august Prince, are bound to use the means in your power to repress in your kingdom the attacks of a sect which wishes to destroy the faith and to tear in pieces Jesus Christ Himself." The solicitations of Honorius III. were not wholly ineffective. In obedience to the appeal by Rome, prince Louis took up arms in 1219, marched with two thousand men against the partizans of the two Raymonds, captured Marmande, and besieged Toulouse, which he could not take. Seven years later (1226), Louis, having become king of France, once more gave satisfaction to the warlike pontiff. Followed by fifty thousand men, he entered Provence and captured Avignon, while his lieutenants did successful work in Languedoc. But to what end was this display of force? In 1219, prince Louis, after uselessly besieging Toulouse, returned discouraged; and the two Raymonds were then so completely masters of the south that Amaury, their rival, conscious of his impotence, abdicated in favour of the king of France. In 1226, Louis VIII. was on the point of subduing the Albigensian party; but death brusquely arrested the course of his triumphs (8th November 1226).

At this time the younger Raymond, whose father died in

[1] Potthast, 5890. [2] Raynald, 1222, n. 44; Potthast, 6828.
[3] Raynald, 1223, n. 42; Potthast, 7120.

1222, arose, and held the French armies in check. The only result achieved by Honorius III., was to sow desolation in the South, or more exactly to prolong the work of desolation wrought by Innocent III.

In 1228, when Gregory IX. had occupied the pontifical throne for one year, Languedoc, attacked by France but defended by Raymond VII., was every day devastated anew. The papacy at length decided to extinguish the fire that it had kindled. This was not easy; for Raymond, who was not a heretic, and who had in vain asked to be re-established in the Church, did not intend to be despoiled of his paternal heritage. On the contrary, France, which had entered Languedoc in obedience to the respected commands of Rome, did not wish to leave. But for shrewd diplomacy no problem is insoluble. The pontifical legate proposed to the two hostile parties the following arrangement: (1) to leave Raymond VII. at the head of the county of Toulouse, after obtaining from him unequivocal proofs of the purity of his faith; (2) to marry a daughter of Raymond to a brother of the king of France; (3) to assure the transmission of the county of Toulouse to the issue of that marriage, and, in case the family became extinct, to the crown of France.[1] This compromise, which satisfied everybody, was adopted (Assembly of Paris, 1229). Thus ended the war of the Albigenses.

Wycliffe,[2] or more exactly John of Wycliffe, was born in the village of that name, near Richmond, about 1320, studied at Oxford, where he afterwards occupied a professor's chair. Like his fellow-countrymen he was hostile to the encroachments of the Roman Curia, but he manifested his hostility in a manner which seems for a long time to have been moderate. In any case, his teaching was well thought of, and caused no excitement. But in 1376 he attacked the clergy. He taught that the Church, poor and weak in its origin, should remain perpetually in the state in which its

[1] Raynald, 1228, n. 24; Hefele, v. 977; Lea, i. 203.

[2] Lea, ii. 438; W. Capes, *History of the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London, 1900.

divine founder had placed it; that wealth and political power were incompatible with the vocation of the clergy; that the Catholic Church, with its love of lucre and its ambition, was a caricature of the Church instituted by Christ; that it stood in need of radical reform. And he urged the princes to take possession of ecclesiastical property in order to oblige the Church to reform itself. He did not forget the papacy. More and more he assumed a hostile attitude towards it: he even ended by proclaiming that the Pope was antichrist. And as one does not take away without replacing, he substituted for the hierarchy the Bible, which he set up as the rule of faith, and which he even translated into English, in order to make it accessible to all Christians.

Naturally, Wycliffe became the *bête noire* of the hierarchy. The pope and the bishops combined to destroy him. On the contrary, the nobility, the mendicant monks, and the people gave an enthusiastic welcome to his theories. Thanks to numerous and powerful protectors, he was able to escape the blows which Gregory XI. and the bishop of London sought to inflict upon him (1377). The peasant revolt of 1381 affected him most seriously. The uprising had economic causes, but the bishop of London represented it as the fruit of the revolutionary preaching of the Oxford professor; and he succeeded in convincing a part of the nobility, who from that time made common cause with the episcopate (assembly of London, 21st May 1382). Nevertheless, Wycliffe could observe that the defection was not general. Called to appear before the council of Oxford (18th November 1382), he presented himself, retracted nothing of what he had written or taught, and was not the object of any disciplinary measure. High influence protected him against the rage of his enemies.

Wycliffe died in his parish of Lutterworth on 31st December 1384, leaving numerous writings designed to spread his doctrine. Besides, he supplemented his propaganda of the pen by a propaganda of action, and founded a society of missionaries which, under the name of the "pauper priests," preached the gospel of Wycliffe to the people; that is to say, hatred of the papacy and of the clergy, love, and the practice

of evangelical poverty, and reference to the Bible as the only doctrinal authority. These disciples of Wycliffe, to whom the name of Lollards[1] was given, a term which for a century designated confraternities in the Netherlands, which were hated by the clergy, lived for some years without being disturbed. They had the sympathy of the people, and their number increased day by day. In 1395 they thought themselves strong enough to ask parliamentary sanction for their religious programme. Evil overtook them. King Richard II., exasperated at this audacious effort, threatened to deal severely with them. The Lollards perceived that they had gone too far, and surrendered the chimerical hope of suppressing the Catholic hierarchy in England. Richard II., however, did not pass beyond threats. But in 1399 this pleasure-loving prince was dethroned by Henry IV. The new king, who took the throne only because he was supported by the clergy, permitted himself to be led by the bishops. An era of persecution then began for the Lollards. In 1409, at the request of the bishops, the edict *De comburendo heretico* was promulgated, which condemned heretics to be burned. The bishops, especially Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, carefully supervised the execution of this precious law, and from one end of England to the other, Lollards were burned. It was difficult to make them disappear; or rather, they did not then disappear, for during the fifteenth century, and later, fires were still kindled. Thus the Lollard heresy had a prolonged existence. Nevertheless, it soon lost its expansive force. Its ranks grew gradually thinner; it only languished. Its most famous martyr was Lord Cobham, better known under the name of John Oldcastle, who in 1417 perished in the flames.

John Huss,[2] born about 1369 in the Bohemian village of Husinec, from which his name is derived, was a priest in 1400, dean of the theological faculty at Prague in 1401,

[1] *Realencyclopädie*, xi. 616.

[2] J. Loserth, *Hus und Wiclif*, Prag, 1884; F. Palacky, *Documenta magistri Johannis Hus*, Prag, 1869; *Realencyclopädie*, viii. 472.

and until 1403 was bound by the orthodoxy of his era. In 1403 the works of Wycliffe modified his ideas profoundly. Huss adopted with enthusiasm the views of the English innovator concerning the constitution of the Church, and he propagated them. He was the apostle of Wycliffe in Bohemia, and had hearers. Being a man of tried austerity, he enjoyed the consideration of every one. His sermons against the corruption of the priests gained him new favour with the people. On the contrary, they stirred up the clergy in opposition to him. The archbishop of Prague, who at first supported him, who even appointed him preacher at the annual synods, shortly afterwards turned against him and denounced him at Rome. Huss was excommunicated (December 1409); but, protected by the king and by popular favour, he escaped the penalties which the Church wished to have inflicted.[1]

About the end of the year 1411, Pope John XXIII., threatened by Ladislas, king of Naples, and protector of Gregory XII.—the schism of the Occident was in its most intense phase—promised indulgences to all those who with money or with arms would aid him in repelling his aggressor. In his youth Huss had been devoted to indulgences; he had even carried his zeal so far as to empty his purse in order to buy one. But in 1411 it was far different. He then denounced the undertaking of John XXIII. as an odious traffic, condemned by the principles of the gospel (June 1412). Forthwith a new sentence of excommunication was issued against him. It need not be said that he treated it with contempt, declared it null, and appealed from it to the council and to God. Moreover, he had the support of the people. This time once more, notwithstanding the disturbances which broke out at Prague, Huss was about to escape his enemies.[2]

But he delivered himself over to them in the following way.[3] At the end of the year 1414, a general council assembled at Constance, convoked by Sigismund in accord with John XXIII. Sigismund intended that this assembly

[1] Loserth, pp. 75, 98.
[2] *Id.*, pp. 121, 132.
[3] Hefele, vii. 28, 142, 184, 211.

should especially end the schism which was the desolation of Christendom. But he also wished to have it serve for necessary reforms. He therefore invited the Bohemian agitator to attend, and, to assure him against all possible dangers, he promised him a safe-conduct. Huss, who had appealed from the sentence of excommunication to the council, would have stultified himself if he had declined the invitation of Sigismund. He accepted it and went to Constance. He went there of his own accord, convinced that he would be admitted freely to plead his cause before the council, and that his words would carry conviction to the minds of its members. In short, he went to the council as if to victory.

Grave disappointments awaited him when he reached Constance (2nd November 1414), and some weeks later he was imprisoned for heresy by John XXIII. He objected that he could not be treated as a convict before he had been tried, and that, besides, the safe-conduct guaranteed him against any attempt at violence. He uttered vehement protests, in which he was joined by the Bohemians and by Sigismund himself. It was of no avail. In substance the reply was that his arrest was canonical; and that was true. According to canonical law heretics were deprived of all rights. The requirements of natural equity were not applicable. Advantage could not be derived from the fact that good faith had been sworn. To deceive heretics, to betray them, to ensnare them—these were pious acts. The procedure was ecclesiastically regular.[1] By placing confidence in his safeguard, Huss simply showed his ignorance of that law.

Yet the conflict which in the meantime broke out between the Pope and the council, and which led to the deposition of the Pope, gave a ray of hope to the friends of Huss, and to Huss himself. They expected to see the bishops complete their triumph over John XXIII., by rehabilitating his victim. They forgot that the agitator of Prague was as dangerous to the episcopate as he was to the papacy. Moreover, the illusion did not last long. Having conquered the Pope, the council hastened to achieve a second victory. The affair was

[1] Lea, ii. 468-470.

bluntly conducted. On 6th July 1415, John Huss was brought to the cathedral of Constance. There, in the presence of Sigismund and of the bishops, he was degraded. Upon his head they placed a paper cap, conical in shape, adorned with paintings of devils, and bearing this inscription: "Here is the heresiarch." He was then led to the place of punishment. A few hours later he expired in the flames.

John Huss won to his ideas almost the whole of Bohemia. His death caused an explosion of anticlerical hatred which was exasperated still more by the violation of plighted faith,—a violation which was judged by the light of natural equity, without a suspicion that it was authorized by canon law. In many places, especially at Prague, the houses occupied by priests were sacked or even destroyed. The archbishop of Prague escaped death only by flight. In December 1415, four hundred and fifty-two barons—almost the entire nobility of Bohemia—publicly declared themselves to be rebels against the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and informed the council of Constance of this decision. After this there was a new Church in Bohemia: the Hussite Church; and it took as its symbol, its flag, as it were, communion under two species, a liturgical practice which the friends of Huss adopted (1415).

The evil was serious, and required energetic treatment. The council of Constance and Pope Martin (1418) did not hesitate to resort to extreme measures. They resolved to drown the Hussite heresy in blood. From 1416 to 1419 the nobility of Bohemia, Sigismund and Wenceslas, were called upon to exterminate the enemies of the Church. These repeated appeals to violence led to nothing so long as Wenceslas was alive; but that prince died on 15th August 1419, and left the crown of Bohemia to Sigismund. Then the will of the Pope was accomplished, and the holy war, the crusade with its accompaniment of indulgences, took place.

It should rather be said "crusades"; for there were four of these, which from the year 1420 were preached by the pontifical legates, and in which some thousands of men took part, who came from Germany, Poland, and elsewhere; and the four were useless. The Hussites, however, lacked cohesion.

There were some moderates among them: there were some enthusiasts. The moderates, called *Calixtines*, made war upon the enthusiasts, who were called *Taborites*. The Taborites were at length obliged to yield (battle of Lipan, 1434). But in spite of their intestinal strife the Hussites, led by Ziska, then, after the death of Ziska, by Procopius (1424), won surprising victories over the troops of the empire led by pontifical legates (especially the victories of Mise, 1427, and Taus, 1431, where the imperial forces fled shamefully). Decidedly the papacy, with the best intentions, was incapable of exterminating the heresy. What was it to do?

Perhaps, in any case, it would have continued the struggle; but at this juncture it was dethroned, and momentarily the council of Bâle took its place. The fathers of the council thought that they should abandon the war, which had always been disastrous, and they showed a disposition to make concessions. Negotiations with the Hussites began in 1432; they were laborious and stormy. At length, after a dispute of four years, they were ended by the signing of the *Compactata*, which took place at Iglau (5th July 1436). By this treaty the Hussites obtained satisfaction on four points which they most had at heart. Especially they were authorized to receive the communion under two species, and therefore to make use of the chalice. Their desires were granted, and they laid down their arms.

They did not then foresee the disappointment which a near future reserved for them.[1] At the time when it signed the *Compactata*, the council of Bâle was half-conquered by the papacy. Some years later, its failure was complete, and the Church returned to the monarchical régime, personified by Nicholas v. (1448). The Bohemians assumed relations with their new master, presented to him the treaty of Iglau, and asked him to ratify it. But Rome energetically refused to recognize the act which had been signed by the council of Bâle: it ordered the Bohemians to return to the common law, and prepared to make them return by force. The attention of the papacy was temporarily diverted by the grave events

[1] Pastor, ii. 165–183; 399–410.

occurring in the East,—the arrival of the Turks, the taking of Constantinople, and the startling conquests by Mohammed II. But the affair was merely postponed. In 1462, Pius II. solemnly annulled the *Compactata*. Some years later, Paul II. declared that the king of Bohemia, George Podiebrad, had forfeited his throne (1466), and in the end even organized a crusade against him (1468). The crusade took place. At the call of the Pope, Mathias Corvin took up arms, and undertook to dispossess Podiebrad. He failed, and when Podiebrad died (1471), Mathias Corvin found a rival in Ladislas, son of the king of Poland. For many years Bohemia was a prey to the ravages of war, or to troubles caused by the missionaries of Rome. At length, in 1526, when the House of Austria acquired the throne of Bohemia, its first act was to promise to its subjects the maintenance of the *Compactata*. This was a posthumous revenge of the council of Bâle upon the papacy.

Martin Luther [1] was born at Eisleben, a small town in Saxony, in 1483, of poor parents, who sent him to study successively at Mansfeld, Magdeburg, Eisenach, and finally at the university at Erfurt. In 1505 he resolved to become a monk, and entered the Augustinian convent at Erfurt. Two years later he became a priest. In 1508, on the recommendation of Staupitz, the provincial of the Augustines, he was called by Frederick the elector of Saxony to be professor of philosophy at the university of Wittenberg; but soon afterwards he returned to the university of Erfurt. About 1510 his superiors sent him to Rome to defend the interests of his order at the Holy See. Thence he returned to the university of Wittenberg. During the early years of his life, under the influence of morbid piety, he was the victim of scruples. When he applied himself to the study of theology his favourite authors in the dogmatic domain were Gabriel Biel, Pierre d'Ailly, Occam, Gerson, and St. Augustine; in mystical questions, St. Bernard and Tauler. Of these doctors, some were ignorant of the metaphysical structures

[1] J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, i. 681–743, Freiburg, 1897.

which had been reared in the thirteenth century; others were pronounced enemies of pontifical supremacy. From their writings Luther derived an archaic theology, and a latent hostility to the papacy, which was not diminished by his stay at Rome, where his eyes were often offended. Moreover, he did not fear to complete or even to correct the theology of his masters, by personal theories, among which it is enough here to mention the doctrine of justification by faith. Yet he remained submissive to the Catholic hierarchy: he believed in its divine origin and prerogatives. He was merely a bold and liberal theologian.

He appeared in another light on the day when, in order to protest against the traffic in indulgences, he nailed to the door of the church of the castle of Wittenberg a list of ninety-five theses concerning indulgences (31st October 1517). He then appeared as an agitator.[1] He was a powerful agitator, for in a short time the theses were circulated in Germany, causing formidable excitement everywhere, and forcing Tetzel to suspend his profitable trade. He was also a dangerous agitator. He respected, it is true, the indulgences, attacking only the abuse of them. But if he spared the dogma itself, he disdainfully rejected the received opinions concerning it; and, moreover, the abuses which he denounced were tacitly approved by the papacy, which derived benefit from them. It should be added that the agitator soon became a rebel.[2] In the month of February 1518 his superiors, acting under orders from Rome, commanded him to keep silence. Ordered to be silent, Luther was profuse in protestations of humility, justified his conduct, but did not promise to obey (30th May 1518).

Rome subjected him to the rigour of its laws. In the early days of 1518 it learned from a report of the archbishop of Mayence of Luther's audacious opinions, and kept a watch upon him. From 30th May 1518 it treated him as a rebel, and resolved to afford him the hospitality of its

[1] Kalkoff, *Forschungen zu Luther's römischen Prozess*, Rome, 1905; K. Müller in *Zeitschrift zur Kirchengeschichte*, xxiv. 46–85; Pastor, p. 248.

[2] Kalkoff, p. 44.

prisons; or, if he should remain obstinate, to send him to the stake. In July 1518, Luther received an order to present himself in sixty days at the apostolic see—an order which a month later was changed into one of appearing at Augsburg before the legate Caietano.[1] But then began a long series of mishaps for the papacy. Luther was under the government of Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. And when Rome demanded of this prince, who was very devout, the surrender of the monk of Wittenberg, Frederick declared that he would obey on the day when the doctrine of Luther should be condemned by judges who were strangers to the Roman Curia, but not before.[2] To complete the misfortune, the emperor Maximilian died in the meantime (January 1519), and Leo X., who wished to raise Frederick to the throne of the empire, who in any case needed his support, found himself obliged to treat him with deference,[3] to show him kindness—he sent him the "Golden Rose"—and above all to permit the affair of indulgences to slumber. Thus a year was lost. During this time Luther came into contact with the humanists, and felt the influence of Hutten,[4] who inoculated him with his profound hatred of the papacy. Every day he became more aggressive. Every day, too, the circle of his partizans and admirers was extended. The spark of 31st October 1517 was followed by a vast conflagration.

On 28th June 1519, the German electors put Charles V., the grandson of Maximilian, at the head of the empire. Leo X., who dreaded this selection, and had done everything to prevent it, accepted the accomplished fact with resignation, and resumed the prosecution which had been arrested by political preoccupations.[5] The affair was conducted with all the speed which the cumbrous machinery of the Roman administration permitted. After several months of deliberation and tentatives, the Pope was ready to act, and he acted. On 20th May 1520, Frederick of Saxony was called upon, in threatening terms, to deal severely with Luther.[6] Three

[1] Müller, pp. 59–68.
[2] Kalkoff, p. 54.
[3] Pastor, pp. 177, 192, 263.
[4] *Id.*, p. 266.
[5] *Id.*, p. 264.
[6] Kalkoff, p. 79.

weeks later (15th June 1520) the latter was solemnly denounced in the bull *Exsurge Domine*, as an apostle of error. All those who had his books were commanded to burn them; he and his partizans were ordered to retract within sixty days, at the end of which time the penalties provided by law would be enforced.[1] To these vigorous measures the parties interested gave an unfavourable reception. Frederick contemptuously refused to obey the papal command. As for Luther, in August 1520 he issued the manifesto *To the German Nobilty*, in which he sounded a trumpet against Rome; and some months later (10th December) he burned the bull *Exsurge* with great ceremony at the gate of Wittenberg. Before burning it he consigned it to public scorn in a pamphlet entitled, *Against the Bull of Antichrist*. Everything was permitted him, for public opinion applauded him. The students of the university ridiculed the bull, and occasionally tore it in pieces: at Wittenberg, they counted it an honour to go to see it burned.

It was necessary, however, that authority should have the last word. Leo X. braved the storm. On 3rd January 1521, he published the bull *Decet romanum pontificem*, which executed the threats formulated in the bull *Exsurge*, excommunicated Luther, and under a like penalty forbade any one to protect him. He then admonished Charles V. to do his duty; to imitate Constantine, Charlemagne, and the Ottos; to draw his sword against the heretics, that is to say, to make war on Frederick, and by armed force to oblige that prince to surrender the heresiarch of whom he was the protector. But at this point there was a fresh miscalculation. Charles V., who was sincerely desirous of pleasing the Pope, could not oppose the will of the German princes; and the latter, assembled at the diet of Worms, decided that Luther should not be condemned before he had been heard, that he should be invited to appear before the diet, and that a safeguard should be granted him (19th February 1521). At the news of this, Leo X. and his nuncio Aléander uttered indignant protests. They set forth that the civil power was

[1] Pastor, p. 274.

the executor of the orders of the supreme magistrate, and nothing more; that its rôle consisted in applying, and not in criticizing, ecclesiastical law; that Luther had been condemned by an authentic judgment of the Holy See; and that princes would do a grave injury to the Church should they think of beginning a fresh action against the heresiarch.[1] This was of no avail. The princes refused to compromise. Armed with a safe-conduct, Luther presented himself at the diet of Worms. He spoke and inveighed against the pontifical tyranny, declared that councils themselves were subject to error, and he recognized no authority save that of the Bible (17th and 18th April 1521). Then, protected by the safe-conduct, he took his departure. Rome was forced to swallow the affront. It had, indeed, the consolation of seeing Charles v. publish the famous *Edict of Worms*, which banished Luther from the empire, ordered all its subjects to surrender him to the emperor, and to cast his books into the fire (26th May 1521). This energetic measure made amends for the weakness of the princes, and saved the principles—on paper. Actually, Luther after leaving Worms was arrested on his way by the soldiers of Frederick his protector, and was brought to the Wartburg castle. There, concealed under a borrowed name—he was called the Chevalier George—he found a temporary refuge.

According to all likelihood, as a refuge the Wartburg could be only temporary. The mysterious guest whom it sheltered was bound inevitably, and without delay, to be recognized; and the emperor was about to reclaim his victim, if necessary, by the force of arms. But it was decreed that in all these events the most troublesome misadventures should thwart the best-founded anticipations. Directly after the diet of Worms, Charles v. had to suppress a revolt in Spain, he was subsequently engaged in a long war with Francis I.; in the meantime the Turks made their appearance on the Danube. This was more than was needed to occupy and to preoccupy him. He left the elector of Saxony in peace, and Luther, quitting the Wartburg, continued under

[1] Pastor, pp. 267, 283, 294, 317.

that prince's protection his work of rebellion against Rome. Every day he made new conquests; every day the pamphlets with which he flooded Germany increased his forces in numbers. Moreover, in various quarters auxiliaries arose ready to aid him in his undertaking: Carlostadt and Melanchthon in Germany, Zwingle and Œcolampadius in Switzerland, and others following the example of their master, endeavoured to detach the people from Rome. Soon, indeed, the chief quarrelled with his lieutenants. He was furious at Carlostadt, who did not seem to him sufficiently docile. For Zwingle he conceived a mortal hatred, which was extended to the whole Zwinglian party. Soon, even the peasants of Swabia, conducting the reformation after their own fashion, rebelled against all authority and abandoned themselves to rapine. In the ordinary course of things, these divisions, these excesses, would have ruined Luther's undertaking. This was saved by the hatred of which Rome was the object. All was forgiven to the man who sounded the charge against the papacy. And of this, Luther could not be ignorant. In the diets of Nürnberg (1522 and 1524) the princes spoke fair words to the pontifical legates, Chieregati and Campeggio, who besought them to stifle the heresy. They promised to do their best to pacify Germany; but they did not conceal the fact that, considering the point at which things had arrived, violent and coercive measures would aggravate instead of curing the evil. They added some remarks of which this is the substance: "It is Rome which by abuses of every sort has inspired the spirit of revolt; it is for Rome to appease it by reformation. Let her purify herself, let her correct the abuses under which the whole Church is groaning; let a council be called to study and point out the measures to be taken, and calm will return."[1]

But Rome intended to issue orders, not to receive advice. At the diet of the year 1522, Chieregati, although he had

[1] *Reichstagsakten*, iii. 447, Gotha, 1893; Raynald, 1523, 3–12; Pallavicini, ii. 8, ii. 10 (edit. Migne, i. 709, 719); Janssen-Pastor, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, ii. 296, Freiburg, 1897.

read the humiliating admissions of Adrian VI., his master, would not listen to any observations. At the diet, 1524, the legate Campeggio, speaking in the name of Clement VII., was still more arrogant, and declared that the papacy was not accountable to any one on earth.[1] The inevitable happened. The partizans of Luther becoming every day more numerous and more powerful, increased their pretensions. At the diet of Spire (1526) they demanded and obtained freedom of conscience—provisionally, that is to say, until the meeting of the council which they demanded and which had been promised them. At the diet which was held in the same town three years later (1529), they declared that they wished to continue their apostolate, and "protested"—whence the name Protestants—against the arrest of development which it was sought to impose upon them. To arrest their progress was truly rather a difficult thing. Nevertheless, Charles V. wished to do more. In 1530, being temporarily freed from the cares of war, he desired to keep his engagements with the papacy, and he paid the debt at the diet of Augsburg. There the Lutherans, by the pen of Melanchthon, presented their religious programme entitled "Confession of Augsburg." The only response made by Charles V. was to command them to return within a certain time (15th April 1531) to the old faith, at the expiration of which time he was determined to drown the heresy in blood.[2] But then occurred the eternal misadventure. The Turks were approaching, and all the forces of Germany were not too great to repulse them. Charles V. once more made a truce in religious disputes; he entered into negotiations with the partizans of Luther, and at the diet of Nürnberg (1532) he guaranteed them liberty of conscience until the meeting of the next general council.

Some years later, incited by Paul III., who dreamed only of crushing the rebels, he thought the moment to take up arms had come. This time, again, the Turkish peril, increased by the unfortunate tactics of Admiral Doria, brought

[1] *Reichstagsakten*, iv. 468.

[2] Hefele-Hergenröther, ix. 724; Pastor, iv. 11, 408, 418.

everything to a standstill. At Frankfort (1539) the Protestants obtained a truce which the diet of Spire (1544) confirmed, and completed, by adding various concessions. The Pope cried treason, and uttered terrifying threats,[1] threats which were not empty; for the king of France and the German Catholic princes were only awaiting the word to march against the empire. Charles v., aware of his precarious situation, obeyed. He made war upon the Protestants, a holy war for which the Pope opened the treasury of his indulgences (1546). And this war succeeded according to his desires. Conqueror of the Protestants at Mühlberg (1547), he prepared to make them submit by force to the decisions of the council which had just assembled at Trent. In the meantime he dictated his wishes (*Interim* of Augsburg, 1548). A fresh disappointment was reserved for him. Three years later the Protestants, led by Maurice of Saxony and aided by Henry II., king of France, took their revenge (1551). Charles v., being discouraged, gave up the struggle; and after several years of negotiations, the "Religious Peace of Augsburg" was signed (1555). This treaty guaranteed the disciples of Luther, or, as was said, the "Confession of Augsburg," the right of existence throughout the empire. It was not with this in view that the papacy had so often entreated the emperor to crush heresy. Paul IV. therefore freely expressed his complaints,[2] but it was useless. The "Religious Peace of Augsburg" remained in force until the Treaty of Westphalia abrogated it, only to impose new sacrifices upon Rome (1648).

Yet the wave of revolt raised against Rome by Luther was not confined within the empire.[3] It soon crossed the German frontiers and invaded different nations of Europe. Sometimes it was the doctrines themselves of the Wittenberg

[1] Pallavicini, v. 6 (Migne, i. 1017); St. Ehses, *Sanctum concilium Tridentinum*, iv. 364, Freiburg, 1904.

[2] The Pope talked even of deposing Charles v. and Ferdinand; see Pastor, vi. 566–570, especially 569, note 4, which refers to Brewer, *Calendar of State Papers*, vii. n. 501.

[3] Pastor, iv. ii. 403, 518, 524; v. 688.

monk carried by his disciples, by Cranmer to England, by Hamilton to Scotland, by Margaret of Valois and Briçonnet to France, which acted as a ferment. Sometimes it was his example which was contagious, and which captivated foreigners, Calvin, for example, or even enemies of the Lutheran system, Zwingle in Switzerland, Henry VIII. in England. For without the impulse which proceeded from Wittenberg neither Zwingle, nor Henry VIII., nor Calvin would have affected the multitude. These men were lieutenants of Luther, who was execrated by two of them; they continued the work which he began. Let us then leave Germany, and pass in review the principal countries of Europe.

In 1526 the duchy of Prussia was detached from Rome. The author of this defection was himself the ruler of the duchy. Albert of Brandenburg, grand master of the Teutonic order, who notwithstanding his vow of chastity, married, and apostatized. Albert adhered to the ideas of Luther, and in 1530 adopted the Augsburg Confession. In 1527, Sweden presented the same spectacle as the duchy of Prussia. It had just shaken off the political yoke of Denmark, and had constituted itself an independent kingdom. Its first king, Gustavus Vasa, subjected it to Lutheran doctrine. In this work he was aided by Olaf Peterson.[1]

In 1536 it was the turn of Denmark and of Norway to pass from the Roman to the Lutheran obedience. Switzerland, in the beginning, initiated in the ideas of religious reform by Zwingle and Œcolampadius, in 1536 began to undergo the influence of Calvin, who was of French origin—he was born at Noyon (1509), and (1527) received the parish of Marteville—and entered into the Lutheran movement (about 1529). His arrest was ordered, and he fled (1533), published his book, *Institutes of Christianity* (1535), established himself at Geneva for the first time (1536), was banished thence, and returned (1541). The apostles in

[1] Martin, *Gustave Vasa et la reforme en Suède*, pp. 250, 303, 416, Paris, 1906; J. Weidling, *Schwedische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, pp. 179, 196, Gotha, 1882.

Scotland of the new gospel were Patrick Hamilton (1525), Wishart (1545), and John Knox (1555). Hamilton and Wishart perished as victims of Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. Knox was persecuted during the reign of Mary Tudor, and was twice obliged to escape to Geneva. In 1559 he returned to his country, and there practised a successful apostolate. It is to him that Scotland owes its present religion.

In France[1] the Lutheran programme was favoured by Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, and by Margaret of Valois, the sister of Francis I. Under this double patronage, until 1535, it spread among the nobility. After that date the *Institutes of Christianity* had a considerable ascendancy; Calvin caused Luther to be forgotten. French opinion, whether Lutheran or Calvinistic, showed a manifest sympathy with the projects of reform. But the king, who, thanks to the concordat of 1516, held the Church of France in his power, could only lose by a religious revolution. Led by his own interests, Francis I. —abroad, he supported the Lutherans of Germany, and the Turks—enforced against the innovators a fierce repression (1526), which his son Henry II. accentuated still further. The stake had many victims, among whom it is sufficient to mention Anne du Bourg, a deacon and counsellor of parliament. In Provence and in the Comtat Venaissin, three thousand Waldenses guilty of having aided the Protestants were exterminated. In spite of the persecutions which it underwent, Calvinistic doctrine was propagated in France; and Catherine, by the advice of the chancellor, Michel de l'Hôpital, thought it her duty to grant a limited tolerance to Protestant worship, in the edict of January 1562. But a terrible civil war, lasting nearly forty years, was to neutralize this measure.

England seemed destined to be the consolation of Rome. In 1521, King Henry VIII. wrote a book against Luther, which won for him from the Pope the title of *Defender of the*

[1] Vic. de Meaux, *Les Cultes religieux en France au xvi^me^ siècle*, pp. 23, 56, Paris, 1879; F. Aubert, "Le Parlement et la réforme," *Rev. des questions historiques*, lxxxiii. 91–128 (1908); Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, viii. n. 33.

Faith. But England was not long to play this rôle of consolation. In 1526, Henry VIII. became enamoured of Anne Boleyn, a young woman twenty-three years of age, and wished to make her his concubine.[1] Anne, very artfully, feigned great prudery, pleaded scruples of conscience, and declared that she was unable to satisfy the desires of the king except by legitimate marriage; in short, she gave her royal lover the alternative of leaving his passion ungratified, or of divorcing his wife, Catherine of Aragon, to whom he had been married for seventeen years (1509), and who had borne to him besides four children, who were dead, a daughter, still living, who was afterwards to be called Mary Tudor. His passion was irresistible. Henry decided to procure a divorce, that is to say, to demand of the ecclesiastical authority a declaration of the nullity of the marriage; for according to the ideas of the time, marriage, when it combined all the desired conditions, was indissoluble, but when one of these conditions was lacking, was null. And the Church alone had the power to establish the nullity. Indeed, Henry VIII. had needed a pontifical dispensation received from Julius II. to contract a marriage with Catherine, who before becoming his wife was his sister-in-law, having been married the first time to Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII. The whole problem was to discover faults in the bull of Julius II. Henry discovered them, pointed them out to Pope Clement VII., and asked him to take action accordingly (1527).

The Pope's situation was embarrassing. By refusing the divorce he would irritate the king of England; by granting it, he would humiliate and offend the powerful emperor of Germany, Charles V., of whom Catherine of Aragon was the aunt. Taken between hammer and anvil, Clement VII. manœuvred so as to shield himself. At first he spoke fair words to Henry, but avoided committing himself: he then sent a legate to England commissioned apparently to study the affair, but really with secret orders to procrastinate.[2]

[1] P. Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*, i. 58, London, 1884.

[2] *Id.*, *ib.* i. 75, 87; Brewer, *Calendar of Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, in the reign of Henry VIII.*, iv. 1916, London, 1862–1892.

Finally, he reserved to himself the legal inquiry into the action[1] (July 1529), and did not further it.

These clever tactics, under other circumstances, might have succeeded; in this case, the resolute attitude of his opponent made them fail. Henry VIII. was in haste to accomplish his object. Seeing that he could obtain nothing of the Pope, he resolved to do without the assistance of the latter, and to conduct his own affairs himself. He first endeavoured to win opinion to his side. And he partially succeeded; for various universities in England, France, and Italy, when consulted as to the validity of the marriage of Catherine, declared—of course, gold played an important part here—that the union in the sight of God was null[2] (1530). He then assured himself of the docility of his clergy by having himself proclaimed, with certain reserves, "chief sovereign of the Church and of the clergy of England" (January 1531). Moreover, the archbishopric of Canterbury had just become vacant; he gave it to Cranmer, a man without scruples, from whom he could expect all kinds of services (December 1532). Then, when all precautions had been taken, he proceeded to take decisive action. In January 1533 he contracted a secret marriage with Anne Boleyn, which he had blessed by a monk, and which he gradually divulged.[3] Two months later (March 1533) he promulgated the "Bill of Appeals," which forbade any appeal to Rome, and assigned the cognizance of matrimonial causes to the supreme jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury.[4] At length Cranmer, duly authorized by his king, declared the marriage of Henry and Catherine to be void (23rd May), and some days after (28th May) certified that the marriage with Anne was valid. In the month of June 1533, Anne Boleyn, solemnly crowned, became queen of England, and Henry triumphed.

Confronted with these acts of defiance, poor Pope Clement VII., who stood more and more in need of the support of Charles V., was forced to abandon his tortuous,

[1] Brewer, iv. 2591.
[2] *Id.*, iv. 2903; Friedmann, i. 116, 121.
[3] Friedmann, i. 182.
[4] *Id.*, i. 194.

dilatory policy, and decided to act. He did act, but up to the end he sought to be considerate. He therefore uttered against Henry a comminatory sentence which was kept very secret (July 1533), and it was only on 2nd March 1534 that he promulgated on the matter in litigation a public sentence, a sentence unfavourable to the king of England; for he concluded that the marriage with Catherine was valid.[1]

To this tardy and timid resistance Henry responded by revolt. During the year 1534 were promulgated the "Act of Succession" and the "Act of Supremacy." Several penalties were enacted to assure submission to these edicts, the first of which guaranteed the succession to the throne to the children of Anne Boleyn, the second of which declared Henry to be supreme head of the Church of England. Other ordinances were promulgated to punish fidelity to the Pope. It was a terrible legislation, which, however, made few victims, for all except the chancellor, Thomas More, bishop Fisher, and some monks obeyed. It was actual schism. But Rome closed its eyes and refused to see that England was no longer obedient to it. Pope Paul III., who, in order to avenge the death of Fisher, was preparing to launch a sentence of deposition against Henry, at the last moment paused, and recoiled from an act which might have had fatal consequences (1535).[2] He carried his condescension even farther. After the death of Catherine (January 1536) he made overtures of peace to Henry, which he renewed after the death of Anne Boleyn (May 1536). But all his advances failed before the attitude of Henry, who confiscated the property of the abbeys, and was furiously eager to extirpate popery from England. Then Paul III. issued the bull which had been prepared in 1535. He declared that Henry VIII. had forfeited the throne of England, commanded his subjects to revolt against him, and charged the Christian princes to make war upon him, to confiscate his goods, and to drive

[1] St. Ehses, *Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII.*, pp. 212, 215, Paderborn, 1893.

[2] J. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, viii. 1144, ix. 999, 1007, 1024; Raynald, 1535, 10, 18; Pastor, v. 681.

him from his kingdom (1538). But the Christian princes made no move; the English people did not rebel; the clergy themselves were deaf to the voice of the Pope. Henry VIII. maintained his place upon the throne, and the schism was consummated.

Nevertheless, as yet it was merely schism. Henry, who wished to free England from the yoke of Rome, did not intend to deliver it over to heresy. On the contrary, he persecuted the Lutherans with the same zeal that he had shown in persecuting the papists. He assumed a kind of coquetry—especially to give the lie to the Pope, who accused him of heresy—in rejecting all dogmatic or disciplinary innovations. Guided by this religious policy, he promulgated (1539) "The Bill of the Six Articles," which under severe penalties commanded belief in transubstantiation, imposed upon the clergy the practice of celibacy, made auricular confession and communion under a single species obligatory on the faithful. But Henry VIII. died in 1547, leaving as his successor his son, Edward VI., aged nine years. Under the reign of this child, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, wielded a preponderating influence. During a journey in Germany, Cranmer became impregnated with the ideas of Luther, and afterwards felt the influence of Calvin. He was a Lutheran dyed in Calvinism. Sure that he could dare anything with impunity, he zealously endeavoured to destroy Catholic doctrine in England. In 1547 the marriage of priests was authorized. The year following, simultaneously with a Lutheran catechism there appeared *The Order of the Communion*, which enjoined on the laity to make their communion under two species. Then came (1549) *The Book of Common Prayer*, an indefinite ritual which three years later was revised in a clearly Calvinistic sense. Finally (1553) were promulgated the semi-Lutheran, semi-Calvinistic *Forty-two Articles*, which were later to become the *Thirty-nine Articles*.[1] At this time heresy was the official doctrine of England.

[1] Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 263, 276, 290, London, 1902; G. Constant, "La Transformation du culte anglican sous Edouard VI.," *Rev. d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xii. 38, 242 (1911).

It was the official doctrine, but not the doctrine *de facto*. The great majority of the nation disapproved of the dogmatic and disciplinary changes which had been imposed upon them. Popular uprisings took place in fifteen counties. The clergy displayed more docility. Yet there were some among them who resisted; four bishops were deprived of their sees. The rupture with Rome had caused no difficulty, but the rupture with the creed and with the Catholic liturgy was painful. Hence the Catholic reaction wrought by Mary Tudor (1553-1558) might have gathered about it popular sympathies. But it passed beyond the limits of moderation, and, futhermore, it was allied with a Spanish policy—Mary had been married to Philip II. Thus it had been made odious.[1] It was reserved for Elizabeth to give a definitive religion to England (1558-1603).

[1] R. Ancel, "La Réconciliation de l'Angleterre avec le Saint-Siège sous Marie Tudor," *Rev. d'histoire ecclésiastique*, x. 521, 744 (1909).

CHAPTER XIV

The Conflict with Infidelity and Heresy: Crusades, Inquisition, Councils

Collection de l'histoire des Croisades, published by the Academy of Inscriptions, Paris, since 1841 (comprising four parts, the most important of which bears the title, *Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols.); R. Röhricht, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge im Umriss*, Innsbruck, 1898; L. Bréhier, "L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age"; *Les Croisades*, Paris, 1907; H. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., New York, 1888; J. Havet, "L'Hérésie et le bras seculier au Moyen Age," in *Œuvres complètes*, ii. 117–180, Paris, 1896; L. Tanon, *Histoire des tribunaux de l'Inquisition en France*, Paris, 1893; P. Hinschius, *System des katholischen Kirchenrechts*, iii., Berlin, 1883; L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, 6 vols., Freiburg, 1886–1913.

The conflict with infidelity and heresy had three principal theatres: fields of battle, tribunals, and councils. Upon fields of battle the enemies of the Church were dealt with according to the laws of war; before the tribunals, the penal code was applied to them; in the councils, the procedure against them was by definitions and regulations. Among the wars undertaken for the glory of God the crusades occupy a peculiar place, and the tribunals have their highest expression in the Inquisition. We shall treat successively of the crusades; of the Inquisition, in which we shall include wars waged by the papacy against its enemies in Europe; and lastly of the councils.

Crusades

The crusades were military expeditions undertaken by the papacy during a period of about two hundred years (A.D. 1095–1270), to drive the Mussulmans from the Holy Land.

It was a pope—Gregory VII., and not, as is often said, Sylvester II.—who first had the idea of the crusades. Indeed, Gregory was himself on the point of leading fifty thousand men "against the enemies of God, even to the tomb of Jesus Christ" (1074), but his difficulties with Henry IV. prevented him from executing this idea.[1] It was a pope, Urban II., who in 1095 realized the project of Gregory VII. and caused the departure of the first crusade. It was the popes who took the initiative in all the crusades, who entreated, who at times even commanded the princes to march against the Mussulmans. Thus the crusades were the work of the papacy, and, as will be seen, it was in spite of the papacy that in 1270, exhausted Europe gave up the plan of destroying the Mussulman power. Let us only add that it was the cries of alarm coming from Constantinople which inspired Gregory VII. with the plan, and Urban II. with its execution.

Thus inspired by the papacy, the crusades had a religious object; they were intended to drive the Mussulmans from the Holy Land, and to recover the tomb of Christ which had fallen into their hands. Nevertheless, certain qualifications are necessary here. Jerusalem, which had been taken by the Persians and given over to pillage (614), and reconquered by the emperor Heraclius (629), fell into the power of the Caliph Omar (637), and escaped Arab domination only to pass under the yoke of the Seljuk Turks, who four centuries later (1070) made the conquest of Syria. It was then that the Greek emperors Michael VII. and Alexis Comnenius called on the papacy for help, not for the tomb of Christ, which had only changed masters, and with which they were not preoccupied, but for themselves. They prayed Rome to aid them to arrest the invading advance of the Turks; and to cause their request to be granted they promised to bring to an end the schism which had been effected by Michael Cærularius in 1054. Gregory VII., whose dream was to make the papacy a universal empire, eagerly accepted this proposal.[2] If political circumstances had afforded another theatre for his immense political activity, he would have

[1] Jaffé, 4904; see 4789, 4826, 4910. [2] Bréhier, pp. 38–54.

gone to Constantinople with fifty thousand men, and would have annexed the Eastern empire to the domain of St. Peter. Perhaps he would have ultimately swept the Turks away. The Napoleon of the eleventh century was capable of anything. Urban had not the warlike genius of Gregory. He was not the man to lead an army. But he knew how to find magic expressions, "Jerusalem," "the tomb of Christ," "remission of sins."[1] For a long time, particularly after the opening of the eleventh century, many were the faithful who made the journey to Jerusalem. And these pilgrimages, the vogue of which was increasing, created, and then developed, a general sentiment of devotion to the holy places. So Urban informed Christian Europe that these regions, so much venerated, were in the power of pagans who subjected them to odious profanations. He implored the friends of Christ the Saviour to go to avenge His honour. As a reward he promised them the remission of their sins. Such was the powerful lever which permitted him and his successors to arouse Christian Europe against the Mussulmans.

Ordinarily eight crusades are counted—a conventional number which is arrived at only by leaving in the shade certain expeditions of secondary importance.

First Crusade.[2]—In the month of November 1095, Urban II. went to Clermont, and before an immense multitude preached the Holy War. The assembly responded to his appeal by crying with a great clamour, "God wills it." The Pope caused crosses of red stuff to be delivered to all those who took an engagement to go to Palestine. Several thousand men at once received the cross, whence the name "crusaders," whence also the name "crusades" was given to the expeditions against the Mussulmans. August 15, 1096, was fixed as the date of departure, and Adhémar de Monteil, bishop of Puy, was appointed to direct the crusade as legate of the Holy See.

Enthusiasm was great; proof will presently be given that

[1] O. Gottlob, *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass*, pp. 63–90, Stuttgart, 1906.

[2] H. von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 2nd edit., Düsseldorf, 1881; Bréhier, pp. 55–87.

it was excessive. In fact, at the beginning of the year 1096, that is to say, several months before the official departure of the expedition, undisciplined companies travelled towards the Holy Land, led by certain enthusiasts, by the chevalier Gautier-sans-Avoir, by the German priest Gottschalk, and above all by the Picard ascetic Peter the Hermit, whose rôle was afterwards excessively magnified by legend.[1] Thus before the official crusade there was a popular crusade. Its fate was lamentable. The throng which composed it perished miserably before arriving at Jerusalem. The regular expedition had a better lot. Yet even it suffered misfortunes which it would have escaped if it had been better organized. Unity of leadership was lacking, and this capital defect brought on painful consequences. Four armies departing from different points in Europe, between the months of August and September 1096, went to Constantinople by different roads and without previous agreement. From Constantinople they entered Asia (spring of 1097). Divisions, rivalries, personal competitions had free course. Yet bravery redeemed all their faults. The crusaders drove the Turks from Nicæa; they cut them to pieces on the plain of Dorylæum (1097); they captured Antioch; while Baudouin, separating himself from the main army, founded the county of Edessa (1098). They arrived at last before Jerusalem (June 1099). After a month's siege the city was taken by assault, and they proceeded forthwith to the massacre of the inhabitants (15th July 1099). When this action was ended the conquerors were occupied with organizing what they had conquered. Count Godefroy of Bouillon was elected leader. He modestly called himself the "attorney" of the Holy Sepulchre; but his brother Baudouin, who succeeded him, took the title of king. The result of the first crusade was the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

Second Crusade.[2]—This kingdom had only an ephemeral

[1] H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremite*, Leipzig, 1879; Raynaud, *Le Vrai et le faux sur Pierre l'Ermite* (trans. from the book of Hagenmeyer, Paris, 1883).

[2] G. Hüffer, "Die Anfänge des zweiten Kreuzzuges," in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, viii. 391 (1887); E. Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard*, ii. 276, Paris, 1897; Bréhier, pp. 103–108.

destiny. In 1144, less than half a century after its foundation, it was cut off from the county of Edessa, which the Turks had conquered. Upon hearing the news, Louis VII., king of France—either to expiate the crime of which he had been guilty, or for quite another motive—resolved to go to the help of the Christian East. Pope Eugenius III., to whom he declared his idea, approved of the plan, and decreed the expedition. This was the second crusade. St. Bernard preached it at Vézelay (March 1146), and then in Germany. His success was extraordinary. French and Germans in a body responded to his appeal. Italy, England, and Bohemia furnished men. Two armies, one led by Louis VII., the other by Conrad III., king of Germany, began the journey to the Holy Land. Cruel disappointments awaited them. Conrad sustained a bloody defeat at Dorylæum. The French allowed themselves to be drawn into an ambuscade, where many were massacred. Weakened by these disasters, the two Christian armies could no more dream of conquering the county of Edessa. They marched against Damascus; and this time they were again defeated (1148). Conrad and Louis VII. successively returned to Europe. Much blood, shed to no purpose—this was the record of the second crusade.

Third Crusade.[1]—The third crusade, although not so unfortunate, had only mediocre results. It may be said that its cause was the invasion of Palestine by Saladin, the sultan of Egypt, who having destroyed the Christian army at Tiberiad, captured Jerusalem (1187). This catastrophe brought desolation to Christendom. Immediately Gregory VIII., and then Clement III., called the faithful to the Holy War. For the third time a wave of enthusiasm swept across the whole of Europe; and the kings of the three most powerful nations, Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard Cœur de Léon, took up arms. Frederick took his departure in the spring of 1189, and went by land. He captured Iconium, but was drowned in the Selef (June 1190). His death caused dismay in the

[1] Bréhier, pp. 117–143.

German army, which had been already decimated by battle and exhaustion. Some thousands of men, scarcely able to advance, continued, and entered Palestine, where they perished miserably. The remnant returned to Europe. In short, the German crusade ended in nothing.

Far less hurried than Frederick, Philip and Richard began the campaign only in the month of June 1190. The former left Genoa, the latter Marseilles, and they met at Messina, where for six months they remained inactive. It was not until the spring of 1191 that they set sail for the Holy Land. For two years Guy de Lusignan, formerly king of Jerusalem, had been engaged in besieging St. Jean d'Acre. Philip and Richard lent him their strong support, and captured the city (13th July 1191). It was a victory which would have been followed by other victories if only the Christian army had been united and disciplined. But disorder reigned among the leaders. Philip Augustus, thinking that his right had not been respected, returned to France with his army. Richard, remaining alone, performed prodigies of valour; but his prowess could not compensate for the small number of his soldiers. In the autumn of 1192 he made his way back to England, where he arrived only after a painful captivity in the states of the duke of Austria. Thus ended the third crusade. Its only result was the taking of St. Jean d'Acre.

Fourth Crusade.[1]—Meanwhile Jerusalem was in the power of the Mussulmans. Innocent III., at the beginning of his pontificate (1198), wished to put an end to this humiliation, and instituted a new crusade. The preparations for this expedition were laborious. In France, Philip Augustus, on account of his divorce, had incurred the punishment of excommunication. In Germany, two rivals were disputing the empire. In England the situation was no better. For lack of a king it was the barons who

[1] Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople* (edit. Natalis de Wailly), Paris, 1872; W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, p. 133, Berlin, 1903; A. Luchaire, *Innocent III., La Question d'Orient*, pp. 77–142, Paris, 1907; Bréhier, pp. 144–176.

responded to the pontifical appeal, and set out in the month of June 1202. According to a treaty concluded in 1201, the Venetians agreed, in consideration of payment, to transport them in their vessels, and to bring them to Egypt, where they were to stab the Mussulman power to the heart. But when the moment to set sail arrived, the Venetians, from whom Hungary had captured Zara on the Dalmatian coast, demanded imperiously that the crusaders should aid them to repair their loss. The crusaders obeyed, and went to conquer Zara, to the great displeasure of the Pope, who excommunicated the conquerors; but afterwards granted them absolution (November 1202). Shortly afterwards, Innocent III. had another disappointment. From Zara, instead of going to Egypt in agreement with the treaty of the year 1201, the Christian army set sail for Constantinople (May 1203). Their object was to dethrone the usurper, Alexis III., who had overthrown Isaac Angelus, and to place upon the throne Alexis the Younger. The usurper was dethroned, but the logic of events took its course. Alexis the Younger could not maintain himself in power. A revolution broke out. The crusaders took advantage of this, captured Constantinople, and pillaged it. By this blow, having become masters of the capital, they assumed possession of the Byzantine empire, and set up the Latin empire of Constantinople. The result was brilliant, but did not last, for the Latin empire was to fall in 1261. Thus the fourth crusade achieved brilliant success. But from beginning to end it departed from its programme, from beginning to end it transgressed the pontifical instructions, from beginning to end it was devoid of any religious character.

Fifth Crusade.[1]—Innocent, however, was not discouraged. The crusade of 1202 had proudly rejected the pontifical

[1] Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis seu hierosolymitana*, i. 1047 (edit. Bongars), Hannover, 1612; R. Röhricht, "Der Kinderkreuzzug," in *Historische Zeitschrift*, xxxvi., 1876; Des Essarts, *La Croisade des enfants*, Paris, 1875; Röhricht, *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, Paris, 1879; Id., *Testimonia minora de quinto bello sacro*, Paris, 1882; Id., *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*, Innsbruck, 1891; Bréhier, pp. 183–197.

instructions; another would doubtless prove more docile. He proclaimed the crusade; but the enthusiasm which had formerly aroused the masses of the people had vanished, or rather, slain in the souls of adults, it had found a refuge with the children. The latter with naïve confidence dreamed of conquering the Holy Land. And of that candid faith, alas! they gave lamentable proof. In Germany, thirty thousand, in France, a thousand children set out for Jerusalem, and perished miserably, some in Italy, others on the coast of Africa (1212). Men were not so eager to go. For several years Innocent III. laboured in vain to obtain enlistments. At length in the Lateran council (1215) he solemnly announced that a new expedition to the Holy Land would set out on 1st June 1217. It set out, indeed. It was the fifth crusade, in which—except at the end—Hungary, the duchy of Austria, Norway, Pomerania, and Brabant took part. The Christian army first established its headquarters at St. Jean d'Acre, from whence it made excursions to different parts of Palestine. After some months of fruitless warfare, Jean de Brienne, the commander-in-chief—the king of Hungary had already gone home—resolved to transfer hostilities to Egypt. At first the undertaking was a success, which was crowned by the capture of Damietta (November 1219). But after this the Christian army lost valuable time by inaction. When it resumed hostilities it was defeated at El Mansourah (July 1221), and was surrounded. It was even on the point of being drowned, for the sultan opened the sluices of the Nile and flooded the plain. To save the lives of his soldiers Jean de Brienne was forced to surrender Damietta. At the end of four years of effort, made to no purpose, the survivors of the Christian army returned to Europe, discouraged.

Sixth Crusade.[1]—There was one man who was not discouraged, and that man was the Pope. Honorius III.—this

[1] *Continuateurs de Guillaume de Tyr*, xxxiii.; Richard de San Germano, *Chronicon*, in *Monumenta Germaniæ*, Scriptores, xix. 323; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Frederici secundi*, iii.; Bréhier, pp. 197–206.

was the name of the Pope at that time—remarked that the emperor Frederick II., who in 1215 agreed to go to the Holy Land, had not yet moved. He therefore urged him to fulfil his vow. He received fair words and believed that he would support a sixth crusade, the crusade of Frederick II. The dream of the pontiff was realized. Frederick led an army to Jerusalem, and his expedition had tangible results; but they were results which went beyond what he had foreseen. The sixth crusade of Frederick II. resembled none of the others. For one thing, it was awaited for an exceedingly long time. The crafty Hohenstufen for several years diverted Honorius III. by repeated and vain promises; and he did not decide to depart until the time when the successor of Honorius, Gregory IX., who did not let himself be paid in words, threatened him with excommunication. Let us see how he acted. He left Brindisi on 8th September 1227; then after a three days' sail he put back into the port of Otranto under the pretext that his army was decimated by a contagious epidemic (11th September). The terrible Gregory at once excommunicated the man who had trifled in such a fashion. Then Frederick again set sail, and landed at St. Jean d'Acre in September 1228. But Gregory IX., far from yielding on account of so tardy a submission, ordered the clergy and monks in the Holy Land to refuse obedience to this German Cæsar and to publish the excommunication pronounced against him. In its first phase, as imposed by the Pope, the crusade of Frederick had lasted three days; now that it entered the realm of reality it was interdicted by the Pope. Without being arrested by the pontifical censure, the German emperor pursued his undertaking. But here again he made an innovation. Instead of fighting battles he engaged in negotiations; for brute force he submitted diplomacy. The diplomacy was successful. By the treaty of Jaffa (1229) the sultan of Egypt ceded to him Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the routes and hamlets which connected these towns with St. Jean d'Acre—with this reservation, that the Mussulmans should enjoy the free exercise of their religion. When all these negotiations were ended Frederick returned

to Europe, and the Pope, who had done everything to hinder his conquest, accepted it when it was accomplished. He withdrew his excommunication and ratified the treaty of Jaffa (1230). Thanks to an excommunicated emperor, Jerusalem was again in the power of the Christians.

Seventh Crusade.[1]—In 1244, Turcoman bands coming from Kharisma captured Jerusalem and defeated the Christians at Gaza. Since the treaty of Jaffa hardly fifteen years had passed, and of the work of Frederick II. nothing whatever remained. At this time the chair of St. Peter was occupied by Innocent IV. This Pope followed the example of his predecessors; in the council of Lyons (1245) he proclaimed the crusade, and charged his legates to go and call the Christian nations to the Holy War. But Europe at that time had other cares. France alone listened to the voice of the legates; and France would have remained deaf had not her leader been that mystical prince whom history calls St. Louis. St. Louis resolved to go to war for the glory of Christ. He took this resolution in spite of his council, and made his barons follow him. Inspired like the other crusades by the papacy, the seventh crusade was supported by the French, who were joined by some of the English. It was the work of St. Louis.

Its theatres of action were two in number: Egypt and Syria. Leaving Paris in June 1248, St. Louis embarked at Aigues-Mortes, went to winter on the island of Cyprus, left the island in March 1249, and sailed for Damietta. This was taken without resistance (June 1249). But the Mussulman army was firmly entrenched ten leagues farther on at El Mansourah. St. Louis went to meet it. The attack, if it had been well led, would have been victorious, but the rashness of Robert d'Artois, brother of the king, spoiled it all. Without listening to advice this fiery prince attacked the Saracens. His haste, which cost him his life as well as the

[1] Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, XXV–CXXX (edit. by de Wailly), Paris, 1867; Guillaume de Nangis, "Gesta Ludovici regis" (*Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX. 312); Bréhier, pp. 215–227.

lives of his little troop, placed the whole Christian army in a precarious situation (December 1249). Nevertheless for some months St. Louis resisted the enemy. Finally, in April 1250, threatened with famine, he retreated to Damietta. But with most of his chevaliers he was made a prisoner. To recover his freedom and that of his companions he was obliged to evacuate Damietta and to pay 800,000 pieces of gold. The expedition to Egypt resulted only in a very heavy debt. After being freed St. Louis went to Palestine. There he remained four years (1250–1254), four years during which he awaited help from Europe which did not come. Only some enthusiastic peasants to the number of 100,000, organized the crusade called the crusade of the "shepherd boys," who excited the hatred of the people and were massacred by them. These were four years during which his piety and virtue awakened the admiration of all who approached him. He decided to return to France only when he learned of the death of his mother, Blanche of Castile, to whom he had confided the regency. Like several of those which preceded it the seventh crusade encountered complete failure.

Eighth Crusade.[1]—Such was also the fate of the eighth and last crusade. For a time there was some question of directing it against Constantinople, which since 1261 had again come under the sway of the Greek schismatics. Pope Urban IV., indeed, in 1262 invited certain princes, and especially St. Louis, to restore the Latin empire established on the Bosphorus in 1204. But the new emperor, Michael Palæologus knew how to avert the storm, by feigning to plan the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. Moreover, sinister news arrived in the meantime from Palestine, where some towns previously occupied by Christians fell one after another into the power of the Mussulmans. From this time the crusade of Constantinople gave place to the crusade of the holy places in the thought of the papacy. In 1266, Clement IV. addressed an appeal with this purpose in view to St. Louis

[1] Joinville, cxliv–cxlvi; Guillaume de Nangis, xx. 438; Bréhier, pp. 33–238.

and to the French barons. A second time St. Louis made the crusade, and accompanied by his sons embarked with his army at Aigues-Mortes (July 1270). Being informed that the Sultan of Tunis was disposed to become a Christian, he set sail for that town and landed at the ruins of Carthage. The information was false; the Mussulmans were hostile and the Christian army was forced to entrench itself in camp. But soon the plague broke out. It seized the pontifical legate, many of the nobles, and Tristan, the younger son of the king of France. Then St. Louis himself was attacked by the terrible scourge, and on 25th August 1270 he died. The French princes returned to France: only Edward, the future king of England, who had just arrived at Tunis, wished to carry the war into Palestine, from whence he soon departed, discouraged.

Gregory X. in the council of Lyons (1274), Clement V. in the council of Vienne (1311), exhorted the Christian princes to take arms for the deliverance of Palestine; they obtained promises which did not even begin to be fulfilled. An attempt of Nicholas IV. (about 1291) had still less importance, Urban V. (1363), Boniface IX. (1396), Eugenius IV. (1439), Calixtus III. (1455), Pius II. (1459), Sixtus IV. (1472 and 1481), Innocent VIII. (1485), Alexander VI. (1500), and Leo X. (1516) also preached the Holy War. Aid, when they obtained it, was always insufficient, and resulted only in defeat like that of Nicopolis (1396), or in success which had no morrow like that gained by John Hunyade (1442–1456).[1] Moreover, after 1291 the Turks, being masters of St. Jean d'Acre, possessed the whole of Palestine. In the middle of the fourteenth century they overflowed into Europe, and after Urban V. the expeditions that the papacy succeeded in organizing against them were purely defensive.

[1] J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au xiv^me^ siècle*, Paris, 1885; N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières et la croisade au xiv^me^ siècle*, Paris, 1896; J. Gay, *Le Pape Clement VI. et les affaires d'Orient*, Paris, 1904; H. Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion*, Paris, 1878; Pastor, i. 244, 513, 585, ii. 241–288, 561–571, iii. 218–234, 461–473.

The authentic crusades, those which were directed for the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre, ceased after St. Louis. They disappeared before they had achieved their object, since at the close of the thirteenth century the Mussulmans were established more firmly than ever in Palestine. In return, the crusades weakened considerably the power of the nobles, whom they separated from their estates, and who were thus placed in a position where their authority could not be exercised. In like manner the crusades encouraged the emancipation of the communes and of the serfs; and as the communes solicited the protection of royalty, which made them pay for the help afforded, the crusades, while weakening feudalism, contributed powerfully to develop the royal authority; that is to say, they played an important part in the formation of nationalities. That was not all. By requiring long naval expeditions of people of the West, who had hitherto not dared to leave their own shores, the crusades gave a vigorous impulse to shipping. And in revealing to these peoples the richness of the East, they gave birth to desires which demanded satisfaction, and could be satisfied only by commerce. The crusades, therefore, gave rise to commercial exchanges between the East and the West. The result of these exchanges was the importation into Europe of certain products, some natural (plants like maize and apricots), others industrial (stuffs, glass ware, windmills), of which the East up to that time had had a monopoly. Finally, the crusades contributed to indulgences so great an impetus that there is little exaggeration in saying that they created the latter. On the whole, the crusades, which did not indeed achieve their object, had unlooked-for results. They were a factor of the first order—although unconsciously a factor—in the political, the social, the economical, and even the theological evolution of the Middle Ages. Let us revert to the disappearance of the crusades in order to seek an explanation of it.

The popes frequently appealed to the Christian peoples to take arms against the infidels of Europe, against heretics,

or the enemies of the papacy. In other words, parallel to the Holy War waged for the conquest of Palestine numerous holy wars were preached, for which from the thirteenth century indulgences were granted, the indulgences of the crusade, or, as they were called, the indulgences of the Holy Land. By these tactics the popes diverted a part of the enthusiasm which they themselves had directed towards Palestine. They provoked a dangerous rival to the crusades; they contributed involuntarily to the prevention of these undertakings. Peoples and kings, in proportion as they became conscious of their existence and of their destinies, were more and more inspired by material interests, and more and more set terrestrial claims above the claims of heaven. The formation of nationalities had a much more dissolving action upon the crusades than had the popes. Hence it follows that the crusades dug their own grave, since to them is due the evoking of nationalities.

Inquisition

The suppression of heresy passed through two principal periods. At first it was effected by the bishops and princes without any papal supervision. That was the first period, which extended to the council of Toulouse (1119).—At the council of Reims (1049), Pope Leo IX. occupied himself only incidentally with heretics, and issued against them a sentence of excommunication which probably had no practical significance.—The papacy then substituted its own initiative for that of the bishops and princes, and itself gave advice as to the measures which were to be taken to assure the maintenance of orthodoxy. That was the second period.

Under the first system the repression of heresy was, at the outset, very moderate, as is shown by the fate of Gottschalk. That rebellious monk was condemned to be scourged and imprisoned. In relation to the morals of the time, this punishment was not excessive. But in the eleventh century the horrible punishment by fire made its appearance. Heretics were condemned to perish in the

flames. Without doubt these executions were at times the work of furious mobs; but more often they had a legal character which could not be disputed. That was the case, for example, with the scene which occurred at Orleans in 1022.[1] Ten canons and some laymen accused of heresy were arrested by order of King Robert, and led to the church of Sainte-Croix to be judged. The king, surrounded by bishops and clergy, himself directed the debates, which lasted about five hours. During all this time Queen Constance stood at the door of the church with a truncheon in her hand and kept order by holding back the crowd which sought to force their way in. The accused were declared guilty. It was announced to them that if they persisted in their heresy they would be punished by fire, and they were urged to retract. They remained unshaken, were led out of the city, and were delivered to the flames. King Robert and his bishops took manifest care to conduct this affair according to the rules of law. Besides this, the Salic Law and the law of the Visigoths, agreeing in this respect with the Roman legislation, punished by fire certain crimes of exceptional gravity. In order to obtain their jurisdiction the bishops and princes of the eleventh century needed only to adapt to the morals of the period the edicts of Theodosius the Great, of Theodosius II., and of Valentinian II., edicts contained in the codes which were preserved and known.

It was with Pope Calixtus II. in the council of Toulouse (1119) that the papacy first charged itself with the suppression of heresy. At this time, especially in the south of France, heretics were the object of a tolerance which often amounted almost to sympathy. Calixtus being alarmed at this situation, preoccupied himself in enveloping heresy in an atmosphere of intolerance. Such was the preoccupation of his successors. When the popes undertook to direct the conflict against the enemies of orthodoxy, it was less to enact new laws against them than to apply those already in existence. It was to assuring this application, in other

[1] Mansi, xix. 376.

words to establishing and developing a régime of intolerance, that all their efforts tended. The measures were numerous, but they may be reduced to three principal ones.

The first consisted in entrusting to the princes by an imperative mandate the task of acting as police to the Church. We find it explicitly stated by the council of Toulouse (1119, canon 3): "We order that they [the heretics who reject the sacraments] be punished by the temporal power. We inflict the same penalty on their partisans, until they shall reform."[1] The Lateran council (1139) presided over by Innocent II. condemned heretics to be "imprisoned by the Catholic princes," and their goods to be confiscated;[2] and in the Lateran council (1179) Pope Alexander III. again authorized princes to imprison heretics, and again submitted the goods of these men to confiscation. He added that the subjects of a heretic should refuse him obedience and respect.[3] This repeated and comminatory appeal to the secular arm should theoretically have extirpated heresy. Experience shows that it was insufficient. The princes and nobles, especially in the south of France, turned a deaf ear to the injunctions given them, and subjects remained submissive to heretical princes. It was necessary to seek something more efficacious. The papacy sought and found an institution for ever famous, which represented and incarnated the suppression of heresy—the Inquisition.

By the term Inquisition is meant a tribunal which was devoted to the search for heresy and its suppression. The tribunal was instituted in the council of Verona (1184) by Pope Lucius III., in concert with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The following is the pontifical text: "All the archbishops and bishops shall visit once or twice a year in person, or by their archdeacons, or by other honourable persons, the places in their dioceses where the

[1] "Per potestates exteras coercere præcipimus."

[2] "Per catholicos principes custodiæ mancipati omnium bonorum amissione mulctentur."

[3] "Relaxatos autem se noverint a debito fidelitatis et hominii ac totius obsequii."

presence of heretics may be indicated by popular rumour. Upon arriving there they shall apply to three or four men of good reputation, or, if it appears necessary, to all the inhabitants of the place, and shall command them to engage themselves by oath (*si expedire videhir jurare compellat*) to denounce after diligent search those whom they know to be heretics, those who frequent secret meetings, those whose manner of life is peculiar. The bishops or their archdeacons shall cause the accused to appear, who shall be punished if they fail to exculpate themselves."[1]

Founded by Lucius III. and Barbarossa, the Inquisition passed through two or even three stages before reaching a definite status. In its primitive form it was in the hands of the bishops. In the constitution just cited it is the bishops or their delegates who receive the mission to inspect the places contaminated by heresy: it is they who judge the guilty, and cause them previously to be denounced. Lucius III. thus founded the "episcopal inquisition." Let it at once be said that this institution did not respond to the hopes which were placed upon it. In their hunt for heretics the bishops were indolent, and ordinarily did not hunt them at all. Hence in the Lateran council (1215) Innocent III. promulgated again the decretal of Lucius III., and threatened to depose the prelates who neglected to execute it.[2] This was in vain. The same Pope, and his successors Honorius III. and Gregory IX., also appealed to the papal legates. The latter convoked councils at Avignon (1209), Montpellier (1215), Toulouse (1225), and proclaimed the pontifical legislation. At times they even substituted themselves for the bishops, as for example the legates did who (in 1198) were sent into Languedoc for some time parallel to the episcopal inquisition, in order to supplement it—what was called the "legatine inquisition."[3] It exercised a powerful

[1] Decretale *Ad abolendam* (Decret. Gregor. v. tit. vii. 9); see Lea, i. 313.

[2] "Si quis enim episcopus super expurgando de sua diœcesi hæreticæ pravitatis fermento negligens fuerit vel remissus . . . ab episcopali officio deponatur."

[3] Lea, i. 315–317.

influence upon the princes, especially in the war of the Albigenses. It also had the effect of making the bishops publish formidable decisions—on paper—notably in the council of Narbonne (1227), where the bishops, seeing the legate arrive among them escorted by a French army, decreed the institution in every parish of "synodical witnesses," charged to discover and denounce heretics. But the legates could not be everywhere at the same time; so, everywhere heresy was disseminated. In order to combat it efficaciously, nothing less than an army was needed.

This was understood by Gregory IX., who at first enlisted energetic men in his service, among whom should here be mentioned Conrad of Marburg.[1] He then turned to the Dominicans. This order, which had just been founded, was fighting heresy with the weapons of the preacher; Gregory put other weapons into its hands. He confided to it the mission which the bishops refused to discharge, which the legates, in spite of their good intentions, discharged so imperfectly. He imposed upon it the task of searching for heretics, and punishing them. In other words, for the episcopal inquisition and the legatine inquisition, he substituted the "monastic inquisition."[2] It may be remarked that he did not appreciate the significance of his act. He did not propose to establish new legislation: the measure which he took, he thought was temporary, or it may be said he was trying an experiment. It was therefore unwittingly that he founded the monastic inquisition; nevertheless he founded it in 1231, and the motive which he obeyed on this occasion is manifest in his letter (13th April 1235) to the bishops, in which he says: "Seeing that you [the bishops] are drawn into a whirlwind of cares, and that you can scarcely breathe under the weight of the preoccupations that overwhelm you, we think it expedient to divide your burden in order that it may more easily be borne. Consequently we have decided to send friar preachers [Dominicans] against the heretics of France and of your provinces, and we beseech and exhort you, for the

[1] Lea, ii. 325–332; Potthast, 7931; Frédéricq, i. 71.
[2] Lea, i. 374; Tanon, 173.

sake of the veneration which you feel for the Holy See, to receive them amicably, to treat them well, to aid them with your benevolence, your counsels, and your support, to the end that they may be able efficaciously to perform their task." [1]

The Inquisition, which since Lucius III. had been in course of evolution, was thus definitely established by Gregory IX. in 1231. What, then, became of the old principle of appeal to the secular arm? It occupied a place of honour in the new institution, and was indeed one of the most important parts of its machinery. In the same decree which ordered the bishops to hunt the heretics, Lucius III. said: "Counts, barons, rectors, and consuls of cities or other places shall be ordered by the bishops to bind themselves by an oath to afford the Church, whenever required to, a devoted and efficient co-operation, in all good faith, and according to their means. If they refuse this co-operation, they will be deprived of their places, without compensation, and their lands will be put under an interdict."

In 1198, Innocent III. asked the "princes and the people" to oppose heresy with the "material sword"; and in the Lateran council (1215) he re-edited the orders of Lucius III., and even aggravated them, for he added: "The excommunicated prince [for his refusal to intervene against heretics] shall at the end of a year be denounced by the Sovereign Pontiff, who shall free his subjects from their oath of fidelity, and deliver his country to the invasion of Catholics." [2]

For several years the princes turned a deaf ear to these threatening commands; but one after another they sub-

[1] Potthast, 9143. The first monument of this institution is the Roman "statute" which Gregory drew up in A.D. 1231, and which the Roman senator published by his order (Reg. 540): "hæreticos qui fuerunt in Urbe reperti præsertim per *inquisitores*, datos ab Ecclesia vel alios viros catholicos senator capere teneatur." See Douais, *L'Inquisition, ses origines, sa procédure*, p. 131, Paris, 1906; but observe that the theories of this author conflict with the best established facts.

[2] "Si satisfacere contempserit infra annum, significetur hoc summo pontifici ut extunc ipse vasallos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos et terram exponat catholicis occupandam."

mitted. Raymond V., count of Toulouse, promulgated (before 1194) a law against all heretics in his dominions. In 1197, Pierre II. of Aragon subjected his states to an analogous régime, "in order to obey the canons of the Holy Roman Church."[1] In 1184 the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, introduced the edict of Lucius III. into civil legislation: it should be remarked, however, that he allowed it to remain a dead letter. Frederick II., on ascending the throne (1213), engaged himself to lend aid to the papacy against heresy. In 1220, from Rome, whither he had gone for his coronation, he issued against heretics a constitution, the terms of which he borrowed from the Lateran council (1215), and which he applied to the whole empire. In 1224 there was a new constitution by the same emperor, designed for Lombardy. Then came the constitutions of 1232, 1238, and 1239.[2] In 1226 the king of France, Louis VIII., issued an analogous decree, which Blanche of Castile completed in the name of her son, Louis IX. (St. Louis).[3] The following is an extract from the edict of 1228: "We order our barons, bailiffs, and other subjects, both present and future, to purge our dominions of heresy, to search out the heretics, to deliver them over without delay to the ecclesiastical authority, in order that, according to its judgment, they may be dealt with as they ought to be dealt with." Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, did not display the same docility to the pontifical injunctions. It has been elsewhere noticed that he paid dearly for his disobedience.[4]

It need not be said that the civil power, whenever it legislated against heretics, supported its commands with severe sanctions. Frederick Barbarossa condemned heretics to exile, and confiscated their goods. Pierre of Aragon pronounced against them the penalty of fire. Before him, Raymond V. of Toulouse decreed the same punishment.

[1] Lea, i. 81; Hefele, v. 767; Tanon, p. 447.

[2] *Monumenta Germaniæ, Leges*, sect. IV. ii. 57, 107, 127; Lea, i. 221, 231.

[3] De Laurière, *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, i. 50, Paris, 1723.

[4] See above, "Anti-sacerdotal Heresies."

Frederick III., in 1221, limited the penalties to exile and the confiscation of goods, but in 1224 he decreed the punishment by fire; and in later edicts he extended to all the empire the penalty which in 1224 applied only to Lombardy. The ordinances of Louis VIII. and of St. Louis were expressed in vague, laconic terms (*animadversione debita puniantur, faciant quod debebunt*), in which there is a general agreement to recognize punishment by fire, or at least punishment by death.[1]

To sum up the matter, the papacy, under the most severe penalties, commanded the civil power to rid it of heresies, and the civil power acquitted itself of the task by executing the heretics, most often by fire. In order to express this collaboration, the papacy in its official texts (decretal of Lucius III.; ordinance of the Lateran council, 1215), employed the following formula with details which varied: "Condemned by the Church, they [the heretics] will be abandoned to the secular tribunal to receive the punishment which is due to them." It was a circumspect formula, concerned more with avoiding than with assuming responsibility. The explanation is easy. The ancient canons forbade the clergy to shed blood. It was necessary to be in conformity to these laws of another age; it was necessary to appear not to shed blood even when the civil power was forced to take violent measures. It was to solve this difficult problem that the above-said locution was intended, and this is the solution: The Church "abandons" the heretic to the secular arm; its rôle is limited to proving the heresy; the rest is beyond its competence, and does not concern it.

When the secular arm left the heretic at liberty, the Church could call him to order, and in so doing, it did not think that it was going beyond its own domain. It might equally well have prevented the civil power from putting heretics to death by fire or otherwise, if the penalty of death seemed to it excessive. It therefore approved the punishment which it was aware of, which it could prevent, which it did not prevent. It provoked it the rather, by "abandon-

[1] Tanon, p. 461; Havet, ii. 169.

ing" the heretic to the civil power, which without this previous "abandonment" could have done nothing. And its pretended incompetence with reference to punishments inflicted on heresy, was only a fiction.

Moreover, the fiction was only temporary. If at first the Church was shut up to it, it was not long in freeing itself. The canonists set the example in the eleventh century, by teaching that heresy should be punished with death. Emboldened by the language of the canonists, Innocent III. declared that the "material sword" should come to the assistance of ecclesiastical censures, that in case of necessity, exile should take the place of "more severe punishment." And not content with this allusion to the penalty of death, it set forth that heresy is a greater crime than high treason, which is punished with death. In 1227, Honorius III. obliged the Lombards to embody in their municipal statutes the ecclesiastical and imperial constitutions against heresy, notably those of Frederick II. In the register of pontifical letters, Gregory IX. inserted the imperial constitution of 1224, which inflicted upon heretics punishment by fire. In the month of February 1231 he published a constitution which condemned repentant heretics to imprisonment for life, and appointed for refractory heretics an unspecified punishment, which could only have been the pain of death. Furthermore, he at once ordered Annibaldo, a Roman senator, to enforce this constitution; and the result of this injunction is described in the text of a contemporary chronicler: "In this month of February certain heretics were discovered in Rome. Those who refused to retract, were burned; the rest were sent to Mount Cassin and to Cava to do penance."

In the spring of 1231, Gregory sent to all the archbishops and bishops his constitution and the decree drawn up under his direction by the senator Annibaldo, ordering them to conform their conduct to it; and in a letter to the archbishop of Sens (1234) he frankly declared that "the Apostolic See should shed blood" in order to prevent Christians from being corrupted by contact with heretics. The very decisive acts of Gregory IX., his plain words, made clumsy circumlocutions and captious

phrases useless. St. Thomas understood this; he avowed most frankly that the Church condemns to death heretics who have relapsed. His only concern was to reconcile this severity with the precept of Christian charity. He solved the problem by a series of arguments which may be summed up as follows: Inasmuch as heresy is the greatest of all sins, those who are guilty of heresy deserve forthwith to be put to death. The Church permits those to live who are not obstinate and who do not relapse, and thus shows them charity. When heretics are obstinate, or have relapsed, the Church is opposed to the continuance of their lives. In this respect it has in view the spiritual welfare of the faithful, to whom contact with hardened heretics would be dangerous. In the first instance, the Church exercises charity in the interests of the guilty; in the second, it acts for the benefit of the faithful. In either case it performs an act of charity.[1]

We cannot pause here to describe the workings of the Inquisition: we shall confine ourselves to a brief outline. The inquisitors belonged sometimes to the order of St. Dominic, sometimes to the order of St. Francis.

Whoever was denounced as a heretic by two witnesses was found guilty of heresy. Criminals, who, by the common law, were not to act as witnesses, were admitted to denounce heretics; and their denunciations were believed. The accused learned from his judges what charges were brought against him; he knew them only incompletely through a garbled report. Moreover, he was not brought face to face with his accusers; their names were kept secret. He was authorized merely to give a list of his mortal enemies; and the testimony of any denouncers whose names were on this list was rejected. He was obliged to defend himself, and could not commit his cause to any advocate. At length, from the time of Innocent IV. (Constitution *Ad extirpanda*, 1252), he was subjected to

[1] E. Jordan, "La Responsabilité de l'Église dans la répression de l'hérésie au Moyen Age," in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 4e serie, iv. 245 (1907), vi. 4–30 (1908); St. Thomas, *Summ. Theol.*, ii. 2, xi. 3, 4; Lea, i. 536; Vacandard, *l'Inquisition*, p. 212, Paris, 1905.

torture to oblige him to admit his guilt. When the victim, overcome by suffering, made his avowals, he was led into a neighbouring room and there declared that he admitted his guilt, "of his own full accord, without having been constrained." During the first years following its establishment, the infliction of torture was a task reserved for the laity. But Popes Alexander IV. (1260) and Urban IV. (1262) authorized ecclesiastics to fill the rôle of torturers. Let us add that torture was to be inflicted but once, and that it was not to be renewed: only the séance could be suspended, and then, after an interval more or less long, the work could be resumed. This was called continuing the torture; and the continuation was in conformity to the law.[1]

The Inquisition did not everywhere meet with the same reception. There were even certain countries where, as will be seen, it never penetrated. From 1231 it was conducted in Germany under the direction of the secular priest, Conrad of Marburg, whose exploits the Dominican, Conrad Tors, sought to imitate. But these two men, veritable monsters, committed such excesses that the native population rebelled against the system which they inaugurated. Popes Innocent VI. and Urban V., who after 1353 endeavoured again to introduce it in this country, achieved only meagre results. In 1484, Innocent VIII. was more fortunate. At that time an epidemic of sorcery raged on the borders of the Rhine. Innocent VIII. charged the inquisitors Institoris and Sprengel to arrest the evil by juridical methods. His orders were executed, and a number of sorceresses perished at the stake.[2]

The south of France was submitted to the régime of the Inquisition from the pontificate of Innocent III. The north was subjected to it after 1229. Some of the inquisitors paid for their terrible mission with their lives. In 1208 the pontifical legate, Pierre de Castelnau, was assassinated in the region of Toulouse. In 1242 two inquisitors, as well as the assessors who accompanied them, were killed at Avignonet:

[1] Tanon, p. 396; Lea, i. chaps. viii.–xiv.; Vacandard, pp. 190–218.
[2] Lea, ii. chap. vi., iii. 540–547, iii. 356–373.

and the Dominican Robert le Bougre, who terrorized Champagne, Flanders, and Burgundy, was condemned (1239) to prison for life. In spite of these incidents, the Inquisition remained in force in the kingdom of France. For two centuries it burned heretics; sometimes, to please the civil power, it even consented to condemn for the crime of heresy persons who were not heretics at all, as may be seen from the action against the Templars, in which the Inquisition was the docile instrument of the covetousness of Philip le Bel; also from the process of Jeanne d'Arc (1431), in which the debates were directed by the bishop Cauchon, with the assistance of the pontifical inquisitor, Pierre le Maître. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438, which placed the Church of France beyond the attacks of pontifical influence, struck a blow at the Inquisition from which it did not recover even when the Pragmatic Sanction was abolished.[1] We may remark, however, that heresy gained nothing by that loss. During a part of the sixteenth century the king of France, urged by parliament, persecuted the Protestants in his states with a violence worthy of the inquisitors. After the death of Henry II.,[2] the cardinal de Lorraine endeavoured to re-establish the Inquisition, but the chancellor Michael de l'Hôpital caused the plan to fail (1560).

Introduced in Spain by Gregory IX. (1233), the Inquisition remained for a long time confined to the north of that country, notably to the kingdom of Aragon. In 1481, Pope Sixtus IV. and king Ferdinand the Catholic changed this state of things, and extended the Inquisition to the whole of Spain. It was then that the famous Torquemada appeared, who alone caused thousands to perish; and Pierre Arbuès, who, after sacrificing numerous victims, was himself assassinated. The Inquisition which was conducted after Sixtus IV. was a pontifical, not a royal, institution, as Hefele, followed

[1] Already, in 1373, Pope Gregory XI. complained to Charles V.: "Some of your officials [in Dauphiny], far from supporting the inquisitors as they should, put obstacles in their way" (Raynald, 1373, n. 19 and 20).

[2] Edict of Romorantin, which granted bishops the right to take cognizance of heresy, independently of the Roman inquisition; Guettée, *Histoire de l'église de France*, viii. 374, Paris, 1857.

by several historians, affirms. It is proved that the inquisitors derived their powers from the Pope.[1]

By order of Clement V. the king of England, Edward II., authorized pontifical inquisitors to come into his kingdom to conduct the trial of the Templars (1309). After long hesitation, and at the lively instance of the Pope, he even permitted the unfortunate knights to be put to torture (1311). Up to that time England did not know the Inquisition, and after the affair of the Templars had been regulated it knew the Inquisition no more. In short, it was scarcely touched by the pontifical inquisition, and the other countries of northern Europe were in a like situation. But at times its rulers put themselves in the place of the Pope, and persecuted heresy in their kingdom. In 1166, Henry II. caused to be scourged, branded with a red-hot iron, and expelled, thirty Flemings who held the opinions of the Cathares. Three centuries later, Henry IV., urged by his bishops, organized a cruel persecution against the Lollards or disciples of Wycliffe, of which mention has been made elsewhere. The reaction which the Lutheran tempest had in Great Britain has also been noticed.[2]

The Popes after Lucius III. worked energetically to make heresy disappear from Italy. They encountered serious resistance. In 1252 several inquisitors—among whom was the famous Peter of Verona, called Peter Martyr—were massacred. Yet, little by little, the people accepted the inevitable. The Inquisition was acclimatized in the whole of Italy; at Venice it even became a state institution, and as such it was conducted independently of the papacy.[3] In 1542, Pope Paul III., at the request of cardinal Caraffa, who was afterwards Paul IV., reformed the Inquisition by the bull *Licet ab initio*, and gave it a centralization, the effects of which were especially felt in Italy.[4] Under Paul IV. the Inquisition became an instrument of terror, and displayed a severity which cardinal Seripando himself qualified as inhuman.[5]

[1] Lea, ii. chap. iii.; Pastor, ii. 624–630.
[2] Lea, iii. 299, i. 352.
[3] *Id.*, ii. 207, 220, 249.
[4] Pastor, v. 709.
[5] *Id.*, vi. 507, which refutes the assertion of Moroni.

Special mention should here be made of the Waldenses, the origin of whom has been explained elsewhere. From the end of the twelfth century these heretics were the object of a persecution which was relaxed during the first half of the fifteenth century, but which raged with particular violence during the pontificates of Gregory XI. (1370–1378) and Innocent VIII. (1484–1492). Gregory XI. earnestly urged the king of France, Charles V., and the counts of Savoy to aid the Inquisition; and his exhortations were not in vain. Supported by the secular power, the inquisitor Francis Borel laboured actively for a quarter of a century in Dauphiny and Savoy, as well as in Piedmont. In 1393 he burned in a single day one hundred and fifty heretics at Grenoble. Some years later, at the head of an army, he entered the small town of Pragelato, slew a part of the inhabitants, and dispersed the remnant, who perished with hunger. Innocent VIII. organized a crusade. By his order the pontifical nuncio raised an army, and entrusted the leadership to Hugues de la Palu, who conscientiously massacred the heretics. In order to escape these attacks the inhabitants of Val-Louise took refuge in the cave of Aile-Froide, which they supposed to be inaccessible. Hugues succeeded in reaching them, and lighted fire at the entrance of the cave, which suffocated them (1489).[1]

The Inquisition could attack only individuals, or, at most, small groups. In order to strike a blow at princes and peoples an army was necessary, war was necessary. War formed the third of the measures to which the papacy resorted in order to arrest the progress of heresy. Having no troops in its pay, it applied to the kings and barons. It enjoined upon them to march and to make their men march against the enemies of the faith. Innocent III. first set the example by organizing the war of the Albigenses. Later, Martin V. sent Sigismund against the Hussites. Then came Paul II., who dispatched Mathias Corvin against Podiebrad, king of Bohemia. Next it was the turn of Innocent VIII., who

[1] Lea, ii. 152–160; Chabrand, *Vaudois et Protestants des Alpes*, p. 36, Paris, 1886; Tanon, p. 103; H. Pissard, *La Guerre sainte en pays chrétien*, p. 145, Paris, 1912.

endeavoured to exterminate the Waldenses. Finally, Leo X. and his successors urged Charles V. to take arms against the Protestants. Wars were therefore undertaken by order of the Popes. And these wars, which have been explained elsewhere, and need only be alluded to here, were, with the exception of the last, holy wars—crusades to which the papacy granted the same spiritual favours as were granted to the expeditions to the Holy Land.[1]

Here we must notice the numerous wars which the popes, following the example set by Gregory VII., waged against kings or states against whom they thought they had a grievance. They were the wars waged by Innocent III. against John Lackland (1212), then against the English barons (1215); by the same pope against Philip of Swabia (1201), against Otto IV. (1211); by Gregory IX. against Frederick II. (1228 and 1239); by Innocent IV. against the same emperor (1246 and 1248); against Conrad IV., by the same Pope (1248 and 1251), who offered the crown of Sicily to Richard, count of Cornouailles, then to prince Edmund, son of Henry III. of England; against Manfred, by Alexander IV. (1255), who urged Henry III. to take arms, and march to the conquest of Sicily; against the same Manfred, by Urban IV., who—when the preceding project failed—gave the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis (1264); against Conradin, by Clement IV. (1267); against Pierre III. of Aragon, beneficiary of the Sicilian Vespers, by Martin IV., who invited Philip the Bold, king of France, to make the conquest of Aragon for his son Charles of Valois (1283); against Louis of Bavaria, by John XXII. (1328); against France, by Urban VI., who wished by this means to stifle the Great Schism at its beginning (1383); again against France, by Julius II., who in 1510 urged the kings to make the conquest of that country, and in 1512 was disposed to offer the throne of France to Henry VIII. of England; against Venice, by Clement V. (1309); against the same republic, by Julius II. (1509); against Florence, by Sixtus IV.; against the Visconti of Milan, by John XXII. (1321 and 1324),

[1] Pissard, chaps. iii.–vi.

by Urban v. (1363); against the Colonna, by Boniface VIII.; by several popes against different Italian cities (Viterba, Ferrare); against the despot Eggelin. Of these warlike undertakings several had only a beginning; such was the expedition against John Lackland, the result of which has been noticed elsewhere. Others, for example, the attempt of Urban VI. against France, and that of Martin IV. against Aragon, failed miserably. Finally, others were wholly successful. To the last category belong the wars against Manfred and Conradin, the war of Clement V. against the Venetians. But until the council of Constance all the popes likened their enemies to heretics or to Saracens; all promised remission of sins to those who took arms against those heretics, against those Saracens; they all transformed into crusades the expeditions designed to safeguard their authority or their temporal possessions. Besides these crusades against the Mussulmans and the heretics, there were political crusades, that is to say, crusades directed against the political enemies of the papacy.[1]

Councils

Seventeen general councils were held between the sixth century and the sixteenth. These councils may be classified as imperial councils; pontifical councils of the Middle Ages; reform councils of the fifteenth century; pontifical councils of modern times.

I. Imperial Councils. To this class belong: (1) the Council of Constantinople (553), called the fifth council, which condemned the Three Chapters, and temporarily excommunicated Pope Vigilius; (2) the Council of Constantinople (680), called the sixth council, which condemned Monothelism; (3) the third Council of Nicæa (787), which condemned the iconoclasts; (4) the Council of Constantinople (872), which deposed Photius and replaced Ignatius as patriarch of Constantinople. All these councils were convoked by emperors; the emperors, or their commissioners, pre-

[1] Most of the facts here stated have been explained elsewhere. For the threats of Julius II. against France, see Pissard, p. 157.

sided at almost all; and when the civil power did not direct the debates, it at least took an important part in them. That is why these councils are called imperial.[1]

II. The Pontifical Councils of the Middle Ages are seven in number, four of which were held at the Lateran, two at Lyons, and one at Vienne. (1) The First Lateran Council (1123) was convoked by Calixtus II. to ratify the concordat of Worms, and to promulgate disciplinary rules. It met from 18th March until 6th April; three hundred bishops and more than six hundred abbots were present. (2) The Second Lateran Council (1139) was convoked by Innocent II., to condemn the opponents of his election, to promulgate rules of discipline, and rigorously to punish Arnold of Brescia. A thousand bishops, abbots, and priors of monasteries attended it. (3) The Third Lateran Council (1179) was convoked by Alexander III. after his victory over Frederick Barbarossa, to make rules for the pontifical election and to promulgate measures for the suppression of heresy. It met from 5th March until 19th March. Three hundred and two bishops attended, of whom one hundred and sixty-one came from Italy, four from England, and one from Scotland. (4) The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) was convoked by Innocent III. to organize a new crusade, repress the heresy of the Albigenses, and promulgate disciplinary rules. It met from 11th November until 30th November. Two patriarchs, seventy-one primates or metropolitans, four hundred and twelve bishops, eight hundred abbots or priors, certain princes and ambassadors, in all two thousand two hundred and eighty-three persons were present. Among its disciplinary regulations was that prescribing confession and annual communion. (5) The First Council of Lyons (1245) was convoked by Innocent IV. to depose Frederick II., to proclaim a new crusade, and to suppress heresy. It was held from 28th June until 17th July. About one hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops

[1] F. Funk, "Die Berufung der ökumenischen Synoden des Alterthums," in *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, i. 39–86, Paderborn, 1897; *Id.*, "Die päpstliche Bestätigung der acht ersten allgemeinen Synoden," *ib.* pp. 87–121; Hinschius, iii. 333–349; for details, see Hefele.

were present. (6) The Second Council of Lyons (1274) was convoked by Gregory X. to proclaim the union of the Greek with the Latin Church, to decree a new crusade, to make rules for the pontifical election (institution of the conclave), to promulgate disciplinary regulations. It met from 7th May until 17th July. Five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and a thousand other dignitaries (priors, deans, delegates of chapters, etc.). (7) The Council of Vienne (1311) was convoked by Clement V. to settle the affair of the Templars, to decree a new crusade, and to promulgate disciplinary rules. It was held from 16th October 1311 to 6th April 1312. Three hundred bishops attended it.[1] All these councils were convoked by popes, and were presided over by them.[2] Theoretically, the bishops had a deliberative voice, and the inferior prelates a consultative voice. Practically, the bishops—except in rare and incidental affairs—had no rôle other than that of informing the Pope when he asked their advice. And this advice was asked, not of all, but of some for whom the Pope had a special respect, whom he deigned to consult either in private conversation or in semi-public assemblies, analogous to those which to-day are called commissions. These seven councils, then, were "chambers of registration," that is to say, assemblies designed to register the will of the Pope and to assure its execution in the whole Church.[3] Thus the Pope had over the whole Church, and consequently over the general council, a superiority of which no one—except certain theologians of the fourteenth century—disputed the legitimacy, and the advantage of which only the sin of heresy could make him lose. Were the Pope to become a heretic he should be judged and condemned by the Church. So long as he was not a heretic he gave his commands to

[1] Hinschius, pp. 349–356.

[2] Hinschius, pp. 352, 361. Barbarossa endeavoured to convoke a general council, but failed. His attempt was not renewed. Frederick II. did not dispute the exclusive right of the popes to convoke general councils; he only reproached them with abusing the right. He appealed from the council of Lyons, which according to him was not general, to a general council; but he did not try to convoke it. See Hinschius, pp. 352, 354.

[3] Hinschius, p. 361.

the Church and to the councils. But to this so powerful papacy, two misadventures occurred: (1) it did not know how to preserve the Church nor itself from abuses; (2) it was itself the occasion of a schism, and was incompetent to apply a remedy. Hence the reform councils.

III. The Reform Councils of the fifteenth century are three in number. They were held at Pisa, Constance, and Bâle.[1]

(1) The Council of Pisa (1409) was convoked by the cardinals of the two rival popes, to put an end to the schism and to effect a reform in the Church, "in its head, and in its members." It met from 25th March until 7th August. Twenty-two cardinals, four patriarchs, eighty bishops, one hundred and two procurators of absent bishops, eighty-seven abbots, two hundred procurators of absent abbots, were in attendance. The two rival popes were deposed on 5th June, and Alexander V. was elected on 25th June. Up to this date the presiding officer was a cardinal; then, from 25th June, Alexander V. The reform was postponed until the meeting of a later council, fixed for the year 1412 (which in fact was convoked at Rome by John XXIII., the successor of Alexander V., but failed because the number of members was not sufficient). Moreover, the schism itself did not disappear; for the cardinals before deposing the rival popes had not taken the precaution of coming to a previous understanding with the princes, who—several of them, at least—considered the decisions of Pisa as null, and continued to support their respective popes.[2]

(2) The Council of Constance (1414) was convoked by Sigismund and John XXIII., to bring to a successful result the two tasks which Pisa had unsuccessfully undertaken. It was held from 5th November 1414 until 22nd April 1418. There were present twenty-nine cardinals, three patriarchs, thirty-three archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, more than five thousand monks, numerous doctors and ambassadors, and lastly Sigismund and John XXIII. It brought the schism to an end by depriving the three popes

[1] Hinschius, pp. 362-417.

[2] Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, Paris, 1902.

of office, and in their place electing Martin V. (11th November 1417); but it entrusted the work of reform to Martin, who confined himself to making some concessions to the "nations" by concordats, and continued in the old ways. In short, the reform was hardly outlined.[1] It is true that the Council of Constance before dispersing ordered the Pope to convoke the Council of Pavia in the year 1423; but Martin V., after convoking the said council, transferred it to Sienna, then pronounced the dissolution of the Council of Sienna, and bound himself to call a council at Bâle in the year 1431.[2]

(3) The Council of Bâle (1431) was convoked by Martin V., who resigned himself to this measure because of the engagement he had made in 1423. The opening, which should have taken place in March, was, for lack of members, adjourned until 23rd July. The first session was not held until 14th December. Supported by Sigismund, the council debated successfully for two years with Pope Eugenius IV., who after having pronounced its dissolution (18th December 1431) was forced to annul this decision (15th December 1433). But the Pope resumed hostilities in June 1436, and this time, for reasons which have been noticed elsewhere, he gained the victory. The council persisted in a fruitless resistance, which it prolonged until the year 1449. Even in the days of its prosperity it had counted only a small number of bishops; its force came from the support given to it by the princes and by the university of Paris.[3]

IV. The Pontifical Councils of Modern Times are three in number, and were held at Florence, Rome, and Trent.[4]

(1) The Council of Florence (1439) was convoked by Eugenius IV. to seal the reunion of the Greek with the Latin Church. It met successively at Florence, at Ferrara, and at Rome. It was at Florence that the most important negotiations took place which, beginning on 26th February 1439, were ended on 15th July of the same year. Latin and Greek bishops

[1] Noël Valois, iv. 227–407; Pastor, i. 141–152.
[2] Noël Valois, *La crise religieuse du xv^me^ siècle*, i. 1–94, Paris, 1909.
[3] *Id.*, *ib.* i. 95–398, ii. 1–322; Pastor, i. 217–248.
[4] Hinschius, iii. 417–448.

attended it, the number of whom, which varied, rose at times as high as two hundred. The Greek bishops, excepting Mark of Ephesus, consented to accept the primacy of the Pope and the Latin theology. But on their return home they were disavowed by the people and by the monks, who refused to permit themselves to be "latinized." The union decreed at Florence was therefore ephemeral.[1]

(2) The Fifth Lateran Council (1512) was convoked by Julius II. to effect the reform which for a century had been demanded, and which the schismatic council assembled at Pisa (1511) by certain cardinals, under the patronage of the emperor and of the king of France, had proposed to carry out. Julius II., who took no interest in the reform, feigned an interest when he saw that a schismatic council intended to take it up. Begun by Julius II.with seventy-nine bishops almost all Italians, the fifth Lateran council (May 1512) was continued by Leo X. with the participation of some French bishops, and ended on 16th March 1517. It condemned the Gallican maxims, ratified the French concordat, but neglected, almost wholly, the work of reform.[2]

(3) The Council of Trent (1545–1563) was convoked under the following circumstances. At the Nürnberg diet (1522) the German Catholic princes, witnessing the sympathy encountered by the revolutionary preaching of Luther, and convinced that the abuses of the Roman court were the preponderating causes of this success, concluded that an immediate reform of the pontifical administration was the only way to paralyze the influence of the Saxon monk. They also concluded that a council, independent of the papacy, was alone capable of effecting this reform, which for more than a century all had been demanding of the papacy which for more than a century had been making insincere promises. The diet of Nürnberg (1522) therefore demanded that a free council should be convoked, without delay, in a town easily accessible to the Germans; and this demand, repeated in certain other diets, was supported by Charles V., who himself

[1] Noël Valois, ii. 109–124, 172–181; Pastor, i. 236.
[2] Pastor, iii. 708–740; Hefele-Hergenröther, viii. 507, 521, 558.

attributed the success of the Lutheran revolt to the abuses of the papacy, and in a free council saw the only remedy for these abuses. At first the papacy simply refused to call a council, and commanded the princes to drown the Lutheran heresy in blood. Those were its first tactics. At the end of some years, obliged to take another attitude, it pretended to be disposed to assemble a council, but imagined different pretexts to postpone its convocation. For some time it continued to exhort the princes to crush the heresy. At length, when all subterfuges had been exhausted and it could not avoid the council, it took all necessary measures to make it dependent, that is to say, to prevent a repetition of Constance or of Bâle.[1] Such is the explanation of the origin of the Council of Trent. Such also is the explanation of its troubled history; for the papacy displaced and suspended it whenever it feared that it could not direct the council according to its own wishes. Suspended twice, it passed through three phases.

In the first period, which extends from 1545 to 1549, it was convoked by Paul III. at Trent, a small town in the Tyrol, was opened on 13th December 1545, was transferred by order of the same Pope to Bologna on 11th March 1547, and was again suspended by Paul IV. on 17th September 1549. During its stay at Trent, eight sessions were held, of which the first three and the eighth were merely for display. The number of bishops present scarcely exceeded fifty, and at times fell below twenty-five; for example, the fifth session, at which was fixed the Catholic doctrine of original sin, counted four cardinals, nine archbishops, and eight bishops. Two-thirds of these prelates were Italians, the rest, with the exception of one French bishop, were Spaniards: there was no German bishop.[2] The transference to Bologna, effected ostensibly for hygienic reasons, was in reality dictated by a desire to remove the council from the influence of Charles V., who, dissatisfied with the tortuous diplomacy of the Pope, commanded the Spanish bishops to remain at Trent. Paul III.,

[1] Janssen-Pastor, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, ii. 296, iii. 153; Pastor, iv. 2, 406, 412, 415, 420, v. 460, 531.

[2] Pallavicini, *Histoire du concile de Trente*, vi. 5, 5, vi. 17, 13, vii. 13, 1.

notwithstanding his obstinacy, did not dare to make the assembly at Bologna pass for an œcumenical council, at which there were present only Italian bishops, and two prelates *in partibus* pensioned by the Roman Curia—the French bishop was absent—and he submitted to the dissolution of the assembly, which during its stay of two and a half years at Bologna held two sessions, which were merely for display (sessions IX. and X.).

In the second period the council was convoked by Julius III. under pressure from Charles V. It was opened on 1st March 1551, and was suspended because of the war on 28th April 1552. Six sessions were held at that time, four of which, the XI., XII., XV., and XVI., were purely for display. Henry II., king of France, forbade his bishops to attend this assembly, at which indeed no German bishop was present.[1]

In the third period the council was convoked by Pius IV. It was opened on 18th January 1561, and ended on 4th December 1563. Nine sessions were held, and the number of bishops at times exceeded two hundred. Among these were twenty from France.[2]

[1] Pallavicini, xi. 13; Pastor, vi. 74–96. [2] Pallavicini, xiv. 12.

CHAPTER XV

Ecclesiastical Studies

From the sixth to the sixteenth century the intellectual life of the Latin Church passed through a period of decadence, followed by a revival, the principal stages of which are the Carolingian restoration, the philosophical advance of the twelfth century, and the Renaissance.

DECADENCE

Decadence prevailed everywhere, but not everywhere at one time. Ireland had no acquaintance with it until the middle of the ninth century. Up to that time the Irish monks read the Latin authors, cultivated poetry, had a smattering of Greek, and copied manuscripts. For some time they were not the only possessors of literary culture. Across the channel, the Celtic monks of Great Britain, according to Gildas, also had literary tastes. But even then the superiority of Ireland was not disputed. In the sixth century the Gallic monk Cadoc went to Lismore (to-day, Waterford, in the south of Ireland) to seek what his biographer called "the perfection of the knowledge of the West."[1] But at this time the Anglo-Saxon invasion began the destructive work which it was gradually to complete. In the seventh century the Celtic monks of Great Britain, driven into Wales, had not the necessary leisure to devote themselves to study. Thus the Irish monks had a monopoly of intellectual culture. Furthermore, when the Anglo-

[1] "Vita S. Cadoci," 7, in W. Rees, *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, p. 36, Llandovery, 1853.

Saxons, having been converted to Christianity, wished to pursue their literary education, they addressed themselves to Ireland. Aldhelm depicts them to us "sailing in a body" for Ireland.[1] Bede testified that "many of the English," in the seventh century, went to Ireland to seek knowledge of the Scripture and of asceticism.[2] Ireland received them kindly. It gave them books; it gave them masters. "All was given gratuitously," says Bede, who adds that this generosity provided them even with nourishment.[3] It was therefore from the Irish monks that the Anglo-Saxon Church took the torch of science, which it carried in its turn to the Continent, before the dawn of the ninth century, when darkness reigned.

At the end of the fifth century this darkness had begun to spread over Gaul and over Italy; we shall presently refer to Spain. Sidonius Apollinaris, Faustus of Riez, Claudian Mamertius, Venantius Fortunatus, Bœthius, Cassiodorus, Ennodius, Pomerius, who, of different degrees of merit, were the last representatives of intellectual life. After them, the sacred fire was extinguished. The study of authors was neglected, — more than this, it was abhorred. Cæsarius, the future bishop of Arles, read the pagan writers with pleasure. But one day he became convinced that this reading was leading him to hell, and he cast away profane books.[4] His contemporary Ennodius, the brilliant rhetorician, the elegant poet, felt the same scruples; after recovering from an illness he forsook the pursuit of literature as if it were a sin.[5] Three-quarters of a century later, Pope St. Gregory, learning that the bishop of Vienne was "teaching grammar," wrote to him:[6] "I feel ashamed at reporting this news; this conduct in a bishop is so execrable, that the matter should be seriously explained. If the investigation shows that this rumour is false, and that you are not studying the frivolous literature of the

[1] Aldhelm, *Ep.* iii.; Migne, lxxxix. 94.
[2] Bede, *H.E.*, iii. 27.
[3] *Id.*, *ib.*
[4] *Vita*, i. 9; Migne, lxvii. 1005.
[5] *Ep.* ix. 9; Migne, lxiii. 152.
[6] Jaffé, 1824.

age, we shall thank God that he has not let your soul be polluted." The ecclesiastical law was positive: it is to be found concisely stated in the *Statuta Ecclesiæ antiqua*,[1] which regulated the conduct of the clergy: "The bishop ought not to indulge in the reading of pagan books."

Thus profane authors were accursed, and attention was limited to the professional duties of the priesthood and of the monastic state. Fortunately the performance of these duties required some rudiments of instruction. To be a priest, or even to be in the lowest rank of the clergy, it was necessary to be able to read the liturgical offices. To be a monk it was necessary unceasingly to acquire a provision of edifying thoughts, and to seek these thoughts where they were to be found, that is to say, in the Bible, in the lives of saints, in the instructions of spiritual masters: it was necessary to read. A virtue was made of necessity. Cæsarius ordered the monks and nuns to devote two hours each day to reading.[2] He saw the obstacle that women would encounter in observing this rule; he required the nuns to learn to read. In his *Statuta* is the following order relating to the clergy:[3] "All the clergy capable of work, shall practise a trade, and shall learn to read." The rule of St. Benedict, like that of Cæsarius, also required the monks to devote several hours every day to reading.[4] The council of Orleans (A.D. 533) prescribed that the priest and the deacon should know how to read, and should know the baptismal liturgy.[5] Four years previously, the council of Vaison (529) advised every priest in a monastery to do what, it said, was done in Italy; that is, to take a child under his care, to teach him the Psalter, liturgical functions, and Christian morals,—in short, to put him in the way to succeed him.[6]

It is often supposed that this council transformed the clergy into a corps of public teachers charged with imparting

[1] *Statuta*, 16; Migne, lvi. 882.
[2] *Regula*, i. 14, ii. 17; Migne, lxvii. 1100, 1109.
[3] *Statuta*, 45, 79; Migne, lvi. 884, 886.
[4] Cap. 48, in Wœlfflin, *Benedicti regula*, p. 46, Leipzig, 1895.
[5] Can. 16, M. G., *Concilia ævi meroving.*, p. 63.
[6] Can. 1, *ib.*, p. 56.

primary instruction to the children of Gaul; and the institution of presbyterial schools has been pompously attributed to it. In reality, the bishops assembled at Vaison, so far from intending to establish public instruction, had not even an idea of such a thing. Their far simpler object was to assure the recruitment for the priesthood. Nevertheless, the assertion may be admitted, provided its meaning be made plain. During the Merovingian period there were here and there presbyterial schools, but they were intended only to provide for the needs of worship, and they were like the inferior choir of our churches. There were also episcopal schools—Gregory of Tours[1] mentions the school of Tours, the school of Bourges, and the school of Paris—which were the forerunners of the choir schools (*psalettes*) of modern cathedrals. These establishments were the expression of religious, not of intellectual, preoccupations. It is needless to dwell here upon the famous "School of the Palace" which, as is known to-day, had an exclusively military and administrative character.[2] In order to find an analogue to our institutions of learning we must turn to the monks. In certain monasteries, few in number, reading, writing, and the Psalter were taught to children, to those who were to return to the world, as well as to those who were oblates. In other words, there were monastic schools in which the children of the nobility—the others were only admitted as oblates—received rudimentary instruction.[3] Let us now return to the clergy.

Priests and deacons were trained sometimes in the presbyterial, sometimes in the episcopal schools, where the latter existed. The bishops at times came upon the same surroundings; others were taken by the king from the school of the palace; others had passed their childhood in the monastic schools, but this did not exclude them from subsequently entering the school of the palace. Whatever their past might have been, bishops and priests had a poor educa-

[1] *Hist. Franc.* x. 26; *Vitæ patrum*, 9; *Miracula S. Martini*, i. 7.
[2] Vacandard, *Revue des questions historiques*, lxi. 490, lxii. 556 (1897).
[3] Ozanam, *Œuvres*, iv. 459, Paris, 1849.

tion. In nearly all his writings Gregory of Tours declares that he is ignorant of the laws of language, that he never studied the profane authors.[1] And he was the first bishop of the Gallican Church. Elsewhere the conditions were the same. Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg, an Irishman, was considered a heretic because he knew of the antipodes;[2] and in 608, Pope Agathon admitted to the emperor that the Western clergy, forced to earn their living by manual labour, were lacking in knowledge.[3] When the *Liber Pontificalis* praises a pope of this period, it mentions his fine voice, his zeal for religion, his charity to the poor. Yet in Italy there appeared at intervals men whose minds were open to learning. These anomalous intellectuals committed to one another some portions of the heritage left by Boëthius and Cassiodorus; as, for example, about the end of the eighth century the Lombard Warnefried (who was afterwards known as Paul the Deacon) and Paulinus, who taught grammar at Aquileia.

This is the place to mention Spain. The council of Toledo (633) ordered the priests to study the Scripture;[4] that of 653 remarked that certain of the clergy were ignorant of the most ordinary liturgical functions.[5] To remedy this evil it prescribed that only those who knew the entire Psalter, the hymns, and the rites of baptism should be admitted to orders. The council of 675 commanded the bishops to require study on the part of those priests whose

[1] *Hist. Fr. Prolog.*: "Veniam a legentibus precor si aut in literis aut in syllabis grammaticam artem excessero de qua adplene non sum imbutus"; *De gloria confessorum*, præf.: "Sum sine literis et arte grammatica." See also *Hist. Fr.*, x. 19, 30; *Vitæ patrum*, ii. 1, viii. 2, ix. 1; *De miraculis S. Juliani*, 4; *De miraculis S. Martini*, præf.

[2] Boniface, *Ep.* lxxx., in M. G., *Epist.*, iii. 360; Herm. Krabbo, "Bischof Virgil," in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterr Geschichte*, xxiv. 1–28 (1903).

[3] Mansi, xi. 286; Migne, lxxxvii. 1220: "Si ad eloquentiam sæcularem non æstimamus quemquam temporibus nostris repereri posse qui de summitate scientiæ glorietur . . . de labore corporis victus est."

[4] Can. 25, Mansi, x. 612; see also Can. 24, which orders the education of the younger clergy in a house, in common, under the direction of a *magister doctrinæ*.

[5] Can. 8, Mansi, xi. 23.

knowledge was deficient; it asked the metropolitans to submit to the same régime the bishops of their provinces, in case they were found incapable.[1] On the contrary, Martin of Bragua learned Greek and read Seneca; Isidore of Seville was an indefatigable compiler, who knew nothing profoundly, but had general ideas about everything; Eugene of Toledo cultivated poetry, Hildefonso and Julian, his successors, cultivated theology.[2] In short, Spain had some episcopal schools which, like those of France, were inspired by religious preoccupations; its clergy were generally ignorant, which proves that the results of the episcopal schools were poor. It may be added that Spain possessed some monastic schools.[3] Intellectually inferior to Ireland and to England, it seems to have been slightly superior to Italy and Gaul. But in 712 the Arab invasion took place and the Visigoth culture disappeared, although not completely. About the end of the eighth century the Spaniard Theodulf was an ardent patron of belles lettres.

CAROLINGIAN RESTORATION

At the end of the eighth century a movement of intellectual renaissance began in the Frankish kingdom, and the author of this movement was the powerful Frankish monarch Charlemagne. Ignorant, like all his contemporaries, Charlemagne had a profound respect for belles lettres, and resolved to labour for the civilization of his people. To succeed in this arduous undertaking he enlisted in his service the few heirs of ancient culture: the Lombard Paulinus of Aquileia, the Spaniard Theodulf, the Lombard Warnefried (Paul the Deacon), some Irishmen, and, above all, Alcuin, who was both professor and minister of public instruction.[4] With the assistance of Alcuin, Charlemagne transformed the school of the palace into an academy, where princes, princesses, and the young nobility studied grammar and were

[1] Can. 2, Mansi. xi. 130. [2] See next chapter.

[3] H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 348, Paris, 1906.

[4] Hauck, ii. 123–163; W. Turner, "Irish Teachers," in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, xiii. 382 and 562 (1907).

taught to speak well. Then, after having given the example, he sought to have imitators. In 787 he wrote to Baugulf, abbot of Fulda:[1] "Of late years several monasteries have written to inform us that the friars were praying for us. But most of these missives expressed excellent sentiments in an uncultivated style. The awkward language could not give outward expression to that which piety directed from within. The cause of this is insufficient study. We fear that this weakness in the art of composition may be followed by weakness in the knowledge of Holy Scripture. . . . For this reason we exhort you not to neglect the study of letters; to cultivate them, on the contrary, with the humility which is agreeable to God, in order to penetrate more easily into the mysteries of divine Scriptures. . . . Do not forget to send copies of this letter to the bishops, your colleagues, and to all the monasteries, if you wish to enjoy our favour."

This letter to Baugulf was, as it were, a preface to the legislation which, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (789), was promulgated in these terms:[2] "Let schools be built to teach children to read. In all the monasteries, and in all the episcopal churches, psalms, hymns, singing, arithmetic, and grammar shall be taught."

Charlemagne therefore desired schools. He desired them in every bishopric, in every monastery. He desired them, not in order to establish primary instruction in his kingdom, which would have been chimerical, but in order to have priests and monks capable of understanding the Scripture, of reading the office correctly, of performing liturgical functions exactly and intelligently.[3] He desired it for religious and theological reasons. What became of his plan?

Certain bishops did their best to realize it. Such an one was Theodulf of Orleans,[4] who, not content with carrying out the orders of his master, urged the country priests of his diocese to teach children to read when their parents would

[1] *Capitula regum franc*, in M. G., *Leges*, sect. II. i. 75.
[2] *Capitula*, *ib.* i. 65.
[3] Leclercq, in *Dict. arch.* iii. 710.
[4] *Capitula*, 20, Migne, cv. 196.

consent. Such an one was Leidrade of Lyons,[1] who, in his official report, boasted of having established flourishing courses of liturgical chanting, of reading, and of biblical exegesis. Several abbeys likewise hastened to raise their educational standard. In the year 802 we find the young monk Raban coming from Fulda to Tours in order to gain from Alcuin knowledge, which he in his turn was to impart to the German monks.[2] In 826, Walafrid Strabo went to Fulda to seek instruction, from which his abbey at Reichenau was afterwards to profit.[3] The Carolingian renaissance raised high hopes. Unfortunately, the sons of Louis the Debonnair made war upon their father and upon each other. Then came the Normans. The undertaking of Charlemagne was arrested in its course; it might have been thought that it had been destroyed for ever. But no, inscribed in the Capitula of the great emperor, it remained as an ideal set up before all eyes, awaiting better days. And better days came. In the first years of the tenth century social upheavals came to an end; order—relative order—reappeared; the monastic life personified by Cluny made an incomparable advance; dioceses were reorganized. Then, in every direction, serious attempts were made to realize the programme of Charlemagne. There were monastic schools, episcopal schools, and without doubt here and there presbyterial schools in conformity to the wish of Theodulf, approved by the council of Mayence (813).[4] Postponed by the calamities of the ninth century, the Carolingian renaissance expanded in the following century—that tenth century which for the papacy, but for it alone, was the age of iron.

It need not be said that the progress was modest. The presbyterial schools, where they were carried on, were confined to teaching children the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The council of Mayence did not assign them any other object; their courses were catechumenal. The episcopal and monastic schools were rather mediocre, and occupied

[1] *Ep.* i., M. xcix. 871. [2] Hauck, ii. 620.
[3] A. Knœpfler, *Wal. Strabonis, liber de exordiis*, p. xii, München, 1899.
[4] Can. 45, in M. G., *Concilia*, ii. 271.

the liturgical field. But some abbeys, followed by some bishoprics, entered resolutely upon the path of progress, and in the programme of their studies inserted "the seven liberal arts." The seven liberal arts comprised grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. This list, composed in the middle of the fifth century by the rhetorician Martianus Capella, included all the ancient science, the science which until the close of the fifth century was taught in the schools.[1] Boëthius and Cassiodorus still possessed this sum of human knowledge; but after them the Irish and Anglo-Saxon monasteries had a monopoly of it. In Spain and in Italy, at the utmost, certain rare privileged men were to be met with—an Isidore of Seville, a Paulinus of Aquileia, a Paul the Deacon—who knew what the rest of the world did not know. Gregory of Tours, on the last page of his *History of the Franks*, mentions the book of Martianus Capella, but makes it plain that he never studied it. It was only with the Carolingian renaissance that conditions were to change. Then the seven liberal arts—the first three grouped under the name of the *trivium*, the four others under the name of the *quadrivium*—penetrated gradually into the monastic and episcopal schools. From this point of view the abbeys of Fulda, of Reichenau, of Fleury-sur-Loire, acquired in the tenth century a reputation which was shared by the Abbey du Bec in Normandy, and Westminster Abbey in England. At the end of the tenth century the most famous episcopal schools were those of Reims and Chartres. At the beginning of the twelfth century the episcopal school of Paris, directed by William of Champeaux, attracted many students. But we have now reached a new stage of intellectual culture.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The Carolingian restoration marks the first stage in the history of the intellectual progress of the Middle Ages, in which the human mind repaired the losses which invasions

[1] L. Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum*, p. 236, Würzburg, 1875.

had caused it to undergo, and resumed contact with ancient culture. The stage which was opened by the twelfth century was not merely a restoration; it constituted a step in advance, a conquest which was characterized by scholasticism and the universities.

Scholasticism.—Scholasticism is a philosophico-theological system which professes to contain the science of dogmas. It may be said to be a certain science of Christian dogmas. Whence was this science derived? The Fathers furnished most of the materials of which it made use, but the systematic elaboration of these materials did not come from them; and as this elaboration is the chief element of scholasticism, it must be said that scholasticism was not derived from the Fathers. Whence did it come? It had several partial sources.

One of these sources was what at the beginning of the twelfth century was called the course in "divinity," "sacred reading"[1] (*sacra lectio*), or the gloss (*glossandi opus*), what we call now the paraphrase of Scripture. The practice of glossing the Scripture, that is, of reading by paraphrase, can probably be traced to the ninth century. Nevertheless for a long time these glosses seem to have had no place in the regular courses. When the contemporaries of Fulbert of Chartres eulogized him, they praised his teaching of the liberal arts, but did not mention his glosses. Yet Fulbert lived at the beginning of the eleventh century. Some years later Berenger, master of the episcopal school of Tours, interpreted Scripture with a talent which provoked the admiration of Drogon, archdeacon of Paris. But this science was foreign to his professional occupations, which were confined to the teaching of the liberal arts.[2] One must come down to the end of the eleventh century to find this situation changed. At this time Anselm of Laon read the text of the Bible, commented on it, with

[1] Abelard, *Ep.* i. 4, 5, Migne, clxxviii. 125.

[2] J. Schnitzer, *Berengar von Tours*, p. 9, München, 1890; Guibert of Nogent studied the Scripture at Flavigny, without any guide except the *Morals* of St. Gregory (*Vita*, i. 17, Migne, clvi. 874).

the aid of the Fathers, from whom he cited extracts; and his pupils, delighted at the novelty of this teaching, gathered from every direction around his chair. Abelard, already a master of dialectics, came to Laon to pursue in the school of Anselm his "studies in divinity."[1] We here see a course which was superimposed on the liberal arts in order to complete them. This course of "divinity" was the first form that theological instruction assumed. It would be exaggerating its significance to present it as the germ of scholasticism. It was not the germ, but only one of the factors which contributed to its power, the most humble of these factors, the most modest of the sources by which the river was fed.

The second source was the dialectic. On several occasions, and in several forms, the dialectic flowed into Christian dogmatics. It was introduced for the first time by St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (about 1070). Under the direction of this philosophical genius the dialectic undertook to convert revelation into a philosophy, or one may say into a geometry, the theorems of which might be deduced from one another.[2] A quarter of a century later it appeared, directed by Roscelin. This time its programme was less ambitious.[3] Entrenched in the "universals," it prepared to solve by this logical form the mystery of the Trinity. The study of universals occupied the minds of philosophers for about half a century, raised violent storms, then fell into oblivion, not, however, without having previously left an indelible imprint upon the dogma of the Trinity. Far more vast and far more profound was the influence of Anselm of Canterbury. Not that this bold theorist failed to awaken distrust; his deductions generally appeared to be too absolute. It was thought that he should have attenuated his doctrines, should have introduced alleviations; but when the necessary reserves had been made they were accepted. Anselm gave a new orienta-

[1] *Ep.* i. 2: "Reversus sum in Franciam maxime ut de divinitate addiscerem."

[2] See next chapter.

[3] B. Hauréau, *Hist. de la phil. scholastique*, i. 174, Paris, 1880; C. Prantl, *Gesch. der Logik*, ii. 78, Leipzig, 1855–1870.

tion to the theological mind; he accustomed it to translate dogmas into rational concepts connected with one another by more or less vigorous bonds. From Abelard until the reaction effected by Occam, the doctors felt in different degrees the influence of Anselm.

To the course of divinity and the dialectic there was added in the first half of the twelfth century a method of exposition. This was the third constitutive element of scholasticism. Here Abelard played a principal part.[1] He collected all the Christian dogmas, arranged them, and made them enter into the construction of an edifice which was the first theological synthesis. Then taking each dogma singly he submitted it to a contradictory inquiry. Like the judge who causes the witnesses for the prosecution and for the defence to speak successively, Abelard presented a list of texts unfavourable to the belief of the Church, and to these he opposed texts that were favourable. Synthesis and contradictory inquiry remained; the first was to undergo alteration, the second to undergo development. Abelard gave to scholasticism its method of exposition, a method which seemed to be critical, and which gradually became so in reality.[2]

It remains for us now to mention the fourth source of scholasticism, which was the metaphysics of Aristotle. Throughout the eleventh century the only work of this philosopher which was known was his logical treatise, the *Organon*. This treatise itself was not completely known until after 1150. Up to that time the first part alone was extant. At the beginning of the thirteenth century all the works of Aristotle, translated into Latin, arrived from Spain, commented on by the Jewish and Arabian philosophers, by Avicenna and, above all, by Averroës. They were at once enthusiastically received. The metaphysic of Aristotle reigned as mistress of the schools, it penetrated into the sanctuary of

[1] H. Denifle, "Die Sentenzen Abaelards," in *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i. 628, Berlin, 1885.

[2] V. Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard*, p. liii, Paris, 1836; Ch. Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, pp. 29, 58, Paris, 1843; Prantl, ii. 98; P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au xiii^me siècle*, xxvi, Paris, 1899.

theology, and did not fear to leave its imprint upon dogmas. Aristotle was to become the chancellor of Christ, the interpreter of his oracles.

Thus, at least, the intellectuals understood him; but the hierarchy was on its guard. Alarmed at the danger with which dogmas were threatened, it undertook to save them by energetic measures. The council of Paris (1210) passed the following decree.[1] "Under the penalty of excommunication, we forbid the teaching at Paris, either publicly or privately, of the books of Aristotle concerning natural philosophy, and commentaries on those books."[2] Five years later, the pontifical legate, Robert de Courçon, repeated this measure. The official Church decided to check the intellectuals. The latter, according to their custom, bowed their heads, to raise them again when the storm had passed. At the end of some years, the prohibitions of the years 1210 and 1215 were forgotten, and Aristotle resumed his place of honour in education. Again the hierarchy was obliged to intervene. In 1228, Pope Gregory IX. stigmatized the theologians who, "swollen like leather bottles with the spirit of vanity," ask of philosophy the explanation of revealed truth; and "to put an end to this madness" he commanded them thenceforth to teach theology without any mixture of profane science, and not to alter the Word of God by the lucubrations of philosophers.[3] Three years later (1231), in the famous bull *Parens scientiarum*, there were like prohibitions: "Let the teachers and students of theology . . . not seek to be philosophers, but let them devote all their care to becoming theologians. . . . Let them not discuss any question which cannot be solved by theological books, and by writings of the Fathers."[4] And not content with banishing Aristotle from

[1] Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, i. 70, Paris, 1889: "Nec libri Aristotelis . . . legantur." The verb "legere" signifies "teach"; see Denifle, *Revue thomiste*, ii. 149 (1894). The interdict not attacking the teaching of logic.

[2] Denifle-Chatelain, i. 78; Jourdain, p. 187; Mandonnet, xxix.

[3] Denifle-Chatelain, i. 114–116; Hauréau, ii. 1, 108, 119.

[4] Denifle-Chatelain, i. 138; Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*, pp. 72, 759, Berlin, 1885.

the faculty of theology, the Pope banished him from the faculty of arts itself, promising to reverse this measure only when the writings of Aristotle should have been expurgated.[1] For some time the faculty of arts obeyed the pontifical injunctions; but from 1255,[2] it resumed the study of Aristotle —who was never expurgated—and in spite of the opposition of Urban IV. it did not give him up.[3] More than this, the theologians themselves were emancipated; the greatest doctors of the thirteenth century—Albert the Great, Alexander of Hales, and St. Thomas Aquinas—invoked the authority of Aristotle and of his commentators.[4] The papacy, being vanquished, relinquished the struggle and tolerated what it could not prevent. From the middle of the thirteenth century scholasticism was united by an indissoluble bond to the Aristotelian philosophy.

The Universities.—From Paris and Bologna proceeded the movement which gave birth to universities in the Middle Ages. If one would know the origin of universities, one must look to Paris and Bologna, particularly to Paris.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, as has been said, the episcopal school of Paris attained a certain reputation which it owed to its director, William of Champeaux. About 1115 it gained a new lustre from Abelard, who for some time gave lectures in the Isle (to-day l'Ile Saint Louis) under the jurisdiction of the chancellor of Notre-Dame. About 1136 the situation changed, when Abelard opened a school on Mount St. Geneviève, which was then outside the walls of Paris and beyond the jurisdiction of the chancellor of Notre-Dame. Students left the Isle and went to hear the famous professor who taught at St. Geneviève. After Abelard there arose other professors who inherited his methods, and to some extent his prestige. They were dangerous rivals to the episcopal school.[5] Fortun-

[1] Denifle-Chatelain, i. 143. [2] *Id.*, *ib.* 278. [3] *Id.*, *ib.* 428.

[4] *Id.*, *ib.* 385; B. Reichert, *Monumenta ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*, iii. 1, 25, Rome, 1898; Hilar. de Lucerne, *Hist. des études dans l'ordre de Saint François*, p. 470, Paris, 1908.

[5] Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, pp. 661–663, 674, 694.

ately for the latter, in 1147, St. Geneviève was occupied by the Clunists and Victorines.[1] Then the successors of Abelard departed, settled in the Isle, found themselves under the jurisdiction of the chancellor of Notre-Dame; and although they gave their lectures at home, they were a part of the episcopal school, which in this way acquired an importance that it had never had. Paris became an intellectual centre, to which many students came from all parts of Europe, who were attracted by teachers initiated in the methods of Abelard, subject to the jurisdiction of the chancellor of Notre-Dame. Towards the close of the twelfth century these teachers founded a corporation designed to protect their common interests. Thus was born the University of Paris. It came from an intellectual centre created by Abelard: it was originally a corporation of professors—*corpus collegii sive universitatis*,[2] says the letter of 1254.

In the year 1200 this corporation had an opportunity to assert itself. The students engaged in battle with the citizens of Paris, in the course of which several of them were killed. At once the teachers took the part of the students and demanded justice. Philip Augustus, who, says the chronicler, feared to see them leave Paris, gave them satisfaction by deciding that in the future students should be exempt from civil justice, and subject to ecclesiastical justice. Emboldened by this first success, the corporation of Paris professors dreamed of other victories; it endeavoured to shake off the yoke of the chancellor of Notre-Dame and of the bishop of Paris. The undertaking would have been futile had not the Pope supported it. Even favoured by Rome, which showed the masters great benevolence, it was difficult and it was long; but it succeeded. The chancellor saw his prerogatives, one after another, disappear. About 1210, Innocent III. authorized the masters to elect a procurator to be their interpreter and spokesman. In 1212 the same Pope advised the chancellor to take the advice of the masters before granting a licence to teach.[3] From the year 1222 the masters, whom the chancellor kept forcibly

[1] Denifle, p. 656. [2] *Id.*, pp. 68, 693. [3] *Id.*, pp. 70, 86, 686–688.

confined in the Isle, were authorized by Honorius III. to settle in the domains of St. Geneviève and St. Victor. The bull *Super specula* of the same Pope relieved students of theology from residence, and permitted them to enjoy their benefices. In 1229 a repetition of the disturbance of 1200 took place. The police fell upon the students and killed several of them. As in 1200, the masters took the part of the students, and demanded satisfaction. The regent, Blanche of Castile, refused their petition. The masters and students then left Paris and dispersed. William, bishop of Paris, was not sorry to see this corporation depart, which was animated by a spirit of revolt: for fifteen or twenty years the students had been affiliated with the masters. Without losing any time he appealed to the Dominicans, and with their assistance he formed a plan to found a school, wholly subject to episcopal authority. The university—for ten years this term was used to designate the assembly of masters and students—seemed to have been destroyed. But Gregory IX. intervened. He induced the regent and the bishop of Paris to compromise, and give guarantees to the masters, who, accompanied by their pupils, returned to Paris. Moreover, by the bull *Parens scientiarum*, he granted them a statute which regulated their situation and their studies (1231). Gregory IX. was the saviour and the organizer of the University of Paris.[1] Nevertheless, he kept it under the jurisdiction of the chancellor of Notre-Dame. This subordination did not disappear until the university obtained the right of the seal; that is to say, the right to make contracts in its own name, and to ratify them with its own seal. In 1225 it had claimed the right, but had been forced to relinquish it. Under Innocent IV. it was more fortunate.[2] That Pope, in 1246, granted it the right of the seal for a period of seven years; in 1252 he renewed it for a period of ten years, which was prolonged indefinitely. The university, favoured by Innocent III. and Honorius III., saved and organized by Gregory IX., was freed by Innocent IV. from the control of the bishop of Paris and of the chancellor of Notre-Dame.

[1] Denifle, pp. 72, 112.

[2] *Id.*, pp. 78, 690.

It was then subject only to the papacy. But this last yoke at length seemed heavy, and the university shook it off. In 1334, it reformed respectfully but victoriously the theology of John XXII. When the Great Schism came, it was the soul of the councils of Constance and Bâle; it "directed European opinion."

A word may be said as to its organization. Of the professors who at the close of the twelfth century turned it into a corporation, some taught theology, others law, others the liberal arts, and still others medicine. The students who were admitted to the corporation of professors, for their part, belonged to different nations. Among professors of the same discipline, as among students of the same nation, there existed common interests which led them to form groups. In addition to the university there were divisional associations founded on community of studies, and of origin. These latter were called "nations." The former received the name of "faculties"—a word which was primarily applied to the different branches of science, and was gradually extended to the corporations grouped around these disciplines. Within the university, four faculties and also four nations made their appearance. At the head of each faculty was a dean; at the head of each nation, a procurator. The dean of the faculty of arts was called the rector. About the end of the thirteenth century the rector began to be the representative of the university in its official acts. His authority, however, was temporary, as he was elected for only three months.

While the faculties and the nations were being organized within the university, and even before they had made their appearance, charitable souls were engaged in assuring food and lodging to the poorer students. Such was the origin of colleges; they were the work of private charity. The first in point of time was the college of the *Eighteen* founded at the accession of Philip Augustus. Then came the colleges of *Poor Scholars of St. Andrew* (1209), *St. Thomas-du-Louvre*, (about 1217), the *Sorbonne* (founded by Robert of Sorbon, 1257), and others. At the end of the fourteenth century

these houses numbered more than fifty. At the beginning, the colleges pretended only to give nourishment and lodging to the students who went to the city to attend the lectures of the professors. Then gradually the professors went to lecture in the colleges—at least in the more important ones —which thus became educational houses. The Sorbonne, thanks to the wise organization received from its founder, came by degrees to personify in great part the faculty of theology.

The university of Bologna[1] was, like that of Paris, founded at the end of the twelfth century. It too, like the university of Paris, began as a school, in which prior to 1150 the jurists Irnerius and Gratian had been professors, and which from the time of these illustrious teachers was almost wholly occupied with the teaching of law. But the evolution was different. At Paris the university owed its birth to the initiative of the professors; at Bologna, it was the students—the foreign students—who formed the university corporation, or rather corporations; for until the sixteenth century they were not unified. Up to that time there were two universities, that of the *Ultramontanes* (natives of countries north of the Alps) and that of the *Citramontanes.* Each had its own rector. This double-headed organization was itself an advance towards the unity effected about 1250. Before that time the corporations were multiple, and there was a plurality of rectors. These rectors were students, and at Bologna the students paid their teachers and gave them their orders; the administration of the university was in their hands. In the beginning, Pope Honorius III. protected them against certain demands made by the municipality of Bologna (1217 and 1220); later, Clement V. and his successors bestowed new marks of benevolence upon them. Mention should also be made of the constitution *Habita,* promulgated in 1148 by the Emperor Frederick, and intended to place the students of imperial Italy under the protection of the emperor. This document, which was addressed to all the schools, was of special service to the school of Bologna.

[1] Denifle, pp. 155, 161, 198, 209.

Success generates imitation. In all parts of Europe there gradually arose copies of Paris and of Bologna—copies made partly by transformation, partly by creation. In one place a school might have been in existence for a greater or less period of time: it was then modelled after the pattern of Paris or of Bologna, it adopted certain of their rules, and obtained some of their privileges; that was simple transformation. In another place, on the contrary, there had been nothing, when one day a school was founded which produced in miniature the features of Paris or of Bologna; that was creation. In both cases the initiative came from the cities or from the popes—from the school itself or from its friends when there was only a question of transformation; most often from kings, who, however, usually employed the powerful influence of the popes.

Being unable to notice all the universities, we shall classify them according to their affinities. First of all there were the universities of Oxford and Salerno, with which may be associated Cambridge. In the ninth century, and perhaps even earlier, Salerno had a school of medicine which became celebrated in the eleventh century. In 1231 this school received privileges from Frederick II., which Conrad extended in 1252. Throughout the thirteenth century Salerno had a monopoly of medical education in Italy. The university of Oxford began, not, as is generally supposed, in the time of Alfred the Great, but in the twelfth century.[1] Broken up in 1209, after a conflict with the citizens, it was re-established in 1214. Robert Grosseteste, its chancellor, then made it prosperous, and this prosperity was greatly increased by the arrival at Oxford of Dominicans and Franciscans. When he became bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste recommended the theologians of Oxford to conform their teaching to that of the theologians of Paris. In 1246, Innocent IV. subjected the appointment of Professors at Oxford to the regulations which were in force at Paris. Eight years later, the same Pope confirmed the privileges and customs which were in force at the university of Oxford. In 1264, Oxford was provided

[1] Denifle, pp. 242–251.

with a college, Merton, to which were afterwards added Balliol, Exeter, and Oriel. The school of Cambridge, which until 1209 was obscure, at this time profited by the dispersion of the university of Oxford.[1] Twenty years later it seems to have derived advantage from the exodus of teachers and students from Paris (1229). During this period, at any rate, it was directed by a chancellor; and Henry III., who took it under his protection, treated it as a university. In 1318, Pope John XXII., at the request of king Edward II., granted to Cambridge the privileges enjoyed by other universities.

The university of Toulouse, planned in 1217 by Honorius III., was founded in complete form in 1229 by the pontifical legate, and in 1233 was authorized by Gregory IX. to enjoy the privileges granted to Paris. Thus it owed its origin exclusively to the papacy. On the contrary, it was to royalty that the following universities owed their existence: the university of Valencia, founded about 1212 by Alfonso IX. of Castile; the university of Naples, founded in 1224 by Frederick II.; the university of Salamanca, founded in 1243 by Ferdinand III., after the unfortunate attempt of Alfonso IX. of Leone. These princes were inspired by the constitution of Frederick Barbarossa.

Montpellier, Angers, and Orleans present another type. Here we have to do with schools which after long existence asked the papacy for more or less important privileges. At Angers there was a school of law which in 1229 profited by the exodus from the university of Paris; and afterwards it prospered. In 1363 its members obtained from Urban V. the right to reap the fruits of their benefices, even during their absence. At Orleans there was another school of law, the members of which received from Clement V. (1306) the rights inherent in corporations. Montpellier had a school of medicine the prosperity of which was assured by the regulations and by the monopoly which it received from the pontifical legates in 1220 and in 1239. It possessed a school of law, which did not prosper until a bull of Nicholas IV. (1289) assimilated it to the universities. It possessed a school of

[1] Denifle, p. 368.

theology which a bull of Martin v. (1421) raised to the rank of university faculties of theology.

Finally there was another type: universities founded by princes, but with the aid of the papacy. That was the case with the university of Prague, founded in 1347 by Charles IV., king of Bohemia, with the assistance of Clement VI.; the university of Vienna, founded in 1365 by the duke Rudolph IV., with the help of Urban V.; with the university of Heidelberg, founded in 1386 by the elector Ruprecht, with the help of Urban VI.

In the fourteenth century there were forty-five universities.[1]

The Intellectual State of the Clergy.—The prosperity of the universities should not make us forget that the greater part of the secular clergy were not affected by university influence. The question is thus raised: What was the culture of all those country priests, and of those many city priests who did not come to the university centres? Theoretically, they should have gone to study grammar at the cathedral church, which was required by the Lateran council (1179) to provide a school for the instruction of the clergy.[2] They were to go afterwards to the metropolitan church, which by the Lateran council (1215) was obliged to have a chair of theology.[3] This was the theory; what was the reality? St. Thomas informs us that about 1255 the decree of the council of 1215 was still a dead letter. The metropolitan churches—at least many of them—had no chairs of theology for lack of men capable of filling them. This saint declares that "very few" are the priests who have studied Holy Scripture, and that in certain countries many priests do not even know Latin. Roger Bacon affirmed that the country priests did not know enough Latin to understand the breviary. About 1230 the Church of

[1] Denifle, p. 219.

[2] Can. 18; Denifle, i. 10; Mansi, xxii. 227.

[3] Can. 11: "... sane metropolitana ecclesia theologum nihilominus habeat qui sacerdotes et alios in sacra pagina doceat et in his præsertim informet quæ ad curam animarum spectare nascuntur," Denifle-Chatelain, i. 82; Mansi, xxii. 986.

Barcelona did not have a single school of grammar, and the *Journal* of Eudes Rigaut proves that in the diocese of Rouen the country clergy had the most rudimentary education.[1]

The State of Literature.—Here we are obliged to point out a deficiency much to be regretted in the culture of the twelfth century. No place was found for literature. Not that literary productions were lacking. It was the period when Dante composed the *Divina Commedia*, the period of the *Chanson de Roland*, of the *Tales of the Round Table*, of the *Roman du Renard*, of the *Roman de la Rose*, of the *Mysteries*. It was the period when the liturgy was enriched with the *Lauda Sion*, the *Dies Iræ*, and the *Stabat Mater*. Finally, it was the period when Villehardouin wrote the *Conquête de Constantinople*, and Joinville composed his *Mémoires*. Lyric poetry, epopy, history, comedy, were cultivated, and at times reached a high degree of perfection. But all this literary activity was the work of individual genius; it owed nothing to instruction. Students went to the university of Paris to learn theology, to the university of Bologna to learn law, to the universities of Montpellier and Salerno to learn medicine; but the cultivation of literature was not to be found in any university. The ostracism with which literary instruction was assailed dates from the time when scholasticism made its entry into the schools. All the liberal arts were eclipsed by this new queen—all save one, the dialectic, which was the docile servant of scholasticism. The dialectic became a power. The varieties of the syllogism were thoroughly studied in order to acquire capacity in reasoning about dogmas. John of Salisbury, Gerald of Barry, Baudry de Bourgueil, Pierre de Blois, and others, wrote arguments in favour of literary

[1] St. Thomas, *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*: "Cum etiam propter litteratorum inopiam nec adhuc per seculares potuerit observari statutum lateranensis concilii . . . ostendit imperitia multorum sacerdotum qui in aliquibus partibus adeo ignorantes inveniuntur ut nec etiam loqui latinum sciant"; Roger Bacon, *Compendium studii philosophici*, 413, London, 1859; Th. Bonnin, *Journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen*, mai 1253; février 1259, Rouen, 1847.

studies, and denounced the abuses of the dialectic. Their voices were last in the general indifference. A little later, Roger Bacon recommended that for the verbal discussions of the dialectic should be substituted the reading of the ancient authors, the study of languages, the study of mathematics, instruction derived from experiment, but no one listened to him. Later still, the council of Vienne (1312), at the instance of Raymond Lullius—who was thinking only of preparing missionaries—directed the principal universities to teach the Oriental languages.[1] This order, which the council of Bâle renewed, remained almost a dead letter. Scholasticism, with the help of the dialectic, retained the monopoly of intellectual culture. But the hour had struck when it was about to pay dearly for its long tyranny.

THE RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance, which marks the third stage in the history of the human mind in the Middle Ages, was above all a literary movement, which was closely followed by an artistic and by a scientific movement. It proposed to restore to literature the place which scholasticism had taken from it, to fill the serious gap in university education; in a word, it was a reaction against the exclusiveness of scholasticism. Moreover, it very quickly enlarged its programme, and attacked scholasticism itself, the subtleties, verbal distinctions, and barbarous formulas of which were exposed to view and held up to ridicule. But it was difficult to strike at scholasticism without, by the same blow, attacking the dogmas upon which scholasticism had at times left its imprint. And then how could literature and art be cultivated without seeking the models where they were to be found, that is to say, in pagan antiquity? And how live in a pagan atmosphere without being impregnated with pagan maxims? Some humanists—this was the name given to the representatives of the Renaissance—overcame

[1] Denifle, p. 758; Hilarin, pp. 425–432, 525; M. André, *Le Cienheureux Raymond Lulle*, p. 197, Paris, 1900.

these difficulties; but their number was small. Most of them rejected Christian dogma, wholly or in part, and more or less consciously preached the rules of pagan morality. Purely literary at the outset, then anti-scholastic, the Renaissance ended by being anti-Christian.

The Renaissance had a prodigious success. Several causes contributed to this. Foremost among them was the seduction inherent in literary beauty. The first humanists published manuscripts of Latin writers which they had unearthed from monastic libraries. Endowed with great literary talents themselves, they composed writings which they also published. Formerly, in the sixth century, certain monks cursed literature, which appeared to them to be a snare of the devil. But the men of the fourteenth century, clergy as well as laity, monks as well as clergy, no longer had the ardent and narrow faith of a St. Cæsarius of Arles or of a St. Gregory. They allowed themselves to be captivated by the charms of literary beauty, and their sympathies were gained for the Renaissance movement.

To this fundamental cause of success must be added several secondary causes. In the first place was the distrust which scholasticism was beginning to inspire. Occam had just denounced the impotence and sterility of demonstrations founded on the dialectic. Then he had gathered around him disciples who, like himself, believed that scholasticism was a failure. This scepticism was a state of mind eminently favourable to a literary reaction. Thus the Renaissance profited by the disaffection from which the study of theology was suffering. In the second place, it profited by political circumstances. The Turks penetrated into eastern Europe and threatened Constantinople. Many Greeks fled before the invasion, and came to seek an asylum in Italy. Among these refugees were some men of letters. They brought with them the manuscripts of Greek writers. Left to themselves, the first humanists would have been able to read to their contemporaries only pages of Cicero and of Virgil. The Greek refugees read the poems of Homer and the *Dialogues* of Plato: they revealed to the

Italians the genius of ancient Greece, and this revelation awakened enthusiastic sympathies. Unintentionally and unwittingly the Turks furnished the humanists with valuable auxiliaries, and served the cause of the Renaissance. Finally, mention must be made of printing. Discovered at Mayence about 1436, printing was made known about 1462, and thereafter it spread rapidly throughout Europe. The Renaissance found in it a wonderful instrument of popularization. We know the causes of the success of the movement; let us now say something of the movement itself.

The fathers of the Renaissance were Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Salutato.[1] It would be almost sufficient to name only Petrarch, so immense was his ascendancy over his era. Nevertheless, Boccacio and Salutato displayed so much zeal in research, in the transcription and correction of manuscripts, that their names deserve to be joined to the name of Petrarch. These three Italians received important aid from two Greeks, Bernard Barlaam and Leontius Pilatus, who about the middle of the fourteenth century came to the West, and widened the horizon of the humanists by initiating them into Greek literature. Salutato was the secretary of Popes Urban v. and Gregory xi. at Avignon. Later he acted as chancellor in the republic of Florence. At his instance Emmanuel Chrysoloras, ambassador of the emperor Manuel Palæologus, settled at Florence, and for eighteen years taught Greek to his disciples, among whom it is sufficient to mention Poggio, Leonardo Aretino, and Traversari. A little later Gemistus Plethon came into the same city to teach the Platonic philosophy, and had as his disciple Cosmo de Medici himself. Thus at its beginning the Renaissance found at Florence a support the tradition of which the Medicis continued from the middle of the fifteenth century.[2]

The Renaissance had another protector, as devoted as Florence, and more powerful—the papacy.[3] Before being

[1] E. Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles VIII.*, pp. 78–118.

[2] Müntz, p. 376.

[3] Pastor, i. 130, 229, 385, ii. 655, iii. 7, 103, 745.

chancellor at Florence, Salutato, as has been said, was secretary to the last two popes at Avignon. Innocent VII. had as his secretary Leonardo Aretino, a disciple of Emmanuel Chrysoloras. Another humanist of great renown, Poggio, secretary of Boniface IX., kept this position through six successive pontificates. At an early day the Roman Curia showed hospitality to the Renaissance. As time passed, this sympathy increased. Eugenius IV. took the humanists into his service. Nicholas V. distributed among them a profusion of money and of honours, and founded the Vatican library, in which he deposited about a thousand manuscripts, which cost a fortune in gold. Under the pontificate of Paul II. the humanists were in disgrace, which in the case of two of them, Platina and Pomponius Lætus, involved imprisonment. But under Sixtus IV. they had their revenge. Platina was set at the head of the Vatican library, and was commissioned to write the lives of the popes. Pomponius Lætus, who was a professor, reopened his courses. At this time the Renaissance exercised sovereign power at Rome.

This power was fatal to the Christian spirit. In truth, for a long time the Christian spirit had been dying out at the Roman Curia. The famous Poggio was imbued with pagan maxims, which he did his best to spread around him. And this despiser of the gospel pursued for forty years his work of dechristianization. After Poggio came Marsuppini, Valla, Beccadelli, and others, all enemies of Christian morals, all in the service of the papacy. Sixtus IV. showed great kindness to these apostles of paganism; and it was not in vain. At the time of his death the pagan spirit reigned at the Roman Curia. It bore fruit in the succeeding pontificates, under Innocent VIII., and still more under Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X. Cardinals, priests, and laity went over to paganism, and the papacy led the cortège. Unfortunately, a Saxon monk troubled the feast. Luther caused dismay at the Roman Curia. At the end of several years, events assumed tragic form because of his attack. In 1527, Rome suffered from one of the most terrible pillages that history has recorded. It was a decisive time. After the disaster, the

Roman Curia recovered. It did not give up the pagan spirit, but restrained it, and entrenched it in the realm of art. Wherever artistic prepossessions were not in question, it put at the head of its programme the defence and propagation of the Gospel.

From Italy the Renaissance passed into Germany, England, and France. Germany was initiated, during the last decades of the fifteenth century.[1] Then arose a galaxy of humanists, most of whom were likewise eminent teachers: Agricola, Hegius, Dalberg, Langen, Murmellius, Wimpheling, Reuchlin, and Erasmus.

A man of genius, Erasmus easily eclipsed all the other humanists. He was the Petrarch of Germany, or rather the Petrarch of his age; and all nations, all princes, wished to claim him. But Erasmus was the enemy of the monks, the enemy of scholasticism, the enemy of dogmas. He made war on the institutions of the Church, on the beliefs of Christian people. His example was contagious. Many disciples—let us name only the two most famous, the canon Mutian and Ulrich von Hutten—were eager to walk in the footsteps of the master. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Renaissance became in Germany what for fifty years it had been in Italy —it became anti-Christian. When Luther revolted against the papacy, the humanists supported him warmly. This alliance was fatal to them. The Church, which had permitted the Renaissance to invade it, gathered all its energies to crush Protestantism. The humanists for an instant endeavoured to be in both camps at the same time; but they were soon obliged to give up this policy and to take a side. Erasmus, who had not the temperament of a martyr, remained in the Roman Church; Reuchlin imitated him. Others went over to Protestantism. During this time Germany was subjected to fire and sword. The Renaissance was stifled.

In England it was scarcely better served by political circumstances.[2] Yet in that country it made a promising

[1] Janssen-Pastor, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, ii. 1 et seq.; L. Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1882.

[2] *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, iii. 1–19, Cambridge, 1909.

beginning. Its first apostles were Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet. These three men went to Florence, where they followed the courses of the humanists. Upon their return to England they introduced the new methods at the university of Oxford. About 1492 Thomas More, a young man full of talent, finished his Oxford studies. A pupil of Linacre, he did honour to his master, and soon showed himself a brilliant humanist. Some years later (1497) Erasmus made his first visit to England. Colet, with whom he came into contact, turned his attention to religious science; at the same time he imparted to him a conception of the Christian religion, which put morality into the foreground, and left dogma in the shade. Erasmus owed much to that eminent man. In return he exercised considerable influence upon Thomas More, who became his friend. It was in the house of More, during a subsequent visit to England (1509), that he composed the *Encomium of Folly*. At this date English humanism was powerfully protected by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. It soon had a more powerful protector in Thomas More, who gradually rose to the highest offices in the kingdom. But then occurred the divorce of Henry VIII. Thomas More and Fisher were beheaded. It was the beginning of a persecution which was to be prolonged through several reigns.

It was France which, except in the realm of art, was preparing the most brilliant destiny for the Renaissance.[1] Yet it was rather late before it felt the influence of the literary movement of Petrarch. In 1492, Lefèvre d'Etaples went to Italy to attend the school of the humanists; then, returning to Paris, he educated pupils, among whom were Budæus, Vatable, Farel, Briçonnet, the future bishop of Meaux, and Poncher, afterwards bishop of Paris. In 1508 the Italian Aleandra came to Paris, and for five years taught Greek there. It was thus that the Renaissance—leaving out of account an ephemeral manifestation during the period of

[1] H. Hauser, "De l'humanisme et de la Reforme en France, 1512–1552," in *Rev. Hist.*, lxiv. 258–297 (1897); F. Buisson, *Sebastien Castellion, sa vie et ses œuvres*, i. 49–55, Paris, 1892.

the popes at Avignon—came into France. In the beginning it was persecuted by the theologians, who saw in the teaching of Greek a grave danger coming from the side of heresy. But the friends of Greek victoriously pleaded its cause with Francis I.; and this king, who is called "the father of letters," in 1530, under the influence of Budæus, founded the Collège de France, which was designed to give instruction in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. After this time, although persecuted by theologians, the Renaissance was saved; or rather one of its schools was sacrificed, but the other saved. For two schools arose in the midst of it; one was religious, the other was literary. The first was directed by Lefèvre d'Etaples and Briçonnet. It hoped—before the appearance of Protestantism—for a reform of the Church, felt for Luther's undertaking a certain amount of sympathy which caused it some annoyances, and did not survive the first members, almost all of whom died in the communion of the Church. The second school, supported by public opinion, had a free career; it could even, by employing some circumspection, attack dogmas. To it belonged Rabelais, Marot, Bonaventura des Périers; to it belonged the future.

CHAPTER XVI

Ecclesiastical Writers

SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

St. Gregory, born at Rome about A.D. 540, was the son of Gordion, the deacon of the region, a great-grandson of Pope Felix III., and a great-nephew of St. Benedict. His brilliancy as a student and his talents attracted the attention of the Constantinople court, and about 570 he was appointed prefect of Rome by the emperor Justinian. But his ascetic tendencies soon gave him a disgust for men of the world. He gave up his office, built six monasteries in Sicily, and a seventh in Rome—the monastery of St. Andrew—and entered it as a monk (575). In 577 he was taken from his contemplative life by Pope Benedict I., who ordained him deacon and entrusted to him one of the ecclesiastical districts of Rome. Two years later (579) he was sent by Pope Pelagius II. as an advocate to the court of Constantinople, there to defend the interests of the papacy. Returning to Rome about 585, he resumedh is life as a monk at St. Andrew's, without being able, however, wholly to escape administrative cares. In 590 he was elected to succeed Pope Pelagius II., who had just died. The situation was terrible. Rome, ravaged by the plague and a prey to famine, had also to resist the Lombards, who were threatening it. To avoid formidable responsibilities, Gregory then wrote secretly to the emperor Maurice, and besought him not to ratify the election. But shortly afterwards, learning that his letter had been intercepted by the prefect of Rome, he left the city, concealed in a basket, and sought to hide in the country. At the end

of three days he was discovered, brought back in triumph, and consecrated at St. Peter's (3rd September 590).

During his pontificate, Gregory undertook to convert the Anglo-Saxons to the Christian faith, and entrusted the execution of this plan to the monk Augustine, whose mission was completely successful. While he respected the authority of the Byzantine emperor, he made an effort to direct his religious policy. He protested, uselessly, however, against the manœuvres of the archbishop of Constantinople, who was endeavouring to establish his own primacy in the Church. He also expended almost fruitless efforts to make the conquest of the Frankish Church, to break its autonomy, to bring it under the yoke of the papacy, in a word, to accomplish the work which a century and a half later was to be realized by the monk Boniface. All these facts, together with others, have been set forth elsewhere; it is enough to allude to them here.

WRITINGS.—(1) The *Commentary on Job*, which is ordinarily called *Morals*. This work, begun at Constantinople by request of Leander, bishop of Seville, comprises thirty-five books. It was finished during Gregory's pontificate. Without any exegetical value, it presents, on every page, morals and ascetic counsels. It was the book most read in the Benedictine monasteries at the beginning of the Middle Ages. (2) The *Pastoral* (*Regulæ pastoralis liber*) sets forth the obligations of the episcopate in four books, which treat of the promotion of the bishop, of his life, of his teaching, of the virtues necessary to his position. This book, written by Gregory at the beginning of his pontificate to justify his conduct at the time of his election, was in 602 translated into Greek by order of the emperor Maurice. In the ninth century Alfred the Great translated it into Anglo-Saxon. In the year 813 the Frankish Church obliged its bishops to study the *Pastoral*, and to take it as a guide. (3) *Dialogues*, a collection of miraculous narratives, were composed about 593, that is to say, during his pontificate. The puerile thaumaturgy which this book displays, was the delight of the Middle Ages. (4) *Homilies*; of these,

twenty-two are on Ezekiel, and forty on the Gospels. (5) Letters; of these, there are eight hundred and fifty-three. (6) Liturgical works and biblical commentaries. The Gregorian origin of these is disputed.[1]

The Venerable Bede[2] was born (673) in Northumberland near the abbey which Benedict Biscop had founded at Wearmouth. At the age of seven his parents confided him to Benedict Biscop, who received him into the abbey and began his education. A short time afterwards (682) a company detached itself from Wearmouth and founded a new monastery at Yarrow. Bede was one of this colony. At the age of nineteen he received the diaconate; at thirty he was ordained priest. These are the only dates in his life that history has recorded. Having gone to Yarrow (682), Bede did not leave it. He tells us this himself in the autobiographical notice at the end of the fifth book of his history: "I have passed my whole life in this monastery, where I have surrendered myself to meditation on the Scriptures, the observation of discipline, and daily singing in the church. My joy has always been to learn, to teach, or to write." He died on 26th May 735.

Writings.—Bede himself arranged the catalogue of his writings in the autobiographical notice just mentioned, which he drew up in 731. They were forty-five in number, and had an encyclopædic character. The most famous of them all is the *Ecclesiastical History of England* (*Historia ecclesiastica*

[1] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, i. 23–33, ii. 1, 3, v. 25; "Vita," by Paul Diacre, in Migne, lxxv. 41; "Vita," by Jean Diacre, in Migne, lxxv. 63; Writings, in Migne, lxxv.–lxxix.; "Letters," in *Monumenta Germaniæ, Ep.*, i. and ii., Berlin, 1891; L. Pingaud, *La Politique de Saint Grégoire le Grand*, Paris, 1872; F. W. Kellet, *Pope Gregory the Great and his Relations with Gaul*, London, 1889; A. Gray, *The Origin and Early History of Christianity in Britain*, London, 1897; W. Bright, *Chapters on Early English Church History*, Oxford, 1897; F. Homes Dudden, *Gregory the Great, his Place in History and Thought*, 2 vols., London, 1905.

[2] Writings, in Migne, xc.–xcv.; Ch. Plummer, *Ven. Bedæ historia ecclesiastica*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1896; Ch. Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History*, No. 1255, London, 1900; G. Marin, "Le Recueil primitif des homélies de Bède sur l'Évangile," in *Revue bénédictine*, ix. 316 (1892); M. Quentin, "Bède le Vénérable," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, iii. 362.

gentis Anglorum), which relates the story of that country from the time of Cæsar to 731. From the origins to the conversion of England (596), the recital is only a compilation borrowed from Paul Orosius, Gildas, Prosper of Aquitania, and from the *Vita sancti Germani.* But from the time of the mission of Augustine, Bede gives us a personal work derived sometimes from written sources—through his friend Nothelm he procured numerous documents from the Roman archives; others were furnished by monasteries—sometimes from oral information. From whatever quarter they have come, he makes use of them with remarkable impartiality, and while he is not sufficiently master of his subject, he at least has the merit of expressing himself in a clear and elegant style. Translated into Anglo-Saxon by king Alfred the Great, the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* was the national book of the English. It is justly that the author has been called the father of the history of England.

Other writings in the domain of history or chronology were: (1) *The Life of St. Cuthbert,* abbot of Lindisfarne; *The Lives of the first Abbots of Wearmouth and Yarrow; The Life of St. Felix of Nole,* according to a poem of St. Paulinus; (2) a *Martyrologg,* which has often been revised, but which is preserved in its original state in certain manuscripts; (3) *De ratione temporum,* a manual of chronology; (4) *De temporibus,* which is the germ of the preceding book; and (5) a *Chronicle,* which ends at the year 727.

In the domain of theology, fifty homilies for a long time mingled with unauthentic documents, and the sifting of which, begun by Mabillon, was completed by Morin; and commentaries on the Bible, several of which are lost. Some penitential rituals are ascribed to Bede by the manuscripts, but it seems necessary to reject these attributions.

Of an encyclopædic character are *De natura rerum,* which is a course of geography and cosmography; *De orthographia, De metrica arte, De schematibus sive tropis,* which teach respectively grammar, poetry, and rhetoric. Other dissertations of his have less importance; among them it is enough to mention *De locis sacris,* which gives, concerning

the topography and archæology of Palestine, information taken from similar books by Adamnan, Eucher, and Hegesippus.

We have sixteen of Bede's letters, the most important of which, from an historical point of view, is one addressed to Egbert, archbishop of York.

OTHER WRITERS: ITALY.—BOËTHIUS,[1] of the famous family of the Anicii, was born at Rome about 480, and went to Athens to study, where he acquired all the science of his age. Upon his return to Rome he attracted the notice of the Gothic king Theodorich. A consul in 510, he was raised in 522 to be Master of the Palace. But soon afterwards Theodorich accused him of having secret relations with the court of Constantinople; he was cast into prison, was condemned, and died amid horrible tortures.

WRITINGS.—(1) *The Consolation of Philosophy* (*De consolatione philosophiæ*). This book, written by Boëthius in his prison, was translated in the early Middle Ages into almost all the languages of Europe, and was admired by many generations of readers. (2) Translations from Aristotle and from Porphyry, a commentary on the *Categories* of Aristotle, and upon the *Topics* of Cicero; philosophical treatises, and treatises on music and arithmetic. (3) Theological treatises on the Trinity and the Incarnation.

Boëthius was an encyclopædic genius. As his book *De consolatione* makes no mention of Christ, of the Apostles, or of the books of the Bible, the question has been asked in our day whether he was a Christian. The negative answer generally accepted in the middle of the last century, implying as a consequence that the theological treatises are not authentic, is to-day generally rejected. Boëthius was a Christian, and was the author of the books which bear his name.

[1] Writings, in Migne, lxiii.–lxiv.; R. Peiper, *Boetii philosophiæ consolationis libri quinque*, Lipsiæ, 1871; G. Boissier, "Le Christianisme de Boéce," in *Journal des Savants*, p. 451, 1889; G. Pfeilschifter, *Der Ostgothenkönig Theodorich der Grosse*, pp. 169–184, Münster, 1896.

CASSIODORUS [1] was born at Squillace in Calabria about 480, of a family which for three generations had furnished high officials for the state. At twenty years of age he was quæstor, then successively prefect of the prætorium, patrician, consul, and for forty years was adviser to Gothic kings. At the verge of old age, about 540, he gave up his dignities and went to Calabria to found the monastery of Viviers, which he made a house of prayer, manual labour, and study. He died (573) at the age of ninety-three.

WRITINGS.—(1) *The Tripartite History* (*Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*), which sets forth the ecclesiastical history of the early centuries, with the aid of extracts from Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret. The monks of the Middle Ages knew scarcely anything of the first centuries of the Church, except by means of this book. (2) The *Institutions* (*Institutiones*). The first part of these is an introduction to the study of the sacred sciences; and the second part, a manual of the seven liberal arts. (3) *Variæ*. This is a collection of the ordinances drawn up by Cassiodorus at the time when he was in the administration. These ordinances served as a model to the chancellories. (4) The *De Anima* is a philosophical treatise. (5) Of his history of the Goths, we have only an outline. (6) Commentaries on the Bible.

ENNODIUS [2] was born in the south of Gaul, passed into Italy, became bishop of Pavia, and died in 521. We have his letters, some poems, panegyrics, and dissertations, all written in an obscure and turgid style.

PAUL THE DEACON [3] (Paul Warnefried) was of Lombard origin, and was monk at Mount Cassin about 774. At first he was an enemy of France, but circumstances obliged him

[1] Writings, in Migne, lxix.–lxx.; Mommsen, "Cassiodori senatoris variæ," in M. G., *Auctores antiquissimi*, xii., Berlin, 1894; Th. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus, being a condensed translation of the Variæ*, London, 1886.

[2] Fr. Vogel, "Magni Felicis Ennodii Opera," in M. G., *Auct. antiq.*, vii. 1885. See also Migne, lxiii., and G. Hartel, in *Corpus scriptorum Ecclesiæ latinæ*, vi., Vienna, 1882; B. Hasenstab, *Studien zur Ennodius*, München, 1890.

[3] Fr. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht*, Leipzig, 1897; F. Cabrol, "Charlemagne et la liturgie," in *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturg*, iv. 814. Writings, in M. G., *Auctores antiquissimi*, ii.; *Poetæ latini ævi Carolini*, i.; *Ep.*, iv.

to enter into relations with Charlemagne, who took him into his service. He died in 799. He wrote (1) The *Homilarium*, a collection of liturgical lessons for matins, composed by order of Charlemagne; (2) *Life of Pope St. Gregory*; (3) *History of the Lombards.*

LIBER PONTIFICALIS [1] is a collection of the lives of Popes since St. Peter. The first edition of this anonymous book dates from about 530, after the pontificate of Felix IV.

GAUL.—SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS,[2] a noble Gallo-Roman, born at Lyons about 430, was elected—not without opposition—bishop of Clermont (about 470), gave up the life of pagan luxury which he had formerly led; died about 482. His letters remain, which give us an idea of the morals of that period.

GENNADIUS [3] was a priest of Marseilles, and a contemporary of Pope Gelasius. He wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, and polemical books which have disappeared. We have only his *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus.* He died after 492.

ST. AVITUS,[4] bishop of Vienne at the end of the fifth century, vainly endeavoured to lead the Gothic king Gondebrand to the Catholic faith, and renewed the same attempt with Sigismund, the son of Gondebrand, with success. From him we have: (1) Letters written in a very obscure style; (2) Biblical poems (on the Creation, the fall of Adam, the expulsion from Paradise, and others), in which critics have discovered some literary merit; (3) Homilies, which are almost all in a fragmentary state. He died in 518.

ST. CÆSARIUS OF ARLES [5] was born in 470, in the region of

[1] L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., Paris, 1886–1892; H. Grisar, "Liber Pontificalis," in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.*, xi. 417 (1887).

[2] Migne, lviii.; Ch. Luetjohann, "Cai Solii Apollinaris Sidonii epistolæ et carmina," in M. G., *Auctores antiq.*, viii.; G. Kaufmann, *Die Werke des C. S. A. Sidonius als eine Quelle für die Geschichte seiner Zeit*, Göttingen, 1864; Dr. R. Holland, *Studia sidoniana*, Leipzig, 1905.

[3] Migne, lviii.; Br. Czapla, *Gennadius als Litterarhistoriker*, Münster, 1898.

[4] Migne, lix.; R. Peiper, "Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti Opera," in M. G., *Auctores antiq.*, vi. 2; U. Chevalier, *Œuvres complètes de Saint Avit*, Lyon, 1890.

[5] Migne, lxvii. and xxxix.; A. Malnory, *Saint Césaire évêque d'Arles*, Paris, 1894; C. F. Arnold, *Cæsarius von Arelate und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1894; P. Lejay, *Le Rôle théologique de Saint Césaire d'Arles*, Paris, 1905 (taken from the *Revue d'histoire et de litt. religieuse*).

Châlon-sur-Saône, of a Gallo-Roman family. At the age of eighteen he entered the clergy of Châlon, which he left at the expiration of two years to go to Lérins, where he became a monk. Appointed bishop of Arles (503), he ruled his church for forty years. The relations which he had with Rome, and the place which he occupied in the church of Gaul, have been noticed elsewhere. It is sufficient to note here that he presided over numerous councils, the most important of which were those of Agde (506), Arles (524), Orange (529), Vaison (529).

WRITINGS.—(1) Sermons, the majority of which are to be found following sermons of St. Augustine, with which they are mingled; (2) *Statuta ecclesiæ antiqua*, disciplinary regulations which for a long time were attributed to the fourth council of Carthage; (3) *Monastic Rules*, which have been mentioned elsewhere; (4) Edition of the *Acts* of the councils over which he presided.

GILDAS,[1] a native of Great Britain, was driven out by the Anglo-Saxon invasion. He took refuge in Armorique, and founded a monastery at Rhuis, near Vannes. He wrote *De excidio Britannæ*.

ST. GREGORY OF TOURS[2] was born in Auvergne, of a senatorical family (538). In 563 he went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin at Tours to ask to be cured of a disease from which he was suffering. He returned cured. Ten years later he was elected bishop of Tours. He was a subject of Chilperic, with whom he had difficulties; and of Childebert, with whom he obtained great favour. He governed his church for twenty years. He died on 17th November 593.

WRITINGS.—(1) *History of the Franks* (*Historiæ Francorum*) is a work of the first order, not on account of literary talent —in that respect it is nothing—but on account of the im-

[1] Migne, lxix.; Mommsen, in M. G., *Auctores antiq.*, xiii. 3 (Chronica minora); Th. H. Hardy, in *Monumenta historica britannica*, i., 1848; A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i., Oxford, 1869; H. Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus*, Berlin, 1893.

[2] Migne, lxxi.; W. Arndt and Br. Krusch, in M. G., *Scriptores rerum merov.*, i., Berlin, 1884.

portant information which it gives, which gained for Gregory the title, the "father of the history of France." It comprises eight books, the first of which, excepting the last chapters, is devoted to the general history of the world; (2) *Miracles of St. Martin*, in four books; (3) *Lives of the Fathers*, a history of twenty-three Gallic saints; (4) *Glory of the Martyrs*; (5) *Glory of the Confessors*; (6) *Miracles of St. Julien*; (7) *Miracles of St. Andrew*.

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS[1] was born near Trevisia (535), and studied at Ravenna. Having been cured of a disease of the eyes while in that city, through the power of St. Martin, he resolved to go, as an action of grace, to the tomb of that saint, and he made his way to Tours. After accomplishing the pilgrimage he passed to Poitiers, where at the time St. Radegonde was living. He entered the service of that pious princess, was ordained priest, and at length became bishop of Poitiers. He died about 600.

WRITINGS.—(1) Numerous *poems* which display facility in versification, but an inflated style. Several are worldly, and indicate that the author's life was not very strict; others have a religious character. Three have found their way into the catholic liturgy. These are: *Vexilla regis, Pange lingua gloriosi*, and *Quem terra, pontus*; (2) *A Life of St. Martin*, in verse; (3) *Lives* of saints, in prose, notably of St. Radegonde, St. Germain of Paris, St. Aubin of Angers, and St. Hilary.

ST. BONIFACE[2] whose apostolate is noticed elsewhere, has left us: (1) *Letters*, to the number of forty; (2) *Sermons*, the authenticity of which is however disputed; (3) Decisions of councils, among which should be mentioned *Statuta Bonifacii*, the authorship of which is doubted; (4) Grammar entitled *De octo orationis partibus*, published in the last century by Mai.

ST. CHRODEGANG,[3] who has already been mentioned, wrote rules for canons (*Regula canonicorum*).

[1] Migne, lxxxviii.; Fr. Leo and Br. Krusch, in M. G., *Scriptores antiq.*, iv., Berlin, 1881–1885.

[2] Migne, lxxxix; E. Duemmler, in M. G., *Epistolæ*, iii., Berlin, 1892; *Id.*, in M. G., *Poetæ latini ævi carolini*, Berlin, 1881; Hauck, i. 448–594.

[3] Migne, M. G., *Scriptores*, ii. 267; *Acta Sanctorum*, Mars., i. 352.

SPAIN.—ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE,[1] born at Carthagena about 560, was the brother of Leander, bishop of Seville, who educated him and whom he succeeded about 600. While bishop he endeavoured to extirpate Arianism, presided over several councils, and died in 636.

WRITINGS.—(1) *Etymologies* (or Origins), an encyclopædia which sums up all the science of the time. It need not be said that this is very puerile, especially with respect to the etymologies proposed by Isidore; (2) *Sentences*, an essay in theological synthesis, composed with the aid of texts taken from the Fathers, especially from St. Gregory; (3) *Ecclesiastical Offices*, having to do with the liturgy and clerical discipline; (4) *History of the Gothic, Vandal, and Suevian kings*; (5) other books relating to the *Etymologies*.

ST. MARTIN OF BRAGA[2] died in 580. We have his collection of canons, a sermon on the vices of the peasants, some treatises on morals, largely taken from Seneca.

ST. ILDEFONSO,[3] born at Toledo (about 608); bishop of that city (659); died, 669; wrote on the perpetual virginity of Mary, and on the rites of baptism.

ST. JULIAN,[4] bishop of Toledo from 681 to 690; wrote a book on the moments which precede death, and upon the state of souls departing this life.

AFRICAN GROUP.—FULGENTIUS,[5] bishop of Ruspe at the time of the Vandal domination; was twice exiled by king Thrasamund; returned to his diocese in 523, and died 533. From him we have a considerable number of theological writings. The most celebrated is the *De fide ad Petrum*, which for a long time was attributed to St. Augustine. Fulgentius was one of the chief representatives of the Augustinian theology.

VIGILIUS,[6] bishop of Thapse, like Fulgentius, was a victim

[1] Migne, lxxxi.–lxxxiv.; Mommsen, in M. G., *Auctores antiq.*, xi., Berlin, 1894; P. Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 2, p. 102, Regensburg, 1874.

[2] Migne, lxxii., lxxiii. (see Bardenhever, *Patrologie*, p. 579, Freiburg, 1901); Caspari, *Martin von Bracaras*; Schrift, *De correctione rusticorum*, Christiania, 1883.

[3] Migne, xcvi.; Gams, ii. 2, 135.

[4] Migne, xcvi.; Gams, ii. 2, 176.

[5] Migne, lxv.

[6] *Id.*, lxii.

of the Vandal kings, and passed a part of his life in exile. He died a little after 520. He wrote several books against Arianism and Eutychianism under a borrowed name.

VICTOR OF VITE,[1] an African priest born after 488; wrote the history of the Vandal persecution in Africa until 484. VICTOR, bishop of Tunnones in Africa, a defender of the Three Chapters; wrote a *Chronicle*, of which we possess only the last part, which covers the period from 444 to 567. FACUNDUS, bishop of Hermiane in Africa, wrote several books in favour of the Three Chapters. He died after 571. LIBERATUS, deacon of Carthage, also a defender of the Three Chapters; about 565 wrote a history (*Breviarium*) of the Christological disputes of the fifth century, down to the fifth general council.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.—COLUMBAN,[2] whose life has been recounted elsewhere, left: (1) *Letters*, six in number; (2) some sermons; (3) a rule for the monks (*Regula cœnobialis*); 4. *Ritual of Penance*, which under its present form (forty-two articles) must have undergone later additions.

EGBERT,[3] a disciple of Bede, was archbishop of York (732–766) and founded a famous school in that city. From him we have: (1) A *Pontifical* which was published in its entirety—the Benedictine *Martène* had long ago given extracts from it—in the middle of the last century; (2) *Penitential*; (3) *Dialogue on the Catholic Institution.*

CAROLINGIAN PERIOD

ALCUIN[4] was born about 735, in Northumbria, of a noble Anglo-Saxon family. As a young man he went to York to the school just founded in that city by the archbishop Egbert,

[1] Migne, lviii.; C. Halm, in M. G., *Auctores antiq.*, iii. 1, Berlin, 1879; M. Petschenig, in *Corpus of Vienna*, Vienna, 1881.

[2] Migne, lxxx.; W. Gundlach, in M. G., *Epist.*, iii. 154, 182.

[3] Migne, lxxxix.; W. Greenwell, in *Surtees Society*, xxvii., London, 1853.

[4] Migne, c., ci.; F. Duemmler, in M. G., *Epist.*, iv.; Hauck, ii. 123–145; A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de la France*, i. 185, Paris, 1902; F. Cabrol, in *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturg.*, i. 1072 (especially 1077), and iii. 807 (especially 814, 818, 819).

and had Ælbert as his master. In 766, Ælbert became archbishop of York. Alcuin then directed the school in which he had been a disciple. To encyclopædic knowledge Alcuin joined eminent pædagogical qualities. Pupils flocked from every quarter, and the school of York eclipsed all the other schools of England. In 781, Alcuin received from Eanbald, archbishop of York, the mission to go to Rome to seek the pallium for him. On his journey he met Charlemagne at Parma. The Frankish king, who was thinking of introducing the study of letters among his subjects, asked the Oxford professor to aid him in realizing this project. The proposal was accepted, and when he had executed the orders of Eanbald, and had obtained the necessary authorizations, Alcuin went to the Continent, entered the service of Charlemagne, lived at the court, and was one of the chief courtiers. As a reward of his good will he received at the outset from the great king the abbeys of Ferrières and St. Loup de Troyes, to which was added afterwards (796) the abbey of St. Martin of Tours. In 786 he made a brief stay in his own country, during which he attended the councils of Corabrige and Cealchyd.[1] About 789 he made a second visit to England, and remained there four years. In 793 we find him once more at the court of Charlemagne. Eight years afterwards, broken by old age and infirmities, he left the palace and returned to his abbey of St. Martin, where he died at the end of three years (804).

Writings.—(1) In the domain of Dogma: *Libellus adversus hæresin Felicis* (about 793); *Adversus Felicem*, libri vii. (about 794); *Adversus Elipandum*, libri iv. (about 800). These three writings and polemical works were directed against the Adoptionist heresy; *De fide sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis*, libri iii., a work founded on St. Augustine (after 800); *De Trinitate ad Fredegisium quæstiones*, xxviii.; *Liber de processione Spiritus Sancti*, a compilation of patristic texts to prove the *Filioque*, the authorship of which, however, is disputed; *Confessio fidei*, a compilation of patristic texts concern-

[1] E. Duemmler, "Zur Lebensgeschichte Alkuins" in *Neues Archiv*, xviii. 30 (1892).

ing various Christian dogmas, the authorship of which is also disputed. The *Carolinian Books*, a refutation of the second council of Nicæa, composed in the name of Charlemagne, either by a single anonymous theologian, who must be Alcuin, or by several theologians, of whom Alcuin was probably thec hief; various Biblical Commentaries. (2) In the domain of Liturgy: *The Lectionary*, the real title of which is, *Comes ab Albino ex Caroli imperatoris præcepto emendatus*, a collection of epistles read at mass; the *Homeliarium*, a collection of sermons from the Fathers, for the use of preachers; *Liber Sacramentorum*, a book of private devotions, in which Alcuin appointed a special mass for every day in the week—there is a mass of the Holy Trinity for Sunday, a mass of the Holy Virgin for Saturday; *Officia per ferias*, a collection of prayers for every day of the week; *De psalmorum usu*, a collection of prayers for various occasions, preceded by remarks on the manner of using the Psalms; these last two books, like the *Liber Sacramentorum*, are works of private devotion; finally, the book entitled *Gregorian Sacramentary*, that is, the sacramentary sent by Pope Adrian to Charlemagne, which Alcuin transcribed, adding a certain number of masses which did not exist in the time of St. Gregory. (3) Letters, more than three hundred in number, some of which have a theological bearing; four Lives of the Saints; some verses; a short philosophical treatise on the soul, entitled *De animæ ratione*; a small manual on morals, called *De virtutibus et vitiis*; some books on pædagogy, in dialogue form.

At the court of Charlemagne, Alcuin was what we call the minister of public instruction. This involved the execution of the intellectual programme of the Frankish king, a programme which included (1) the defence of orthodoxy against error; (2) the establishment of the Roman liturgy in Frankish countries; (3) the literary and scientific education of the Franks. Conforming to the orders of his prince, Alcuin (1) refuted in books referred to above, the Adoptionist heresy of Elipand, and Felix, and probably composed in whole or in part the Carolinian books; (2) introduced into the Frankish empire the Gregorian Missal, after having previously

enriched it with some new masses; and (3) devoted attention to pædagogy. The theological writings are only a matter for our curiosity; Alcuin had no influence whatever upon dogma. On the contrary, he had a considerable place in the history of the liturgy. From him was derived the Missal which after the ninth century was in use in the Frankish Church. And this missal of Alcuin at length reached Rome, where it supplanted the ancient liturgy. That which is known as the Roman Missal is, with the exception of some recent additions, the missal composed by Alcuin. But it was especially in the department of pædagogy that Alcuin acquired a right to our gratitude. At Aix-la-Chapelle he organized the School of the Palace (*scola palatii*); there he introduced the study of the liberal acts. He made it an academy, and at the same time placed in honour among the Frankish nobility the culture of letters. More than this, at Aix-la-Chapelle, even as later at St. Martin of Tours, he trained disciples like Raban Maur, who introduced intellectual culture into Germany. Not only did he train teachers; he also improved the instruments of labour, that is to say, the manuscripts, into which he introduced punctuation, the separation of words, and calligraphy. Alcuin was the teacher of the Middle Ages; more than any other man, he helped to transmit to future generations the results of ancient culture.

Other Writers.—Theodulf of Orleans,[1] born probably in Spain about 760, acquired considerable literary culture, married, and became the father of a family. Forced to leave his country, he went to France and presented himself to Charlemagne, who in consideration of his talents received him kindly, made him bishop of Orleans, and also gave him several abbeys (before 798). As bishop, Theodulf endeavoured to spread instruction among the clergy and among the people, he cultivated architecture and poetry. After the death of Charlemagne, becoming involved in an action for high treason,

[1] Migne, cv.; Duemmler, in M. G., *Poetæ latini medii ævi*, i.; Ch. Cuissard, *Théodulfe évêque d'Orléans, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Orléans, 1892; C. Port, in *Rev. de l'Anjou*, 1879.

he was sent into exile at Angers, where he probably died (821). From him we have treatises on the Holy Ghost, the ceremony of baptism, ecclesiastical rules (*capitula*), a treatise on the administration of the sacraments (*capitulare*), some poems (*carmina*), one of which, *Gloria, laus et honor*, composed at Angers, was introduced (in part—the first twelve stanzas) into the liturgy of Palm Sunday.

AGOBARD[1] was born in Spain (779), and received his education in the episcopal school at Lyons. The archbishop of that city, Leidrade, ordained him priest (804), consecrated him bishop (813), and made him his coadjutor. In 816, Leidrade died; Agobard then became archbishop of Lyons. He made praiseworthy efforts to oppose superstition, but was especially occupied with politics. Being a fiery partizan of the sons of Louis the Debonnair, who had revolted against their father, he was one of the chief agents in deposing the unfortunate emperor, who, when he returned to power, sent Agobard into exile, and entrusted the Church of Lyons to Amalaire (835). After being in disgrace for two years, Agobard again ascended the episcopal throne. He died in 840. He wrote (1) a theological treatise against Adoptionism; (2) five books in favour of the sons of Louis the Debonnair; (3) several liturgical books against Amalaire; (4) several treatises against superstitions, among which he placed judicial duels, ordeals, and the worship of images; (5) several books against the Jews.

RABAN MAUR,[2] born at Mayence (784), was offered by his parents to the abbey of Fulda, in which he passed his youth. In 802 he was sent to the abbey of St. Martin of Tours; was a pupil of Alcuin, who gave him the surname "Maur." He then returned to Fulda, where for eighteen years he was professor, not without having difficulties with the abbot Ratgaire, which obliged him temporarily to leave the monastery. Elected abbot of Fulda in 822, he held the office for twenty years, at the end of which time he resigned. In 847 he was appointed bishop of Mayence, and he died in

[1] Migne, civ.; Duemmler, in M. G., *Epist.*, v.

[2] Migne, cvii.–cxii.; Duemmler, in M. G., *Epist.*, v. 2; Hauck, ii. 620–664.

856. From him we have (1) *De Universo*, an encyclopædia the materials of which are taken from Isidore of Seville; (2) *On the Institution of the Clergy*, which is also derived from Isidore; (3) Letters; (4) Homilies; (5) Biblical Commentaries.

HINCMAR,[1] of noble family, was born about 806, and at an early age entered the abbey of St. Denis. Elected archbishop of Reims in 845, he occupied that see for thirty-seven years. He died in 882 at Epernay, where he had sought refuge with the relics of St. Rémi, in order to escape the Normans. Hincmar had troubles with Rome, which have been elsewhere explained; mention has also been made of the part which he took in the condemnation of the monk Gottschalk, and of his disputes on the subject with a part of the Frankish episcopate. We may also recall his conflicts with the clergy of Ebbon, with Rothad of Soissons, and with his nephew Hincmar of Laon, conflicts which caused his troubles with Rome. An enemy of the papal despotism, archbishop Hincmar could not avoid the very defects which he saw and detested in the throne of St. Peter; he was a despotic metropolitan. Let us add that he was an active and enlightened administrator. He was also an author. Unfortunately he is so prolix, that the reading of what he wrote is wearisome. From him we have (1) Letters; (2) Synodical Rules (*capitula synodica*), characterized by ponderous wisdom; (3) Opuscules; (4) a treatise on predestination, and the preface to another treatise which has been lost.

SCOTUS ERIGENA,[2] of Irish origin, was born probably in the very early part of the ninth century, and came—it is not known how—to the court of Charles the Bald, whose sympathies he gained. When the eucharistic controversy broke out he took the side of Ratramne against Paschase Radbert, in favour of the spiritual presence of Christ and against His carnal presence in the Eucharist. He still enjoyed

[1] Migne, cxxv., cxxvi.; H. Schrörs, *Hinkmar, erzbischof von Reims*, Freiburg, 1884.

[2] Migne, cxxii.; M. de Wulf, *Hist. de la philosophie médiévale*, 2nd ed., pp. 179–185, Louvain, 1905; S. Deutsch, *Realencycl.*, xviii. 86.

high consideration when the controversy about predestination took place. It is this which explains the fact that Hincmar resorted to his knowledge, and asked him to refute Gottschalk. Scotus Erigena willingly performed the service which was asked. But he acquitted himself of the task in such a way that he provoked the indignation of Wenilon, Prudentius, Florus, and Rémi; and two councils condemned him. Hincmar was obliged to repudiate this troublesome auxiliary. Scotus Erigena, who then disappeared, died after 880, probably in France.

WRITINGS.—(1) Translation of the works of the Areopagite; (2) Commentary on the book of the celestial hierarchy of the Areopagite; (3) *De divina prædestinatione*, the book asked for by Hincmar; (4) *De divisione naturæ*, a philosophical treatise, in which the Neo-Platonic philosophy (derived from the Areopagite) is combined with pantheism; (5) Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, of which we have only fragments; (6) Poems, a homily, and the translation of a work by St. Maximus.

Scotus Erigena was not the rationalist that he is sometimes thought to have been. He was a believer, but a believer combined with a philosopher, and the philosopher attempted to adapt the data of revelation to the concepts of the reason. Scotus pursued the same object as was afterwards pursued by St. Anselm. He arrived at a different result. This was owing partly to the Neo-Platonic philosophy which he had drawn from the writings of the Areopagite, partly also to the influence of Origen, with whom he was familiar.

ALFRED THE GREAT,[1] born in 849, king of England in 871, died in 901, has a place among the writers of the ninth century. He translated into Anglo-Saxon the Pastoral of St. Gregory, the Histories of Paul Orosius, the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, the Philosophical Consolations of Boëthius, a part of the Soliloquies of St. Augustine. All these translations, particularly that of Boëthius, deal freely with the text. Alfred composed a code which utilized the legislation which

[1] Ch. Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, Oxford, 1902; W. Stephenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, Oxford, 1904.

he found in force. He left a will, in Anglo-Saxon. He was besides, according to certain critics, the author of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is a history of the Anglo-Saxons after the year 732. In his translations he was assisted by Asser the Gaul, whom he called to his presence, and who wrote the biography *De rebus gestis Ælfridi.*

HALITGAIRE, bishop of Cambrai: *Penitential* (831).

EGINHARD: *Life of Charlemagne*; *Annals*; *Letters* (839).

AMALAIRE: important liturgical works (after 850).

JONAS, bishop of Orleans: *Duties of Laymen*; *Duties of Kings*; *Concerning Images* (843).

HILDUIN OF ST. DENIS: *History of St. Dionysius the Areopagite* (840).

WALAFRID STRABO, abbot of Reichenau: Biblical gloss which was much esteemed in the Middle Ages; liturgical works (849).

LOUP, abbot of Ferrières: Letters; book on the predestination controversy.

PASCHASE RADBERT, abbot of Corbie: *On the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*; *On the Maternity of the Virgin*; Commentaries; Letter to Frudegarde (860).

RATRAMNE, a monk of Corbie: *On the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*; *On the Nativity of Christ*; *On Predestination*; *Against the Greeks* (about 870).

PRUDENTIUS, bishop of Troyes: Letter to Hincmar against Scotus Erigena (883).

ADON, archbishop of Vienne: *Chronicle*; *Martyrology* (875).

THE FALSE DECRETALS, a collection of pontifical decrees, a part of which—the most ancient part, as it is thought—was manufactured. The forger, who is to-day still unknown, composed his work either at Reims or Le Mans about 850. His motive was to limit the powers of the metropolitans and resist the encroachments of the laity.

AUXILIUS, consecrated bishop by Pope Formosus, lived afterwards in the region of Naples (about 915); *Pleas for Pope Formosus.*

ELEVENTH CENTURY

ST. ANSELM[1] was born at Aosta, in the Piedmont, in the year 1033. Very devout during his childhood, he passed a dissipated youth. For this, or for some other reason, he was forced to leave the paternal roof, where his father made his life unbearable. After three years of adventurous wanderings he entered the abbey du Bec in Normandy, whither he was attracted by the reputation of Lanfranc; he became immersed in the study of the sciences, and became a monk. That was in 1060; he was then twenty-seven years of age. Three years later he obtained the office of prior, which he filled for fifteen years, at the end of which time he was elected abbot (1078). At length, in 1093, he was appointed archbishop of Canterbury by William Rufus. In this high position he had hard conflicts to endure; conflicts with William Rufus, who wished to prevent him from going to Rome to consult Urban II., and who ended by forbidding him to stay in England (1097); conflicts with Henry I., who required feudal homage of him. These two difficulties cost the archbishop of Canterbury two exiles. In 1107 the conflict came to an end. Anselm, having returned to Canterbury, lived there in peace until the day when he left the earth (21st April 1109).

WRITINGS.— The writings of Anselm are some of a theological, others of an ascetic kind. They may be arranged in two groups, to which must be added his correspondence, which comprises more than four hundred letters.

Theological Works.—To this group belong (1) The *Monologium*, in which the existence of God, His perfections, and the existence of the three divine persons, are demonstrated by reasoning, without any appeal to the data of faith. From a chronological point of view this book is the first of Anselm's writings; it is also one of the most famous; (2) the *Proslogium* a continuation of the *Monologium*, the argument of which he seeks to simplify. It is in this book that occurs the celebrated

[1] Migne, clviii., clix.; Ch. de Rémusat, *St. Anselme de Cantorbéry*, 2me edit., Paris, 1869; J. Rigg, *St. Anselm of Canterbury*, London, 1897.

argument that from the mere concept of God His existence may be deduced. This argument was at once attacked by the monk Gaunilon, whom Anselm answered in the *Liber apologeticus contra Gaunilonem*; (3) the *Cur Deus homo* was composed in the form of a dialogue, to demonstrate syllogistically that the second person of the Trinity became incarnate, took human flesh in the womb of the Virgin, and died for the salvation of men; (4) *De conceptu virginali et originali peccato.* This book was designed to explain how the Incarnate Word escaped the law of original sin; and it interests us chiefly by the efforts which it makes to demolish the Augustinian notion of original sin, and to substitute for it a new notion; (5) the *Liber de fide Trinitatis et de incarnatione Verbi*, written in opposition to Roscelin; (6) the *De processione Spiritus Sancti, contra Græcos*, is a rational demonstration of the Filioque; (7) various writings of lesser importance. The *Monologium* and the *Proslogium* were composed at the abbey du Bec; the other works mentioned were written after Anselm's elevation to the see of Canterbury.

Ascetic Works.—(1) *Homilies*, sixteen in number, several of which are of doubtful authenticity; (2) *Liber meditationum et orationum*, consisting of twenty-one meditations (to which must be added one on the Miserere), and seventy-five prayers. It is with these as with the homilies—some are of uncertain origin or are certainly apocryphal; (3) *De beatitudine cœlesti*, a comprehensive discussion on the happiness of heaven, delivered by Anselm, and reported by his biographer Eadmer; (4) *De pace et concordia*, another discussion by Anselm which we know by the notes of Eadmer; (5) *De similitudinibus*, conversations of Anselm, collected by a friend, probably Eadmer; (6) *Admonitio morienti.*

An eminent philosopher, and a sincere Christian, St. Anselm presented Christian dogmas as philosophical verities, capable of being deduced from rational principles, even as geometrical theorems are deduced from axioms. He occupied himself with this deduction, and demonstrated the mysteries, that is to say, he presented them as postulates of the human reason. In this way he opened a new path to

theology, in which the doctors of the following centuries walked, not, however, without making some reservations. He was the father of Scholasticism. Let us add that, not content with demonstrating dogmas, he interpreted and explained them; and his interpretations of redemption and original sin overturned those which Augustine had given. The father of Scholasticism was also one of the most powerful opponents of Augustinianism.

Other Writers: England.—Lanfranc,[1] born at Pavia (1005), monk at the abbey du Bec in Normandy, archbishop of Canterbury (1089), wrote a treatise on the Eucharist against Bérenger, a treatise on the secret of confession, and a biblical commentary.

Ælfric,[2] a monk of Abingdon, abbot of Cerne, then of Ensham († about 1000), wrote two books of homilies, a grammar, etc.

Italy.—St. Peter Damien[3] was born at Ravenna in 1007. At an early age left an orphan and brutally treated by one of his brothers, he was rescued by another, who assumed responsibility for his education. After brilliant studies, which opened to him the highest careers, he renounced the world and joined the hermits at Fonte Avellana, gave himself up to severe austerities, and about 1040 became prior of the monastery. An ardent apostle of the reform of the clergy, he hailed the emperor Henry III. as a deliverer, who for his part appointed Damien counsellor to Pope Clement II. Under Clement II., who died soon afterwards, Peter Damien could do nothing, but he exercised a serious influence upon Leo IX., and still more upon Stephen IX., who made him cardinal bishop of Ostia (1057). A short time afterwards, he wished to return to the monastery. He offered his resignation to Nicholas II. and to Alexander II.,

[1] Migne, cl.

[2] Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2 vols., London, 1844: Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, London, 1881.

[3] Migne, cxliv., cxlv.

which for a long time was refused, and then accepted (about 1067). Nevertheless he was entrusted with some important negotiations, of which he consented to take charge. He died in 1072.

WRITINGS.—(1) *Sermons*, among which are to be found nineteen by Nicholas of Clairvaux, a monk of the twelfth century; (2) *Letters*, divided into eight books; (3) *Opuscules*, sixty in number, the most famous of which is the *Liber gomorrhianus*, in which the corruption of the clergy is described with repulsive realism.

RATHIER,[1] born near Liège († 974), was successively monk, bishop of Verona, prisoner on account of a political crime, vagabond, bishop of Liège, and finally simple monk. From him we have *Prœloquia*, an *Excerptum ex dialogo confessionali*, etc. Rathier attacked the concubinage of priests and was a partizan of the eucharistic doctrine of Paschase Radbert.

ADELMAN[2] (1061), bishop of Brescia, wrote a letter to Bérenger begging him to renounce his doctrines.

HUMBERT, a Burgundian by birth, attached himself to Pope Leo IX., and was charged with a mission to Constantinople, where he excommunicated Michael Cerularius († 1063). He left a polemical treatise against the Greeks.

BONIZO,[3] bishop of Placencia († 1090), a partizan of Gregorian ideas, wrote *Libellus de sacramentis*; *Decretum*; a chronicle.

GUITMOND, bishop of Aversa († 1086), left a treatise on the Eucharist in opposition to Bérenger.

LUITPRAND,[4] born at Pavia, appointed bishop of Cremona by Otto I. († 970), wrote *Antapodosis* (a history of the events from 887 to 949, manifestly partial); an incomplete biography of Otto I. (960–964).

FRANCE. — GERBERT[5] — Pope Sylvester II. — born in

[1] Migne, cxxxvi. [2] *Id.*, cxliii. [3] *Id.*, cl.

[4] *Id.*, cxxxvi. ; Pertz in M. G., *Scriptores*, iii.

[5] A. Olleris, *Œuvres de Gerbert*, Clermont, 1867 ; J. Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert*, Paris, 1889 ; P. Lausser, *Gerbert, Étude historique sur le x^me siècle*, Aurillac, 1866 ; J. Lair, *Études critiques*, Paris, 1899.

Auvergne about 940, studied first with the Benedictines of Aurillac, was led by chance circumstances into Catalonia, where the bishop of Vich taught him mathematics, astronomy, and music. In 970 he attracted the notice of Pope John XV., who introduced him to Otto I. After a short stay at Rome he resolved to go to Reims to pursue his studies (973). There the disciple soon became the master, and excited the admiration of his students, who came from every direction to receive his instructions. The emperor Otto II. heard of him, wished to see him, and gave him the abbey of Bobbio, near Pavia (982), where, however, Gerbert did not long remain. Returning to Reims, he took an active part in the grave events which were then taking place—it was the time when the crown of France was passing from the hands of the last Carolingians. He put himself on the side of Hugh Capet, abandoned Arnoul, bishop of Reims, who surrendered the city to the Carolingians. He attended the council of St. Basle, where Arnoul was deposed, drew up the acts of that Gallican council, and was appointed Archbishop of Reims by Hugh (991). Meeting with hostility on the part of Rome, he at first endeavoured to resist, but then thought it better to yield, and to win the favour of Otto III., who granted him the archbishopric of Ravenna (997), and finally had him elected Pope (999). Sylvester II. died in 1003. This man, who astonished his contemporaries by his knowledge to such an extent that he was regarded as a magician and a sorcerer, wrote but little. From him we have some letters, treatises on mathematics, a dissertation on a problem of logic, and the acts of the council of St. Basle. A treatise on the Eucharist, which for a long time was circulated under his name, is not his.

FLODOARD,[1] a priest of Reims († 966): author of Chronicle from 919 to 966; *History of Reims*, until 948; three poems on the triumphs of Christ.

ABBON, a monk of St. Germain-des-Près (921): *History of the Siege of Paris*, in verse.

ABBON OF FLEURY († 1004): Works on the pastoral cycle,

[1] Migne, CXXXV.; M. G., *Scriptores*, iii. xiii. (1839).

on grammar, collection of the canons, and an apology for his attack on the vices of the clergy.

Odon of Cluny († 942): Conferences.

Odilon of Cluny († 1042): Sermons; biographies.

Adson, abbot of Montierender († 992): Treatise on the Antichrist; biographies.

Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (1006–1028): Letters, sermons, dissertations, poems, and prayers.

William, abbot of St. Beninge of Dijon († 1031): Letter and sermons.

Raoul Glaber, a monk of Cluny († 1048): Chronicle; Life of William.

John, bishop of Avranches, then archbishop of Rouen (1079): Treatise on ecclesiastical offices.

Bérenger,[1] born at Tours († 1088), archdeacon of Angers, apostle of a doctrine of the Eucharist, of which mention has been made elsewhere: *De sacra cœna adversus Lanfrancum*; Letters.

Ulric, monk of Cluny (1093): Ordinary of Cluny.

Durand, abbot of Troarn (1089): Treatise on the Eucharist, against Bérenger.

Ives of Chartres[2] was born about 1040 in Beauvais, was a disciple of Lanfranc at the abbey du Bec, directed the collegial church of St. Quentin, was made bishop of Chartres (1091), and died in 1116. His principal writings are the *Panormia* and the *Decretum* (a collection of canonical laws composed before the episcopate). We have also his sermons and two hundred and ninety-two letters.

Germany.—Reginon, abbot of Prüm († 915), near Treves: Collection of ecclesiastical laws; Chronicle.

Burchard, bishop of Worms († 1025): *Decretorum liber*, a book which had great vogue.

Roswitha, a nun of Gandersheim in Saxony († about

[1] H. Sudendorf, *Berengarius Turonensis, eine Sammlung betreffender Briefe*, Hamburg, 1850; J. Schnitzer, *Berenger von Tours, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, München, 1891.

[2] Migne, clxi., clxii.

980): Lives of Saints; History of Otto I., in verse; Comedies.

Bernold, a monk of Schaffhausen (1100): *Micrologus* (study of the liturgy; pleas for the Gregorian reform).

TWELFTH CENTURY

Abelard,[1] born at Palet, near Nantes, early devoted himself to the study of philosophy, which was taught to him successively by the nominalist Roscelin, and by the realist William of Champeaux. When he reached the age of twenty-three, he began his career as a professor (1102), which he continued at Melun, Corbeil, Paris, Mount St. Geneviève, and at Laon—where he was first a disciple of Anselm of Laon, afterwards his rival—and again at Paris (1113). He then had five thousand students, of whom fifty, later, became bishops, and nineteen, cardinals; one of whom even sat on the throne of St. Peter with the name of Celestine II. At that time Abelard was at the height of his glory, and also on the eve of painful trials. The first of these came from his relations with Héloïse, a young girl whom he seduced and made a mother, whom he had even secretly married, from whom he was obliged to part, and whom he had sent into the monastery of Argenteuil. Mad with rage, the canon Fulbert, uncle of Héloïse, caused Abelard to be shamefully mutilated, who after this treatment was forced to become a monk. He entered the monastery of St. Denis (1118). By the authorization of the abbot of St. Denis, he shortly afterwards resumed his teaching. Then he had a new trial. Denounced as a heretic by Roscelin, his former teacher, he appeared before the council of Soissons, which obliged him to cast into the fire the book in which he had set forth his doctrine, and which confined him in the monastery of St. Médard at Soissons (1121). The imprison-

[1] Migne, clxxviii.; R. Stöltze, *Abelards zu Soissons verurtheilter Tractatus, De unitate et trinitate divina*, Freiburg, 1891; Deutsch, *Peter Abälard*, Leipzig, 1883; Denifle, *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i. 402–620, Berlin, 1885.

ment did not last long, and at the end of several days Abelard returned to St. Denis.

Another misadventure awaited him there. One day, having read in the works of Bede that St. Denis the Areopagite had been bishop, not of Athens, as had been believed, but of Corinth, he at once made this discovery known to the monks around him. It was a fatal discovery, which robbed the Areopagite of his title as first bishop of Paris and apostle to the Gallic Church, which struck at the very foundation of a legend dear to all the French. Abelard paid dearly for his erudition. The angry monks threatened to kill him. To escape their violence he took refuge in the monastery of St. Ayoul, near Provins; was driven thence, but was at length authorized to settle in the territory of Troyes, in a deserted spot, where he constructed an oratory of reeds and straw. Pupils flowed by thousands to this hermitage. Abelard became a professor once more, regained the triumphs of other days, and found consolation, which he manifested by calling his oratory the "Paraclete." It was only a passing consolation. Abelard soon became convinced that St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Norbert suspected his orthodoxy. Fearful of being at any time condemned by a council, he was surrendering himself to the most melancholy thoughts, when he learned that the monks of St. Gildas at Rhuys, in Brittany, had elected him as their abbot. He accepted this election, which placed him beyond the reach of his enemies, and he set out for Brittany (1126). There also disappointments were in store for him. The monks of St. Gildas led a dissolute life. Abelard soon became disgusted with his new situation. Just at that time he learned that the nuns of Argenteuil, among whom was Héloïse, had been driven away by the abbot of St. Denis. He went at once to Argenteuil, rescued Héloïse, as well as her companions, brought them to the Paraclete, installed them there, provided for their spiritual and bodily needs, constituted himself their chaplain and director, and remained at the Paraclete until the day when, in order to escape the blows of public malignity which attacked his honour and that

of Héloïse, he was forced to depart. Returning to St. Gildas, he endeavoured to reform his monks. The latter, for their part, attempted several times to poison him. Abelard left St. Gildas, never to return. This departure occurred in 1136 at the latest, for at this date we find him again at Mount St. Geneviève, where he had once more become professor, and where he was surrounded by admiring pupils. For some reason which we do not know, he soon afterwards gave up teaching orally, and published books. Misfortune overtook him. Denounced by St. Bernard and by William of Thierry, he appealed to a council. We know the sequel. Condemned by the council of Sens (1141) for his writings, and in his person by Pope Innocent II., Abelard submitted. He died the following year (1142), at the age of sixty-three. His remains were buried at the Paraclete by the sisters of Héloïse. On the morrow of the French Revolution (1800) they were transferred to the cemetery of Père Lachaise at Paris, where they still lie.

WRITINGS.—I. In the theological domain—(1) *De unitate et trinitate divina*, which was condemned by the council of Soissons (1121). This book, which was supposed to be lost, was discovered and published by Stölze (1891); (2) *Theologia christiana*, which is only a corrected and enlarged edition of the preceding book; (3) *Introductio ad theologiam*, begun at St. Denis, and completed about 1136; (4) *Dialogus inter philosophum judæum et christianum*, edited for the first time by Rheinwald in 1831; (5) *Sic et non* (for and against), a collection of patristic texts which contradict each other, or which at least appear to do so. This book, a considerable part of which Cousin published in 1835, was completely edited for the first time in 1851 by Henke and Lindenkohl; (6) *Scito teipsum* or *Ethica*, a study of moral theology, of which we have little more than the first book; (7) *Commentariorum super S. Pauli epistolam ad Romanas libri quinque*, and other biblical commentaries which it is not necessary to enumerate here; (8) *Sermones* or sermons, thirty-five in number, several of which were composed for the nuns of the Paraclete; (9) we may add to these, *Abælardi*

sententiæ, called also *Epitome theologiæ christianæ*, a writing which is not Abelard's, but which reproduces exactly the doctrine of the *Introduction*. II. In the literary or philosophical domain—(1) *Letters*, twelve in number, the most famous of which is the first, in which Abelard gives his biography up to the eve of his departure for St. Gildas; (2) *Hymni et sequentiæ* (liturgical poems); (3) *Planctus varii* (biblical scenes described in verse); (4) *Versus ad Astralabium filium* (advice to his son Astralabius); (5) *Dialectica*, *Liber divisionum et Glossæ* (glosses on Porphyry, Aristotle, and Boëthius). These were published by Cousin (*Ouvrages inédits à Abélard*) in 1836; (6) *Glossulæ in Porphyrium*, discovered by Ravaisson, and paraphrased by Rémusat.

During his life, and in later times, Abelard has had passionate admirers, who have regarded him as a philosopher of the highest class. He has also had fierce opponents—among whom was St. Bernard—who have seen in him only a rationalist, a despiser of divine revelation, and a sophist. He has deserved neither the enthusiasm nor the hatred. He was a philosopher, distinguished, subtle, eloquent, and learned; he was not a philosopher of the highest class. He had not speculative genius like his contemporary, Anselm of Canterbury. Yet he always adhered sincerely to the decisions of the councils and the formulas of the symbols. He was engaged, it is true, in bringing the Christian mysteries within the capacity of the human reason, not without danger of mutilating them. But in this respect he only followed the movement begun by St. Anselm, a movement which was continued by the schoolmen of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless the philosophy of dogmas did not wholly absorb him. Moreover, in his *Introductio ad theologiam* he constructed the first synthesis of the theology of the Middle Ages. In the *Sic et non* he opened the way to criticism of the patristic texts, and laid the foundations of positive theology. It was thus that he revealed himself as an initiative spirit, and that he is assured of an important place in the history of theology.

St. Bernard[1] was born in 1090 at Fontaines, near Dijon. He was the son of an officer at the court of the duke of Burgundy, named Tescelin. At the age of twenty-one he resolved to leave the world, the pleasures of which had for a while seduced him. He went to Châtillon-sur-Seine to serve his apprenticeship in the religious life. Six months afterwards, he entered the monastery of Citeaux (1112), which he left at the end of three years in order to found the abbey of Clairvaux (1115). He died at Clairvaux at the age of sixty-three (1153), exhausted by mortifications, and also by the incomparable activity which he displayed throughout his life.

Bernard possessed to an extraordinary degree the art of persuading men, of drawing them after him, and of arousing the multitudes. From his youth he showed himself to be a leader; for he entered Citeaux, followed by thirty young men, won by him for the monastic life. When he became abbot of Clairvaux, people came to him to hear his fiery preaching, to receive his councils, or rather his oracles. In 1128 he made the council of Troyes approve the orders of the Templars. He was then the most powerful man in the Church of France. Two years later the apostolic see was disputed by two rivals, and the competition troubled all Christendom. Bernard took in hand the cause of Innocent II. and made it victorious. Thereafter he was the adviser of the Roman court, sometimes an arbitrary and troublesome adviser, but he was always listened to. It was at his instance, it may even be said by his orders, that Pope Innocent II. consented to condemn Abelard. His authority grew greater on the day when a former monk of Clairvaux—with the name of Eugenius III.—occupied the chair of St. Peter. At the demand of the Pope, Bernard preached the second crusade with wonderful success (1146). It was success for which he paid dearly; for the disasters of which he soon received the news, poisoned his declining years.

Writings.—The literary productions of St. Bernard

[1] Migne, clxxxii.–clxxxv.; Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, 2 vols., Paris, 1895.

comprise: I. Nearly four hundred and eighty letters; II. Three hundred and forty sermons, the most famous of which are the four *Super missus est*, which sing the praises of the Virgin, and *De aquæ ductu*, likewise dedicated to the Virgin; III. Fourteen treatises, among which it is here sufficient to mention (1) *De consideratione*; (2) *Tractatus contra quædam capitula errorum Abœlardi*, addressed to Pope Innocent II., urging him to condemn Abelard (1141); (3) *Liber de vita et rebus gestis sanctis Malachiæ*, a biography of Malachi, the Irish bishop; (4) *Tractatus de baptismo*, addressed to Hugh of St. Victor, and probably aimed at Abelard; (5) *De laude novæ militiæ*, which was a eulogy of the Templars, and shows them the ideal to which they should tend. Of all his treatises, the most famous is the *De consideratione*, begun in 1149, finished in 1153, and addressed to Eugenius III. In this work Bernard sets forth to his former disciple the prerogatives of the Roman pontiff, but at the same time he traces for him, with a firm hand, the duties of his office, and urges him to correct the abuses which vitiate the Roman administration.

Letters, sermons, treatises, deal with the most various subjects, but have one common element: it is mysticism. Bernard, who was a man of action, was also a man of contemplation. He cultivated mysticism, not the vaporous and metaphysical mysticism of the Pseudo-Areopagite who pretended to rise even to the divine essence, but the tender and suave mysticism which effects union with Christ, with Jesus. Bernard was the father of the mystics of the Middle Ages, and it was in his school that the author of the *Imitation* was trained. From a literary point of view he is to be counted among the most engaging and seductive writers. His harmonious and unctious style won for him the surname of *Doctor mellifluus*.

OTHER WRITERS: ENGLAND. — EADMER,[1] friend and companion of St. Anselm; died at Canterbury (1124): a Life

[1] Migne, clix.; H. Thurston, *Eadmeri monachis cantuariensis tractatus de conceptione Sanctæ Mariæ*, Freiburg, 1904.

of St. Anselm; *Historia novorum* (history of the bishops of Canterbury from the time of Lanfranc); various biographies; *De conceptione Sanctæ Mariæ.*

Robert Pulleyn (Pullus),[1] archdeacon of Rochester, professor at Oxford, then at Paris; promoted by Innocent II. to the cardinalate; died at Rome (1146 or 1150): Treatise on the *Sentences*, in eight books.

William,[2] a monk of Malmesbury (about 1142): *Gesta regum anglorum*; *Historiæ novellæ*, etc.

Henry of Lincoln[3] (after 1154): *Historia anglorum*, etc.

John of Salisbury,[4] a friend of St. Thomas à Becket; afterwards bishop of Chartres († 1180): *Polycraticus* (a critique of the life of princes); *Metalogicus* (a critique of the Sophists, designated by the name of "makers of dilemmas, cornificiens"); *Entheticus* (a poem on philosophical subjects); letters, etc.

Pierre of Blois,[5] born at Blois, passed the last twenty-six years of his life in England, where he was archdeacon of Bath, then of London († 1200): *De confessione sacramentali*; *De pœnitentia*; sermons, letters, etc.

France.—Anselm of Laon,[6] the teacher of William of Champeaux and of Abelard († 1117): Commentaries on the Bible; interlinear gloss.

William of Champeaux,[7] founder of the cloister of St. Victor, where he taught († 1122): *De Eucharistia*; philosophical treatises.

Hugh of St. Victor,[8] probably born in Saxony, came to settle at St. Victor († 1142): *De Sacramentis*; *Summa sententiarum*; commentaries on the Bible; treatises on mystic theology. Hugh occupies a considerable position among the mystics.

Richard of St. Victor,[9] a Scot, canon and professor

[1] Migne, clxxxvi.
[2] *Id.*, clxxxix.
[3] *Id.*, cxcv.
[4] *Id.*, cxcix.
[5] *Id.*, ccvii.
[6] *Id.*, clxii.
[7] *Id.*, clxiii.
[8] *Id.*, clxxv.–clxxvii.
[9] *Id.*, cxcvi.

at St. Victor († 1173): *De Trinitate, de Verbo incarnato*; treatises on asceticism and mystic theology.

GUIBERT DE NOGENT[1] († about 1121): *De sanctis et pignoribus sanctorum* (against false relics); various treatises on theological subjects; *Gesta Dei per Francos* (history of the first crusade).

ORDERIC VITAL,[2] an English monk in Normandy († about 1150): Ecclesiastical history.

SUGER,[3] abbot of St. Denis († 1152): History of Louis VI.

PETER LOMBARD,[4] born in Lombardy, professor at Paris, afterwards bishop of Paris († 1164): *Sentences*, a theological synthesis, inspired by the works of Abelard, which for a long time was the classic manual of theology.

ITALY AND GERMANY.—GRATIAN,[5] a monk, probably a Benedictine († about 1158): *Decretum* (the real title of which was *Concordantia discordantium canonum*), an epitome of canon law which had extraordinary vogue.

RUPERT,[6] born near Liège, abbot of Tuit († 1135): Studies on the Trinity and the Incarnation; biblical commentaries; ascetic works; inquiries into local history.

GERHOH,[7] of Bavarian origin, had an exciting life († 1169): Numerous writings, the most famous of which is *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu.*

ALGER OF LIÈGE[8] († about 1130): Several writings, the best known of which is his treatise on the Eucharist.

[1] Migne, clvi.; *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, iv.; B. Monod, *Le Moine Guibert et son temps*, Paris, 1905.

[2] Migne, clxxxviii.

[3] Migne, clxxxvi.; A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Œuvres complètes de Suger*, Paris, 1867.

[4] Migne, cxci., cxcii. The best edition of the *Sentences* is that found in the edition of the works of St. Bonaventura at Guaracchi ("Ad claras aquas," near Florence), tom. i. 1882; O. Baltzer, *Die Sentenzen des Petrus Lombardus, ihre Quellen und ihre dogmengeschichtliche Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1902.

[5] Migne, clxxxvii.; E. Friedberg, Lipsiæ, 1879–1881.

[6] *Id.*, clxvii.–clxx.

[7] *Id.*, cxciii., cxciv.; E. Sackur in M. G., *Libri de lite*, iii.

[8] *Id.*, clxxx.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

ROGER BACON[1] was born about 1212 in England, near Ilchester, in Somerset county. He began his studies at Oxford and continued them at Paris, where he was received as a doctor. He early applied himself to the study of languages, and learned to read Greek, Hebrew, Chaldæan, and Arabic. In like manner he cultivated the natural sciences. Endowed with surprising genius, he manufactured instruments, and employed them in his astronomical, physical, and chemical experiments. He discovered the principal laws of optics, the principle of the telescope and of the microscope, and had also a glimpse of some modern discoveries. He likewise studied the shape of the earth; and the results of those studies, made known to Christopher Columbus through Pierre d'Ailly, gave that great navigator the idea of the expedition which ended in the discovery of America. Bacon also turned his attention to theology and the Bible; but this was in order to discuss scholasticism and exegesis. He reproached theologians for their ignorance of the natural sciences, their love of vain and tiresome questions, their excessive use of deduction, their philosophical theories, and their devotion to Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. He accused the exegetes of knowing the Bible only through the defective Vulgate translation. He therefore urged them to study Hebrew and Greek in order to be able to read the sacred books in the original text; and he demanded the revision of the Vulgate.

At the age of forty, or even later, Bacon entered the order of the Minor Friars. Then his trials began. The wonderful results which he obtained in his laboratory experiments seemed suspicious. He was regarded as a magician,

[1] J. H. Bridges, *The Opus majus of Roger Bacon*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1897–1905; J. S. Brewer, *Fr. Roger Bacon, opera quædam hactenus inedita*, London, 1859; F. Gasquet, "Letter of Bacon to Clement IV.," in the *English Historical Review*, pp. 494–517, 1897; E. Charles, *R. Bacon, sa vie, ses œuvres, sa doctrine*, Paris, 1861; P. Féret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*, ii. 329–369, Paris, 1895; G. Delorme, in *Dict. de théol. catholique*, ii. 8–31, Paris, 1905.

in league with the devil. Moreover, his theological opinions were subversive. His superiors, becoming alarmed, were furious in their efforts to prevent his studies. They forbade him to publish his writings. This persecution lasted ten years, and did not come to an end until Clement IV., a former friend of the English Franciscan, took him under his protection (1266). But Clement died shortly afterwards, and his protégé found himself without defence, confronted by the prejudices which had been aroused against him. About 1277, Bacon was attacked once more, this time by the minister-general of the Minor Friars, Jerome of Ascoli. He died in 1294.

WRITINGS.—(1) *Opus majus*, prepared at the request of Pope Clement IV. (1267). It is divided into seven parts, which treat respectively of the causes of our errors, the relations of theology to the other sciences, of languages, mathematics, optics, experimental sciences, and moral philosophy. It was first published in 1733 at London, by Samuel Jebb; (2) *Opus minus*, a modification of the preceding treatise. We have only a fragment of it, published by Brewer in 1859; (3) *Opus tertium*, a modified re-edition of the *opus majus* and the *opus minus*. Half of this book is lost; that which remains was published by Brewer in seventy-five chapters; (4) *Scriptum principale*, a vast encyclopædia of which we have only fragments, and which besides was perhaps never completed; (5) *Compendium studii philosophiæ*, written about 1275; (6) *Compendium studii theologiæ*, written in 1292; (7) *Epistola de laude Scripturæ sanctæ*; (8) other less important works.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS,[1] related through his father to the German emperors, by his mother a descendant of the Norman princes, was born in 1225—according to some, 1227—in the castle of Rocca Sicca, near the town of Aquino, in the territory of Naples. At the age of five years he was

[1] Principal editions, Paris, 1636–1641, 23 vols., by Nicolaï; Venice, 1746, 28 vols., by De Rubeis (important critical discussions); Rome, 1882 (11 vols. have appeared); Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, i. 271–347, Paris, 1719; P. Féret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, ii. 443–486, Paris, 1895.

committed to the care of the monks of Mount Cassin, who gave him his early education; and at the age of ten years he went to Naples for his literary education. When he reached the age of eighteen years he resolved, in spite of his mother's objections, to enter the Dominican order, and he set out for Paris. He was stopped by his brothers near Perusia, and was brought back to his father's castle, where for nearly two years his family used every means—his brothers one day brought a courtezan into his room—to make him relinquish his plan. When he had shown that his resolution could not be broken, he was authorized to leave. The Dominicans sent him to Cologne, where Albert the Great was teaching (end of 1244). A short time afterwards (1245) he followed Albert to Paris, returned with him to Cologne (1248), and in 1252 again left for Paris to receive the title of Master of Theology. It was the time when William St. Amour was making violent war upon the monks, and was denouncing them as the worst enemies of the Church. Thomas was obliged to wait until the storm had passed. At length, in 1256, he received the authorization to teach, and in 1257 the title of Master of Theology was conferred on him. In 1261 he was obliged to give up his chair at Paris to go to Rome, whither he was called by Pope Urban IV. He returned to Paris in 1271, but in the following year he was sent to Naples. In 1274 he made his way to Lyons to attend a council which was to be held in that town, and to which Gregory X. had called him. He died while on the journey, in the Cistercian monastery of Fossa Nova (7th March 1274). A half century later he was canonized by Pope John XXII., who pronounced this eulogy upon the saint: "Quot scripsit articulas, tot miracula."

WRITINGS.—I. In the theological domain—(1) *In quatuor sententiarum libros*, a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, composed at Paris (1252–1256); (2) *Summa catholicæ fidei contra gentiles*, an apology for Christianity, written, it is said, about 1261–1264, at the request of Raymond of Pennafort; (3) *Summa theologiæ*, a synthesis of the whole of theology, begun about 1265, and continued until question

xc. of the third part, which treats of contrition. It is the most famous of the books of St. Thomas; it is the source of his glory; (4) *Quæstiones disputatæ*; (5) *Quæstiones quodlibetales*; (6) Various writings of less importance. II. In the non-theological domain: *De regimine principum*, only a part of which was written by St. Thomas; commentaries on Aristotle; commentaries on the Bible; philosophical tracts.

Thomas Aquinas opened no new ways to the human mind. He was not a lineal descendant of Origen, Augustine, Anselm, or Roger Bacon. He left philosophy and theology as he found them. He did not seek to extend their frontiers, to go beyond the prejudices of his time, to get rid of verbal explanations of worthless maxims. He did not even engage in personal research. His merit was of another sort. It consisted in mastering questions, in setting them forth clearly and soberly. Thomas was, to an eminent degree, a synthetic mind. The two syntheses which he constructed in the *Summa theologiæ* and in the *Summa contra gentiles* justly provoked the admiration of the Middle Ages. He summed up the science of his time, a science which lies in the grave dug for it by the friends of experimental research since the time of Roger Bacon.

Other Writers.—Alexander of Hales,[1] of English origin, professor at Paris, became at an early age a Franciscan († 1245): *Summa theologiæ*, an unfinished work, of which Alexander was perhaps not the sole author.

Albert the Great,[2] born in Bavaria, 1206; became a Dominican in 1223, professor at Cologne, then at Paris, bishop of Ratisbon (1260), and resigned († 1280). Albert had an encyclopædic mind, and studied all the sciences of his time. He it was, it appears, who introduced the philosophy

[1] Editions: 4 vols., Lyon, 1515–1516; 4 vols., Venice, 1575–1576; 4 vols., Cologne, 1622; P. Féret, ii. 311–324; Hilarin de Lucerne, *Hist. des études dans l'ordre de Saint François*, pp. 185–235, Paris, 1908.

[2] General editions: Lyon, 1651, 21 vols., by Jaminy (a defective work); Paris, 1890, 38 vols.; Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, i. 162–171, Paris, 1719; P. Mandonnet, in *Dict. d'hist. et de geograph. ecclésiastiques*, i. 1515–1524, Paris, 1912.

of Aristotle into theology. From him we have commentaries on Aristotle and on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

St. Bonaventura[1] was born in Tuscany in 1221, became a Franciscan in 1243, studied and taught theology at Paris, was general of his order (1257). He was appointed bishop and cardinal (1273). He died during the council of Lyons, which he was attending (1274). He wrote many works, the chief of which are theological; commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; and, in the mystic domain, the *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum.*

Duns Scotus,[2] of Scottish origin—perhaps Irish—entered the order of St. Francis, taught successively at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne († 1308). He wrote numerous works, the best known of which is the commentary on the *Sentences.*

Robert Grosseteste,[3] bishop of Lincoln († 1253); published a Latin version of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*; commentaries on the books of Aristotle, of Boëthius, and of the Areopagite; he wrote important letters, and numerous philosophical and theological writings, which were unpublished; a Latin version of the letters of St. Ignatius in the interpolated edition (attributed to Robert, but more probably the work of his companion, Nicholas).

Mathieu Paris[4] (of Paris), born on the lands of St. Alban; monk of St. Albans († 1259): *Chronica majora*, a work of the highest class, which up to the year 1235 was derived from a book of Roger Wendover, but which as regards the period after that date is all his own. Mathieu sets forth the facts with great frankness and with great talent. In his judgments, which are not free from feeling, he was the interpreter of the

[1] General editions: 7 vols., Rome, 1588–1599 (reproduced at Mayence, 1609, and at Lyons, 1678); 13 vols., Venice, 1751 (reproduced at Paris, 1864); Quaracchi (near Florence), 11 vols. 1882–1902 (much esteemed).

[2] General editions: 12 vols., by Luc Wadding, Lyons, 1639; 20 vols., Paris, 1891–1895; E. Pluzanski, *Essai sur la philosophie de Duns Scot.*, Paris, 1887.

[3] H. Luard, *Roberti Grossetesti episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolæ*, London, 1861; G. Perry, *The Life and Times of Grosseteste*, London, 1871; Feltoe, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, London, 1899.

[4] *Chronica majora*, 7 vols., by H. Luard (Rolls series), London, 1872; *Hist. Anglorum*, 13 vols., by F. Madden (Rolls series), London, 1866–1869; *De gestis*, by H. Riley, 3 vols. (Rolls series).

English people; *Historia Anglorum*, an abridgment of the work mentioned above; *De gestis abbatum albanensium*; biographies.

St. Raymond of Pennafort,[1] of Spanish origin; professor at Bologna, then a Dominican († 1275): a collection of pontifical decretals. Bartholomew of England,[2] a Franciscan; professor at Paris, then at Magdeburg († about 1240): composed an encyclopædia entitled *De proprietatibus rerum*. Vincent of Beauvais,[3] a Dominican († about 1264); was the author of an encyclopædia entitled *Speculum universale*.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Occam[4]—more exactly, William of Occam—was born about 1280 in a place of that name in the county of Surrey, south of London. At an early age he entered the order of the Minor Friars, was professor at Oxford, then at Paris, where he settled about 1315. When the war with John xxii. against poverty broke out in the order, Occam took the side of the Pope's enemies (1322). For this reason he was summoned to Avignon and cast into prison, where he remained confined for four years (1323–1327). In June 1328 he succeeded in escaping to Italy. There he met Louis of Bavaria, who also had a grievance against John xxii. According to the historian Trithème, he said to Louis: "Tu me defendas gladio, ego te defendam calamo." It is certain that the prince and the monk, the one with the sword, the other with the pen, made war to the best of their ability upon the Pope. From 1330 to 1347, Occam lived at Munich, where he wrote in safety. In 1347, Louis of Bavaria died.

[1] Editions: Rome, 1582; Paris, 1687; Leipzig, 1889; Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur der kanonischen Rechts*, ii. 6–25, Stuttgart, 1875–1880.

[2] Hilarin of Lucerne, *Histoire des études dans l'ordre de St. François*, pp. 259, 263, 411, Paris, 1908.

[3] Edition of Beauvais, 1624, 4 vols.; Quétif-Echard, i. 300; Féret, ii. 401; R. Seeberg, in the *Realencyclopädie*, xx. 665 (proves that the authentic *Speculum* comprises only two books).

[4] G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 225–234, Oxford, 1892; Féret, iii. 339; S. Riezler, *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwigs des Bayern*, pp. 243–272, Leipzig, 1874; R. Seeberg, in *Realencyc.*, xiv. 260.

Occam, deprived of his protection, fell into the power of Pope Clement VI., who, without taking rigorous measures, endeavoured to obtain a retraction from him. According to Trithème, Occam submitted; according to Jacques de la Marche, he remained excommunicated. He died on 10th April 1349.

WRITINGS.—I. Dogmatic: *Quæstiones et decisiones in quatuor libros sententiarum*, a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the publication of which seems to have begun at Paris before the dispute with the Pope, and to have finished later; *Centiloquium theologicum*; *Quodlibeta septem*; *De sacramento altaris.*

II. Polemical: *Dialogus inter magistrum et discipulum de imperatorum et pontificum potestate*, the most important of the works of Occam, written about 1343, but left unfinished; *Octo quæstiones super potestate ac dignitate papali*; numerous writings on poverty and in opposition to John XXII.

III. Various philosophical writings.

In his polemic concerning Franciscan poverty, Occam acted as a fanatic, and has been judged by posterity to have been one. On the contrary, he had a considerable influence, by means of his theories, upon the constitution of the Church and upon the relations of reason and faith. He endeavoured to prove that the political pretensions of the papacy were contrary to the will of Christ; that the papacy itself, in its Roman and monarchical form, was not necessary to the Church, which might quite as well be governed by collective authority. These ideas, from the time of the Great Schism and throughout the fifteenth century, had defenders who endeavoured to realize them in whole or in part. Yet Occam—in this he was a disciple of Duns Scotus—conceived of Christian dogmas as products of the free will of God, who would have been able, had such been His pleasure, to place the economy of salvation on quite different foundations. From this principle he concluded that to endeavour to demonstrate revealed truths and to seek their "why" was a puerile undertaking; that the Schoolmen since Anselm had wasted their time; and that the rôle of the human

reason was limited to remarking what has been revealed, and exactly recording the dogmas taught of God. For the rationalism of Anselm he substituted a theological positivism which was honoured in the fifteenth century.

OTHER WRITERS: THEOLOGIANS.—DURAND OF ST. POURÇAIN,[1] a Dominican, bishop of Puy and of Meaux (1334), wrote a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Durand was an independent thinker.

GILLES OF ROME,[2] archbishop of Bourges, much attached to the doctrines of St. Thomas: *De regimine principum* (the beginning of which is taken from St. Thomas).

BRADWARDIN, archbishop of Canterbury, a partizan of Augustinian doctrines (1349): a book on grace, etc.

AUGUSTINE TRIONFO,[3] a monk, partizan of pontifical absolutism (1328): *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica.*

ALVAREZ PELAYO,[4] another partizan of political absolutism 1352): *De planctu Ecclesiæ.*

MARSILIO OF PADUA,[5] a disciple and partizan of Occam, opponent of John XXII.: *Defensor pacis,* written in collaboration with John of Jeandun.

MYSTICS.—ECKART,[6] a Dominican, born near Gotha; professor at Paris, at Strasburg, and at Cologne († 1327): Sermons and treatises.

J. TAULER,[7] a Dominican, born at Strasburg († 1361): Sermons and ascetic treatises.

HENRI SUSO,[8] born at Constance, where he passed the greater part of his life: *Horologium sapientiæ*; sermons.

JOHN RUYSBROEK, born near Brussels († 1381): *De nuptiis spiritualibus,* etc.

[1] P. Godet, in *Dict. théol. cath.*, iv. 1764.
[2] H. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius,* ii. (3rd edition), 481–486, Innsbruck, 1906.
[3] *Id.*, *ib.* 605.
[4] *Id.*, *ib.* 626; Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform,* i. 85, Berlin, 1903.
[5] Sander, in *Realencyc.*, xii. 368–371.
[6] F. Vernet, in *Dict. théol. cath.*, iv. 2057–2081.
[7] F. Cohrs, in *Realencyc.*, xix. 451–459.
[8] *Id.*, in *Realencyc.*, xix. 173–176.

COMMENTATORS ON THE BIBLE.—NICOLAS DE LYRE,[1] a Franciscan († 1340): *Postilla*, a commentary on the whole Bible; *Moralitates*, moral reflections on the Bible.

LUDOLPHE LE CHARTREUX,[2] of Saxon origin: *Life of Jesus Christ*, which had great vogue in the Middle Ages.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

PETER D'AILLY,[3] born at Compiègne in 1350, made his studies at Paris. At an early age he was absorbed in the reading of Roger Bacon and Occam. The first of these teachers imbued him with a lively interest in the natural sciences; the second communicated to him his philosophical and theological opinions. In 1378 the Great Schism occurred. Like all subjects of the king of France, Peter was attached to the Pope of Avignon; he regarded him as the legitimate Pope, and the Roman pontiff as an intruder. He was in agreement with his fellow-countrymen until the day when, in the assembly of 1395, the clergy of France decided to oblige the Pope—the Pope of Avignon—to resign under pain of pronouncing against him the "withdrawal of obedience." Peter opposed this revolutionary attitude. According to him, the Pope could be invited, but not forced, to resign. Consequently, he opposed the withdrawal of obedience. Nevertheless, he recognized the fact that the papacy had for some centuries unjustly enlarged the circle of its functions; he proposed to undermine the power of the Pope, to suppress his "usurped" prerogatives, and to respect the powers of divine origin. Although defeated in 1398, in 1403 he succeeded in making his views prevail. But in 1408 he encountered a definite check. He could at least affirm that by his own talent he had postponed the

[1] L. Schmid, in *Realencyc.*, xii. 28–30. [2] H. Hurter, iii. 566.

[3] P. Tschackert, *Peter von Ailli*, Gotha, 1877; *Id.*, in *Realencyc.*, i. 274–280; R. Salembier, *Petrus de Alliaco*, Lille, 1886; *Id.*, *Œuvres françaises de Pierre d'Ailly*, Lille, 1907; *Id.*, *Le Cardinal d'Ailly, bibliographie de ses œuvres*, Compiègne, 1909; *Id.*, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géog. ecclésiast.*, i. 1153–1165; Ch. Guignebert, *De imagine mundi cæterisque Petri de Alliaco geographicis opusculis*, Paris, 1902.

inevitable result, and for several years had maintained the Church of France under the power of the Avignon pope, Benedict XIII. The latter showed his gratitude. In 1395, Peter received the bishopric of Puy; two years later he was appointed to the more important and lucrative archbishopric of Cambré—a worthy payment for devotion which had been obedient only to ambitious motives.

From the year 1408, Peter d'Ailly endeavoured to prevent the election of a third pope. When the election took place in spite of him, he accepted the result, and recognized the Pisa pope, Alexander V., and his successor, John XXIII. The latter, to win his allegiance, decorated him with the purple (1411); but he was deceived. Cardinal Peter d'Ailly demanded, more harshly than before, the reform of the papacy. When the council of Constance opened (1414), he took a considerable part in the measures which were at that time decreed by the Christian nations. He died on 9th August 1420.

WRITINGS. — Peter d'Ailly wrote a great number of works, of which one hundred and seventy-four have been recovered. More than thirty deal with schism and reform. The principal works are: *Epistola diaboli Leviathan* (1382); *Invectiva Ezechiel contra pseudo-pastores* (same date); *De materia concilii generalis* (1402); *Capita agendorum* (1411); *Tractatus super reformatione Ecclesiæ* (1416). In addition to these, Peter wrote *Quæstiones super libros sententiarum*, an unfinished commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*: *De sacramentis Ecclesiæ*; *Tractatus et sermones*; some commentaries on the Bible; some books on astronomy and geography, the most famous of which are *Imago mundi* (1410) and *Concordia astronomiæ cum historica veritate* (1414). The *Imago mundi* was read and annotated by Christopher Columbus, who was indebted to Peter for his ideas on the means of reaching the far East by way of the West. The *Concordia* mentions upheavals which were to take place in 1789, and seems to predict the French Revolution. The writings of Peter d'Ailly are not all printed, nor even discovered. Several have recently been published by Noël

Valois (*De persecutionibus Ecclesiæ*, in which is repeated the prophecy contained in the *Concordia*); by Ehrle (polemical opuscules) and Salembier (French works).

A disciple of Roger Bacon and of Occam, Peter d'Ailly applied himself to propagating the ideas of his masters; he was a popularizer. But this popularizer was at the same time a formidable controversialist. With great talent he spread abroad the ideas of Occam concerning the constitution of the Church; he was one of the greatest adversaries of the papacy in the fifteenth century, one of the pillars of Gallicanism. His theology of the Eucharist was also liberal. He rejected transubstantiation; and Luther boasted that he knew the books of Peter d'Ailly by heart.

Other Writers.—Gerson[1] was born at Gerson, in the diocese of Reims (1363); was chancellor of the university of Paris, champion of Gallican principles in the councils of Pisa and Constance († 1429), and wrote *De auferibilitate papæ*; *De potestate ecclesiastica*; *De constitutione theologiæ*; *De parvulis ad Christum trahendis.*

Æneas Sylvius[2] (Pius II.), born near Sienna in 1405, accompanied a cardinal, as secretary, to the council of Bâle, where his talents in conversation, as a writer, and as an orator, assured him an important place. A partizan of the ideas of Bâle, he was for some time secretary to Felix V., and published writings that were plainly Gallican. But when he saw that success lay with the opposite party, he changed sides, denied his Gallican writings, and became an apostle of pontifical omnipotence. His opportune conversion was rewarded by the popes. Made priest in 1445, bishop in 1447, he was promoted to the cardinalate in 1456. Finally, from 1458 to 1464, he occupied the pontifical throne.

[1] H. Hurter, iii. 791–798.

[2] R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 2 vols., Wien, 1909 (see especially letter 78 of Æneas to his father, i. 188, and letter 152 to Mariano Sozzini, i. 353–373, in which it is said, p. 354: "Quis trigesimum natus annum amoris causa nullum peregit facinus? ego de me facio conjecturam quem amor in mille pericula misit"); Pastor, ii. 1–289; Zöpffel, in *Realencyc.*, xv. 422–435.

After becoming Pope, he was engrossed with three thoughts: the crusades, the conflict with Gallicanism, and nepotism (he loaded his nephews with favours).

WRITINGS.—*De generalis concilii auctoritate*; *Historia concilii basileenses* (in 1463 he made full amends for publishing these books, and wrote this phrase: "Reject Æneas; accept Pius"); *Commentarius de rebus Basileæ gestis*; *Commentarius rerum mirabilium*; *Historia bohemica*; letters; the bull *Execrabilis*, which condemned one of the Gallican maxims (the appeal from the Pope to the council). Until 1445, Æneas Sylvius led a disorderly life, a cynical avowal of which is to be found in his letters.

SAVONAROLA, a Dominican, born at Ferrare (1451), preacher at Florence, and a fervent mystic, believed that he was called by Providence to deliver the Church from the wicked pope Alexander VI., whom the cardinals had imposed upon it. He was hanged and burned at Florence (1498). From him we have a number of ascetic, philosophical, and theological writings. His chief book is an apology for Christianity, entitled *Triumphus crucis*.

MARSILIUS FICINUS, who was born and who died at Florence (1433–1499), was a partizan of the Neo-Platonic school. He published translations of Plato, Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Proclus, with commentaries. His principal work is an apology for Christianity, entitled *De religione christiana*.

ST. ANTONINUS,[1] a Dominican, afterwards archbishop of Florence († 1459): *Summa theologiæ moralis*; chronicle, etc.

THOMAS À KEMPIS,[2] born at Kempen, near Cologne († 1471), a monk near Zwolle in Holland, supposed to be the author of *The Imitation of Jesus Christ*.

LORENZO VALLA,[3] an Italian, canon of the Lateran, an officer of the pontifical chancellory († 1457), wrote a book on the Epicurean philosophy, and an historical dissertation

[1] P. Mandonnet, in *Dict. théol. cath.*, i. 1450–1454.

[2] L. Schulze, in *Realencyc.*, xix. 719–733 (dissertation tending to prove that Thomas was the author of the *Imitation*).

[3] Pastor, i. 12–20, 405–430.

on the "Donation of Constantine." Valla was the first to notice that this "Donation" was the work of a forger.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Desiderius Erasmus,[1] a natural son, was born at Rotterdam in 1464, and received his first education at Deventer. Left an orphan at an early age, and obliged by his guardians to become a monk, he entered an Augustinian convent (1486). There he surrendered himself enthusiastically to study. He diligently read the pagan authors, as well as St. Jerome and Lorenzo Valla; and this prolonged contact with great writers and great thinkers, while it developed his literary culture, it also inspired him with a profound contempt for Scholasticism. In 1491 the young Augustinian monk left the convent. He then began that wandering life which was to be his until his death, and which was to lead him to France, England, Italy, Germany, Holland, Brabant, and Switzerland. In the case of any other man this instability might have been a cause of destitution and misery. But Erasmus, a fine man of letters, seductive in conversation, a superior mind, fascinated all those who approached him. Everywhere he excited sympathy, enthusiasm, and admiration. Princes and kings heaped favours upon him, and sought to keep him in their presence. Popes Julius II. and Leo X. joined in the concert of adulation. Jealous of his independence, Erasmus surrendered to no one, and continued his wanderings. Between two journeys he published a book, issued an edition of an ancient author, wrote letters, received

[1] *Complete works*, 11 vols., by Le Clerc, Leyden, 1703–1706; *Colloquia familiaria*, Leipzig, 1829; P. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Rotterdami*, Oxford, 1906 (in course of publication); Drummond, *Erasmus, his Life and Character as shown in his Correspondence and Works*, 2 vols., London, 1873; F. Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers*, 3rd edition, Oxford, 1887; J. Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, London, 1895; G. Feugère, *Erasme, étude sur sa vie et ses ouvrages*, Paris, 1874; A. Humbert, *Les Origines de la théologie moderne*, pp. 179–223, Paris, 1911; Janssen-Pastor, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, ii. 7–25, Freiburg, 1897.

the homage of humanists, bishops, and magistrates. He was an intellectual king.

The thunderbolt of the Reformation interrupted the cycle of his triumphs. Erasmus was urged by the Protestants to lend them his support, to fight with them the fight against the Roman Church. On the contrary, he was solicited by the Pope to advance against Luther. For several years he endeavoured to arrest hostilities, exhorted the two parties to lay down arms, played the part of peacemaker, and carefully refrained from taking aggressive action in favour of either side. But this neutrality could not last indefinitely. In 1521 Erasmus was called on by Ulrich von Hutten, the friend of Luther, to give up his reserve and to declare himself. He did declare himself, but it was to affirm his unshaken allegiance to the Roman Church. This profession of faith exasperated the Protestants, who ascribed it to cowardice and hypocrisy. Overwhelmed with the insults of Hutten and of Luther, Erasmus was soon surrounded by enemies. In 1529 he fled from Bâle, where his life was no longer safe, and sought refuge in the Catholic town of Freiburg in Brisgau. There he remained six years, at the end of which he returned to Bâle to superintend the printing of his books. He died in that city on 12th July 1536, at a time when his friends at Rome were endeavouring to obtain for him a cardinal's hat. He had been a priest since 1492.

WRITINGS.—(1) *Encomium of Folly* (*Moriæ encomium sive stultitiæ laus*), a biting satire on all the institutions of the Church. This book, published in 1509, received some additions in 1515, which increased its significance; (2) *Familiar Conversations* (*Colloquia familiaria*), published in 1518, afterwards re-edited with additions, attacking the monastic life, pilgrimages, the worship of relics. These two are the most important works of Erasmus; (3) *De libero arbitrio*, in opposition to Luther (1524); (4) letters, more than two thousand in number; (5) *Enchiridion militis christiani*, published in 1502, casts ridicule upon external forms of piety; (6) *Ratio perveniendi ad veram theologiam*, a satire on Scholasticism; (7) various books on pædagogy, and on

piety; (8) editions of the Fathers: St. Jerome, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Epiphanius, and Origen; (9) translations of certain Greek Fathers; (10) works on the Bible, comprising translations, annotations, paraphrases, and the edition of the Greek text of the New Testament; (11) editions of profane authors, and works of less importance.

Erasmus, who was the most learned man and the most elegant writer of his age, employed his knowledge and his intellect in making war, a merciless war, on the puerilities of Scholasticism, on the vices of the clergy and of the monks, on the abuses which, in his time, abounded in the Roman Church. He thus prepared the way for the Reformation, and deserved to be regarded by Protestants as their leader. But he did not confine himself to riddling with epigrams the men and the institutions of the Church. The very dogmas did not escape his attack. According to him, religion is above all things a *morale*, a rule of life revealed by the Scripture. One should therefore adhere to the Scripture, as he said, to "evangelical simplicity"; one should suppress dogmatic formulas, which, like rust, change the purity of religious feeling. Here he was at the antipodes of the Protestants, for whom the symbols and definitions of the ancient councils were sacred things. To this difference of religious ideas was added a difference in tactics. While Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, and their disciples rebelled noisily against the Roman Church, Erasmus never desired to leave it. He thought that he should resort to dissimulation rather than break with the papacy. In short, Erasmus was the Voltaire of the sixteenth century. In him may be rightly hailed the ancestor of the "Modernists."

Other Writers.—Thomas More,[1] chancellor of Henry VIII., beheaded for his refusal to recognize the spiritual supremacy of his king (1535), wrote *Utopia*, in which he sets forth chimerical views on the constitution of societies; an answer to Luther's historical works; *Quod mors pro fide non sit fugienda.*

[1] Seebohm, *op. cit.*; F. E. Bridgett, *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More*, London, 1891.

JOHN FISHER,[1] bishop of Rochester, beheaded for the same reason as Thomas More, published various works against the Protestants, notably *De Eucharistia*; *Sacerdotii defensio*; *Convulsio calumniarum.*

JOHN REUCHLIN,[2] born in Baden, versed in Hebrew and Greek, an ardent advocate of classical studies († 1523): published *De verbo mirifico,* an apology for Christianity; pædagogical studies in Hebrew. Reuchlin was the father of Hebrew grammar. He believed in the Kabbala.

JOHN ECK,[3] the most active and learned among the adversaries of Luther, with whom he had the famous Leipzig debate († 1543), was the author of numerous polemical works against Luther, among which is *De primatu Petri adversus Luderum*; homilies, etc.

CAJETANUS (Thomas Vio),[4] a Dominican, very devoted to Julius II., who made him cardinal; was the legate of Leo X. in Germany when the Lutheran rebellion broke out, which he made vain efforts to suppress († 1534); author of treatises on scholastic theology, the most famous of which is the commentary on the *Summa* of St. Thomas; biblical commentaries, in which the author often rejects the so-called traditional opinions.

MELCHIOR CANO,[5] a Dominican of Spanish origin († 1563): *De locis theologiæ,* a book which marks an era in Catholic theology.

[1] Bridgett, *Life of Fisher*, London, 1888; *Analecta bollandiana*, x. 121–365, xii. 97–287.

[2] L. Geiger, *J. Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig, 1871; Janssen-Pastor, ii. 37; G. Kavverau, in *Realencyc.*, xvi. 680–688.

[3] A. Humbert, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, iv. 2056; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv. 1, 277.

[4] P. Mandonnet, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, iii. 1313–1329.

[5] *Id.*, iii. 1537–1540.

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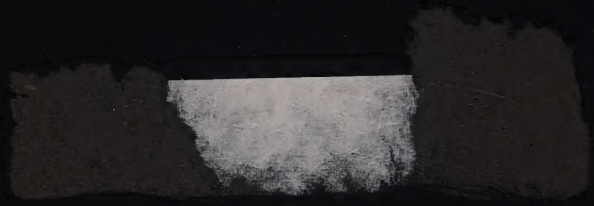

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